THE TEMPERANCE PROBLEM AND SOCIAL REFORM

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THE TEMPERANCE PROBLEM AND SOCIAL REFORM

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AUTHORS' NOTE

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They are further indebted for much valuable information to the *Annual Return of Alcoholic Beverages*, published by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade.

Preface to the Seventh Edition

IN this edition the statistical and other information has, so far as possible, been brought down to the present time, and, in response to suggestions that have been made, a new chapter has been added which deals with the working of Local Option in the various States of the American Union, and in some other countries.

One of the present writers visited the United States and Canada last year (1899) for the purpose of examining, upon the spot, the operation of the more important legislative experiments there in force for the regulation or suppression of the drink trade. He observed the working of Local Option in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Canada; High Licence in the State of New York, and the Dispensary System in South Carolina. He also made a careful study of Prohibition in the States of Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire. The present edition embodies much of the information thus obtained.

Personal examination confirmed the statements made in former editions of this book as to the working of these different systems. But inasmuch as the literature upon the operation of the Prohibition laws

ceases at or about the year 1893, the opportunity has been taken to bring the information down to date.

The new evidence, it will be seen, includes maps of six Prohibition towns, including the three largest towns in Maine and the two largest towns in New Hampshire, showing in each case the number, position, and character of the places where drink is regularly on sale, while typical photographs of the exteriors and interiors of the saloons are also supplied. If, as the present writers believe, the evidence now given is decisive as to the non-existence of Prohibition, apart from the Statute book, in the urban centres of the Prohibition States investigated, a question of great interest arises as to the real significance of the fact.

It is sometimes said that as the policy of State Prohibition finds small support in this country, where the proposal is chiefly one for Local Veto, the experience of the Prohibition States can be of little value to us. The practical and all-important lessons which may be gathered from the experience of the Prohibition States are, however, as we proceed to show, unaffected by this difference. A study of temperance legislation in the United States brings out two striking facts. On the one hand is seen the gradual abandonment of State Prohibition and the non-enforcement of its provisions in the cities in which it nominally remains in force. On the other hand we see the rapid extension of some form of Local Option—its adoption being attended with a large measure of success.

Why is State Prohibition being abandoned while Local Option is so widely accepted?

The full answer to this question has probably as much significance for us as for the people in the United States. One reason why State Prohibition has broken down is because under it a prohibitory policy may be imposed upon a reluctant community,—a contingency less likely to occur under Local Option.

But this explanation only throws the question one step further back. The crucial and ultimate question is this: What are the communities that are unwilling to accept Prohibition? There can be no doubt as to the reply. It is *the populous urban centres.*

The facts presented in the new chapter on Local Option bring out this point with remarkable clearness. Local Option is relatively successful because its application, in the form of prohibition, has been, with few exceptions, confined to rural districts or to small urban populations. The apparent exceptions to this rule—a rule which appears to be of almost universal application not only in America, but throughout other lands —are, when examined, found to confirm it. The public-house can be successfully suppressed in a ward or suburb of a town when there is in the near neighbourhood of the prohibition area what in this volume is called a "safety-valve." The officials of the Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society, for example, clearly recognise that it is the close proximity of Boston which makes Prohibition possible in its suburban towns, such as Cambridge, Somerville, Chelsea, etc.

What then is the bearing of these facts upon the policy of Local Veto as advocated in this country?

If the sphere of its successful operation is likely to be substantially the same as that of Local Option in the States,[1] the answer is clear, that in the United Kingdom Local Veto will probably be adopted with success in many rural districts, in some small towns, and in the wards and suburbs of certain cities, but that there is no probability of its being generally applied to the great urban centres within any period which practical reformers will care to contemplate. Experience alone can determine the exact sphere of its operation in this country, and no legislative limit should be placed upon its application. Definite results will be most quickly reached by giving full liberty to localities to test the question for themselves. But while there may be a border region between the rural districts and the larger towns in which it may be impossible beforehand to draw the line marking the limits beyond which Local Veto will not succeed, the evidence from the United States, and from other countries, appears to be decisive that Local Veto will not solve the problem of intemperance in the great urban centres.

If, then, at the present stage of social evolution, Prohibition is impossible in the large towns, nothing

[1] Some writers have urged that prohibitory legislation in cities would be more likely to answer in the United Kingdom than in America. There seems, however, to be little ground for this view. It is to be noted that temperance sentiment is much more advanced in the United States than in this country, that the *per capita* consumption of alcohol in the States is little more than one-half of ours, and that the Americans have shown themselves more willing than ourselves to adopt stringent temperance legislation.

but disappointment and arrest of progress can result from any policy which, ignoring the fact, fails to adapt remedial agencies to actual existing conditions. The present writers are convinced that, in the interests of temperance reform, an important step will have been taken when the true sphere of Local Option has been clearly established. It is for this reason that so much space has been given in the present edition to the chapters which seek to throw light upon this important inquiry.

May, 1900.

Preface to the First Edition

THE primary object of this volume is to consider the question of Temperance legislation in its relation to the general social problem. It will be the purpose of the early pages to answer some of the questions which at the outset confront any inquirer who seeks to obtain a true insight into the Temperance problem, *e.g.*: What is the actual condition of this country with regard to intemperance, as compared with past years and with other countries? How does the consumption of alcohol in this country compare with that of the United States and other English-speaking lands? What is the effect of climate upon drinking usages? Is the *per capita* consumption of alcohol in nations living within certain climatic zones and in certain stages of economic progress a constant quantity, or is it directly amenable to Temperance teaching and to wise and strong public law? These questions, or most of them, admit of explicit answers. But there are others of equal importance which open out lines of inquiry of great interest, but of greater difficulty.

What proportion, for instance, of the national drink bill of 150 millions belongs to the working classes? What is their average weekly family expenditure

upon drink? And what relation does this drink expenditure bear to the average family earnings? If these inquiries cannot be answered with scientific accuracy, it is believed that estimates may be given in which the margin of possible error is so limited as not to affect the practical deductions which the figures suggest. Whether the larger or the smaller of any careful estimates be accepted, the proportion of the family earnings expended upon drink is so great as necessarily to affect the whole conditions of life, and the possibilities of achieving a higher civilization.

The present writers are fully conscious that Temperance is no universal panacea. There are pressing economic questions which it cannot solve. But they hold that apart from Temperance the social problem will remain insoluble. For surely intelligence, forethought, and self-restraint on the part of the people themselves are essential factors in all social reform. The greatest of all needs in the struggle for progress is the need of strong men in the people's ranks.

No attempt is made in this volume to discuss physiological questions relating to the place and effect of alcohol. The writers base their proposals upon the broad and indisputable positions, that the present consumption of alcohol in this country is excessive, and ought to be reduced; and that the force of law and of local arrangement should favour sobriety rather than intemperance.

The experience to be gained from other countries forms the subject of one section of this work, in which important legislative experiments made on the Conti-

nent of Europe and in the United States are reviewed. Happily, in some cases the experiments have been conducted for a sufficient length of time to enable the results to be accurately measured, and the experience so gained is of great value. The failures are perhaps as instructive as the successes. We know far better than we did fifty years ago what is and what is not possible.

The inquiry here attempted resolves itself, finally, into two main questions: What in this age and in this country are the causes which create intemperance? and what are the influences which can be brought to bear in counteracting it? In the consideration of the first of these questions, the present writers have not been unmindful of the effect of climate, of race, of heredity, of drinking usages, of the character of the liquor consumed, of the absence of facilities for healthful recreation, and of the combined and powerful influence of past and of existing laws. They have sought also, as a matter of the first moment, to present a true picture of the conditions under which vast numbers of our countrymen live. Without a vivid realization of these conditions it is easy to ignore many of the elements of fascination in the public-house, and to overlook agencies which must be brought into play to counteract its influence.

The agencies which make for Temperance fall into two main divisions—those which are of a restrictive or controlling character, and those which seek to dry up the springs from which intemperance flows. For the sake of convenience they may be spoken of as the

"restrictive" and the "constructive" agencies. To the former class belong such measures as a reduction by statute in the number of licensed houses, and a shortening of the hours of sale. The importance of proposals of this kind has received general acceptance. But far less thought has hitherto been given to the provision of constructive agencies. It is true that the Temperance value of all elevating influences, such as education, has been recognised, and there have been both personal and associated efforts to provide better recreation than that which the public-house offers. But the question in its wider aspects has not yet been taken up as a matter of high national concern, too vast and too important to be left to private enterprise.

In making proposals for Temperance legislation, it would be foolish to ignore the enormous strength of the liquor trade, the magnitude of its vested interests, and the degree in which these interests permeate British society. Were it not that moral forces are ultimately stronger than selfish interests, one might despair of success. But the time when the moral forces shall assert their supremacy will depend upon the practical wisdom, as well as upon the zeal, of the friends of Temperance. Union is essential to success, and the help of all possible allies must be secured. This proposition may seem elementary and self-evident, but it is one that has hitherto had little place in the councils of the Temperance party. To give only one illustration. It has been shown that the agencies which make for Temperance must be both restrictive

and constructive. These agencies often appeal to different orders of mind. Broadly, the restrictive agencies appeal most strongly to those who are occupied with direct Temperance work; while the constructive agencies hold the first place with those who are concerned with the wider aspects of society as a whole, the general conditions of city life, the wretchedness of the highly-rented room, and the dreariness of existence to multitudes of workers. Both classes of agencies are essential to success, but hitherto the representatives of the two schools have failed to unite. Now it requires no special gift of reasonableness for those who value the restrictive agencies to agree among themselves, nor for those who value the constructive agencies to agree among themselves. But what is now wanted is the wider outlook, the statesmanship quick to discern the full strength of the forces which may be marshalled on the side of Temperance, and the practical sagacity to bring about a working union. A just appeal may be made to both bodies of reformers to unite for a common end. To those who place their confidence in restrictive agencies it may be pointed out that even if these were enacted to an extent beyond anything that appears probable in the near future, there must still remain a great volume of trade outside the reach of these restrictions. This will be especially the case in the large towns, where the trade, if carried on as at present, will continue to be disastrous to the public weal. A scheme of policy which makes no allowance for this covers only a portion of the ground, and obviously needs to be

supplemented. Those, on the other hand, who attach little value to restrictive agencies may be reminded that public opinion has rejected the theory of free licensing, that some restriction is universally held to be necessary, that the sphere of wise restriction cannot be determined by *a priori* considerations, but must be arrived at by experience, and that definite results will be reached the most quickly by giving large liberty to the localities to carry out experiments.

It is now twenty-eight years since Mr. Bruce, on behalf of the Government of which he was a member, brought forward a comprehensive measure of licensing reform. It may be assumed that the Ministry of that day recognised the need for such legislation, and deemed that the country was prepared to accept it. But the Bill failed to become law, and, in the period that has since elapsed, the growing Temperance sentiment of the country has been unable to do more than secure the adoption of minor reforms. Are these years in the wilderness to be indefinitely prolonged, or may not the hope be entertained that the different sections of the Temperance party, and all who are anxious to stay the plague of drunkenness, will henceforth seek for grounds of united action, and by honourable co-operation and wise compromise obtain a general advance upon the lines of progress?

In the suggestions they have made, the writers have not included many minor reforms which rightly receive support, believing that, whilst the Temperance party should continue to press for these, the urgent

need of the present time is to secure legislation which will give full opportunity for the progressive application of Temperance sentiment to the varied needs of localities in accordance with local public opinion. If communities possessed this power, reforms which are now long delayed and difficult of realization would be accomplished with comparative ease. Progress is almost indefinitely retarded when the most forward places have to wait for the most backward. "Birmingham and Dorset should not be made to walk abreast."

There can be little doubt that if Temperance reform is to advance upon the ordinary lines of social progress in this country, it must do so by giving the localities a large measure of self-government in relation to the drink traffic, and, subject to the observance of a few conditions to be laid down by Parliament, everything is to be gained by the grant of such liberty. The public opinion of the large towns, with their intelligence and municipal spirit quickened by the possession of power to deal effectively with intemperance, will shape itself in definite forms. But there must be a real liberation of the local forces.

The unreasonable limitations which now curtail the power of communities in dealing with the drink question must be removed. Public-spirited citizens will then find a new field for the fruitful exercise of their activities, and the practical sagacity of a practical race will be brought freely to bear upon a difficult but not insoluble problem.

March, 1899.

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CHAPTER I

The Statement of the Problem

"THE most remarkable instance of a combined movement in society which history perhaps will be summoned to record is that which, in our own days, has applied itself to the abatement of intemperance."

The movement of which De Quincey thus wrote originated in 1826. From very small beginnings it has grown during seventy years to its present magnitude. No other social propaganda of the century has called forth so much unselfish effort, or enlisted so numerous a body of workers. The meetings for the promotion of Temperance held every week throughout the United Kingdom probably exceed the aggregate of those for all other social and political objects.

Nor has the result in many directions been disproportionate to the efforts put forth. The change in social customs since the hard-drinking days described by Sir George O. Trevelyan, in his *Early History of Charles James Fox*, amounts to a revolution. "These were the days . . . when Rigby, the Paymaster

of the Forces, had only one merit, that he drank fair. He used brandy as the rest of the world used small beer. Lord Weymouth, grandson of Lord Carteret, had more than his grandfather's capacity for liquor, and a fair portion of his abilities. He constantly boozed till daylight, even when a Secretary of State. . . . 'They tell me, Sir John,' said George III. to one of his favourites, 'that you love a glass of wine.' 'Those who have so informed your Majesty,' was the reply, 'have done me great injustice; they should have said a bottle.' Two of the friends of Philip Francis, without any sense of having performed an exceptional feat, finished between them a gallon and a half of champagne and burgundy, a debauch which in this unheroic age it almost makes one ill to read of."

Compulsory drinking usages have now been done away with. It is evidence of the advance in public sentiment on the question that within a recent year[1] the Archbishops of Canterbury and York have both invited the attention of the clergy to the claims of the Temperance movement, while Lord Wolseley, as Commander-in-Chief, has published an official Memorandum on the subject to the officers and men in the Army. The altered estimate of the physiological effect of alcohol is seen in the writings of many eminent physicians, as well as in the general usage of the medical profession. But the extraordinary fact remains that *the per capita consumption of alcohol in the United Kingdom is greater than it was in* 1840, when the Temperance reformation was in its infancy.

Thus the *per capita* consumption of alcoholic liquor

[1] 1897-8.

in the United Kingdom in 1840, as compared with 1899, was as follows:—

	1840. (Gallons.)	1899. (Gallons.)
Spirits (Proof)	0·97	1·09
Wine	0·25	0·41
Beer	28·59	32·70

If the figures are reduced to a basis of *Proof Spirit*[1] (50 per cent. alcohol), the result is as follows:—

	Gallons of Proof Spirit.[2]
1840 *per capita* consumption	3·89
1899 „ „	4·48

Or, to adopt a familiar method of comparison, the expenditure per head of the population upon alcoholic drinks was in 1840, £2 18*s.* 10*d.*, and in 1899, £3 19*s.* 11½*d.*

That this increase in consumption is not due to the selection of exceptional years will be seen from the subjoined table, and by reference to the more detailed figures given in the Appendix.

[1] The Spirits (Strength Ascertainment) Act, 1818 (58 Geo. III. c. 28), defines "Proof Spirit" to be that which, at a temperature of 51°, weighs $\frac{12}{13}$ parts of an equal measure of distilled water. A gallon of proof spirit contains, approximately, 50 per cent. of alcohol.—*Board of Trade Return*, No. 408 (1897).

[2] The calculation is made on the ordinary basis that Wine contains 30 per cent., and Beer 10 per cent. of *Proof Spirit.*

Years.	Equivalent in Proof Spirit.[1] (Gallons.)
1841–45	3·36
1846–50	3·58
1851–55	3·75
1856–60	3·56
1861–65	3·60
1866–70	4·09
1871–75	4·78
1876–80	4·70
1881–85	3·90
1886–90	3·87
1891–95	4·08
1896	4·20
1897	4·28
1898	4·35
1899	4·48

It will thus be seen that the increase in the *per capita* consumption of alcohol from 1841–45 to 1891–95 amounted to nearly three-fourths of a gallon of proof spirit. The highest figures were reached in 1876 (when the effects of the great wave of commercial prosperity which marked the seventies were at their height), when the *per capita* consumption rose to 4·89 gallons of proof spirit. With the subsidence of the commercial "boom" the consumption at once declined, but only to a point that was still slightly above what may be called the normal figures of the ante-1870 period. During the present decade, however, they have again steadily risen, until the consumption in

[1] The calculation is made on the ordinary basis that Wine contains 30 per cent., and Beer 10 per cent. of *Proof Spirit*.

1899 was higher than it had been for a period of twenty-one years.

But a *per capita* consumption which is estimated upon the basis of the entire population is obviously misleading, since it takes no account of (1) the number of abstainers, and (2) the number of children. Nor does it take into account the difference in the quantity of alcohol consumed by women as compared with men. In order, therefore, to estimate the *per capita* consumption of the actual consumers of alcohol, it will be necessary to make allowance for these. It is, unfortunately, impossible to ascertain the exact number of adult teetotalers in the United Kingdom; but taking the lowest of the estimates usually given as the basis of calculation, it is probably safe to assume that the number of the non-drinking class (*i.e.*, teetotalers and practical abstainers) in the United Kingdom above the age of 15 is at least three millions. If we add to these the number of children under 15 years of age, who represent 35 per cent. of the entire population, or fourteen million persons, the total number of the *non-drinking* class may be estimated at seventeen million persons, thus reducing the number of actual consumers of alcohol to twenty-three millions.[1]

[1] This estimate, although arrived at independently, is confirmed by an estimate made by Professor Leone Levi in 1872. In a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society in March of that year, Professor Levi estimated the number of consumers of alcohol in 1870 at 17,500,000, or 56 per cent. of the total population. On this basis of calculation the number of consumers in 1899 would be 22,713,000, and the *per capita* consumption of alcoholic liquors:—

Beer	58	gallons.
Spirits	1·96	„
Wine	0·73	„

If, then, we divide the total quantity of intoxicants consumed in 1899 by this number, it will be seen that the average *per capita* consumption of intoxicating liquors in that year by the actual consumers of alcohol was as follows:—

Beer	57 gallons.
Spirits	1·93 „
Wine.	0·72 „

But it must be remembered that more than one-half of the twenty-three millions referred to are women, who, it is safe to assume, do not drink on an average more than half the quantity consumed by men. Allowing for this, the *per capita* consumption of the twenty-three millions of actual consumers would be as follows:—

	Men.	Women.
Beer . .	76 gallons . .	38 gallons.
Spirits . .	2·57 „ . .	1·29 „
Wine . .	0·96 „ . .	0·48 „

Even this does not exhaust the significance of the figures, for it must be remembered that no allowance is made in them for paupers, prisoners, etc.

If we reduce the *per capita* consumption, as shown above, to a basis of absolute alcohol, the result is as under:—

ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL.

Men	5·22 gallons, or 835 fluid ounces.
Women . . .	2·61 „ or 417 „ „

This gives a *daily* average of 2·29 fluid ounces of

absolute alcohol for every male consumer, and 1·14 fluid ounces for every female consumer—a quantity that is clearly greatly excessive.[1]

Expenditure upon Drink.

It is not here proposed to discuss the physiological aspect of the Temperance question, but the figures of alcohol consumption have a grave economic importance which no student of social and economic questions can afford to ignore.

In 1899, for example, the total expenditure on alcoholic beverages in the United Kingdom amounted to £162,163,474,[2] a sum equal to—

(1) Nearly one-and-a-half times the amount of the national revenue, or
(2) All the rents of all the houses and farms in the United Kingdom.

[1] Dr. Parkes (whom the late Sir Andrew Clark once publicly referred to as "the most loyal, careful, faithful, and truthful of observers whom ever it was my good fortune to know"), in referring to experiments made by Drs. Anstie, Wollowicz, and himself, says: "It may be considered, then, that the limit of the useful effect [*i.e.* of alcohol] is produced by some quantity between one and one-and-a-half fluid ounces in twenty-four hours. There may be persons whose bodies can dispose of larger quantities; but as the experiments were made on two powerful, healthy men, accustomed to take alcohol, the average amount was more likely to be over than under-stated. In women, the amount required to produce decided bad effects must, in all probability, be less. For children, there is an almost universal consent that alcohol is injurious, and the very small quantity which produces symptoms of intoxication in them indicates that they absorb it rapidly and tolerate it badly."—*A Manual of Practical Hygiene*, 8th Edition (1891), p. 340.

[2] These figures include the expenditure on British wines,

It exceeded by more than six millions (*i.e.* £6,169,455) the total expenditure on the same beverages in 1898.[1]

The population of the United Kingdom in 1899, according to the official estimate, was 40,559,954 persons, so that the total amount expended on alcoholic liquors in that year represents an average expenditure of £3 19*s.* 11½*d.* for each man, woman, and child in the kingdom, or £19 19*s.* 9½*d.* for each family of five persons. These averages are, of course, purely arithmetical, the actual expenditure, both for individuals and families, varying, in the case of consumers, from sums relatively small to a large proportion of the entire personal or family income, while in the case of a considerable proportion of the population (*i.e.*, the non-consumers) no expenditure at all was incurred.[2]

The seriousness of the figures becomes more fully apparent when we consider them in their relation to the working classes. It is impossible, of course, to fix precisely the amount spent by the working classes on alcoholic drinks, inasmuch as a considerable proportion of the expenditure is made from indeterminate sources; *i.e.*, either (1) what is vaguely called "pocket

cider, etc., which in 1899 amounted to £1,500,000. In estimating the total expenditure, the cost of British spirits has been taken at 20*s.* per gallon; foreign and colonial spirits at 24*s.* per gallon; beer at 54*s.* per barrel; and wine at 18*s.* per gallon. See "The Annual Drink Bill," *Times*, February 27th, 1900.

[1] The increase in expenditure upon alcoholic liquors in 1899 was at the rate of about 4 per cent., while the increase in population was under 1 per cent.

[2] If we deduct the non-consuming classes (*i.e.*, children under 15, and the three millions of non-drinkers above the age of 15), the average annual expenditure of the remaining twenty-three millions (*i.e.*, the actual consumers) is nearly doubled, amounting to £7 1*s.* per individual.

money," or (2) money that is intercepted before it reaches the home. For this reason, so-called "Family Budgets" are on this point entirely unreliable and misleading. It has, however, been authoritatively estimated[1] that of the total sum represented by the national drink bill, at least two-thirds are spent by the working classes, who constitute, approximately, 75 per cent. of the population.[2] That is to say, of the £162,000,000 spent on drink in the United Kingdom in 1899, more than £108,000,000 must, according to this estimate, have been spent by 30,400,000 persons (representing 6,080,000 families)[3] belonging to the

[1] Profesor Leone Levi, *Journal of the Statistical Society*, March, 1872. This estimate has recently been accepted in a statement prepared in the interests of the Trade for the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws (July, 1897), and subsequently published as a pamphlet by Messrs. Peter Walker & Son, of Warrington. See *The Fallacies of Teetotalers*, p. 13.

[2] In 1882, a Special Committee of the British Association estimated the proportion of the labouring classes at 70 per cent. of the population. A similar proportion, based, however, upon different figures, is given by Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics* p. 320; and by Professor Leone Levi, *Report of the British Association* (1883), p. 361; and *Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes* (1885), p. 2. For the purposes of the present discussion, however, it will be safer to take the slightly higher estimate given above, which more than allows for the relatively greater increase of the working classes in the intervening years as compared with the growth of the population as a whole.

[3] This estimate is based upon a proportion of five persons to a family. The proportion in 1891, according to the official census returns, was 4·73. Mulhall (*Dictionary of Statistics*) estimated the number of working-class families in 1889 at 4,774,000, and Professor Leone Levi (1885) at 5,600,000. The latter estimate (Professor Levi's) is, however, based upon a proportion of 4·64 persons to a family. On the basis of five persons chosen above, the number of working-class families in 1885, according to Professor Leone Levi, would be 5,200,000—an estimate which

working classes.[1] In other words, every working-class family spent on an average, in 1899, no less than £17 15*s.* 3*d.*, or 6*s.* 10*d.* per week on alcoholic liquors, a sum which (assuming the average income of a working-class family to be thirty-five shillings per week)[2] is equal to nearly one-fifth of the entire family income.

These figures, although apparently high, are supported by an estimate made by a special Committee of the British Association (consisting of Professor Leone Levi, Professor Jevons, Sir Antonio Brady, and others) in 1882. This Committee, in reporting on "the present Appropriation of Wages" and its "consonance with the economic progress of the people of the United Kingdom," distributed the expenditure of the population upon intoxicating liquors as follows:—

	Total Expenditure.	Working Classes.		Middle and Higher Classes.	
		Amount.	Per Cent. of Total.	Amount.	Per Cent. of Total.
	£	£		£	
Beer . . .	75,000,000	56,200,000	75	18,800,000	25
Spirits . .	40,000,000	30,000,000	75	10,000,000	25
Wine. . .	9,000,000	900,000	10	8,100,000	90
	124,000,000	87,100,000	—	36,900,000	—

allowing for the growth of four millions in the population of the United Kingdom since 1885, confirms the estimate adopted above.

[1] These figures are confirmed by an estimate made by a high economic authority in 1877: "One cannot set the cost of wines, ales, and liquors, consumed by the wage-labouring classes of Great Britain, lower than £100,000,000 per annum."—Walker *The Wages Question*, p. 350.

[2] See Appendix, p. 623.

Assuming the number of working-class families to be at that time 5,400,000—the number adopted by the Committee[1] —the figures given above would represent an average expenditure of £16 2*s.* 2*d.* per year, or 6*s.* 2*d.* per week for each working-class family. The Committee further estimated that the total income of the working classes amounted in 1881–82 to £430,000,000, fully one-fifth of which must, therefore, according to their estimate, have been spent on intoxicating drinks.

In view of the extreme importance of these figures, it may be well to compare them with other reliable estimates. The most authoritative early estimate on the subject is that made by Mr. Dudley Baxter in his valuable work on *The Taxation of the United Kingdom.* The work was published in 1869, when the *per capita* expenditure on drink in the United Kingdom was nearly equal to that of the present time, so that the figures may fairly be used for the purpose of a general comparison. Referring, in the first instance, to the drink expenditure of the *temperate* classes only, Mr. Dudley Baxter says:—

"A *temperate town workman*, with £50 to £60 a year, will with his wife take 3 glasses a day (1½ pints), or (including occasional additions) 75 gallons per family per year; drinking occasionally spirits, say one or at most 2 gallons per family per year. This will be an expenditure of 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* per week, and is in addition to 6*d.* or 1*s.* on tobacco.

"A *temperate artizan*, with 35*s.* to 40*s.* a week, will

[1] This estimate was based upon a proportion of 4·5 persons to a family. See *Report of the British Association*, 1882, p. 301.

drink with his family 3 pints (or 6 glasses) of beer per diem, say 150 gallons per family per year, and 1 to 2 quarterns of spirits a week, or 2 to 4 gallons a year. This will represent an expenditure of 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* a week, and is commonly in addition to 1*s.* per week for tobacco."

In considering the question of *intemperate* expenditures, Mr. Baxter says:—

"*Intemperate, or excessive expenditures*, are far beyond this scale. Half the wages to the man for beer, spirits, and tobacco, and the other half to the wife for rent, and 'to do for' the family, is reported by many correspondents as not unusual. The Irish spend more than the English in proportion to their earnings; but with both English and Irish the Saturday night drinking often exhausts the week's wages. And sittings of two or three days' duration, which are sadly too frequent in some localities, make away with considerable savings." Summing up the results of his investigations, he says: "On the whole, I should estimate the *temperate expenditure* in England as: Upper and middle classes, 35 gallons of beer per head; half a gallon of diluted spirits. Manual labour classes, 20 gallons of beer per head; half a gallon of diluted spirits."[1] If we reckon the cost of beer at 1*s.* 6*d.* per gallon, and the cost of spirits at 20*s.* per gallon, this estimate would represent an average expenditure for every temperate working-class family in England and Wales of 3*s.* 10¼*d.* per week. This average, however, let us repeat, is based upon what Mr. Baxter calls "temperate" expenditures only, and does not include

[1] *The Taxation of the United Kingdom*, pp. 89-91.

what he calls "intemperate or excessive expenditures." If allowance be made for these, the average weekly expenditure of a working-class family (according to Mr. Baxter's own figures) would amount to 5*s.* 9¼*d.* per week.[1] These figures do not include wine.

Further support is given to the figures by a statement made by the late Rt. Hon. A. J. Mundella in 1883. In referring—as Vice-President of the Council on Education—to certain school-board districts in East London Mr. Mundella said: "Here is a block containing 1,082 families and 2,153 children of school age (5 to 13). In this block are 3 schools, 2 churches, 3 chapels, 3 mission rooms, and 41 public-houses. What does it mean? 1,082 families, wretched, miserable, and poverty-stricken, maintaining 41 public-houses. 1 to every 25 families, and supported by them. Consider what it takes to maintain them, and the great cause of misery is apparent. One of my inspectors states: 'In a certain square mile of East London the cost of education is a penny each family per week, and 4*s.* 3*d.* *each family for drink.*' Say 4*s.* yearly for education, and £11 for drink."[2]

An expenditure of 4*s.* 3*d.* per week in a *poor* district certainly seems to suggest that a general average of 6*s.* per week for the whole of the working classes is by no means an excessive estimate.

The present writers have been at considerable pains to verify these estimates by independent investigations concerning the actual or estimated expenditure of working men in various industries in different parts of the country. The inquiry was naturally a difficult one, and would have been altogether

[1] See Appendix, p. 619.

[2] *Sheffield Independent*, December 12th, 1883.

impossible but for the assistance rendered by a large number of helpers in different centres. No attempt was made to ascertain the *family* expenditure upon drink; the inquiry being strictly confined to the average weekly expenditure of working men *above the age of eighteen.* It is not to be assumed that the figures are in every case correct. That, it is needless to say, is impossible in an investigation of this kind, but every endeavour has been made to exclude careless and unreliable returns, and the figures may certainly be accepted as an under-statement rather than an over-statement of the actual expenditure of working men in the industries referred to.

A single fact will make this plain. Trades and industries, like individuals, vary considerably in the general standards of sobriety and thrift that they require, and similar differences appear as between different workshops and factories in the same trade. A greater strictness on the part of an employer, or—what the present inquiry has shown to be even more important in its effects upon the habits of the work-people—a special sympathy with the cause of temperance, tells very powerfully upon the sobriety of a workshop, and tends to considerably lessen the average expenditure upon drink.

Now it so happens that of the workshops and factories included in the present inquiry, a large proportion were of this kind, so that the average standard of drink expenditure which the following figures represent is probably lower than the average for the trade taken as a whole would be. This fact, while it makes the returns somewhat less representative than they otherwise would be, secures them from the risk of over-statement.

The inquiry covered 43 general trades, some of which had several branches. The total number of men reported on was nearly 12,000, but returns were rejected in the case of more than 2,000 of these where the figures gave evidence of being excessive, or were otherwise apparently unreliable. The number of men actually included in the subjoined returns was 9,613. Of these—

1,586	or 16½%	were returned as abstainers.
2,944	or 31%	spent under 2*s.* per week.
2,922	or 30%	„ 2*s.* and under 5*s.* per week.
1,459	or 15%	„ 5*s.* „ 10*s.* „
535	or 5½%	„ 10*s.* „ 15*s.* „
167	or 2%	„ over 15*s.* per week.
9,613		

If we estimate the average expenditure of class "A" (under 2*s.*) at 1*s.* 6*d.*; class "B" (2*s.* and under 5*s.*) at 3*s.* 6*d.*; class "C" (5*s.* and under 10*s.*) at 7*s.* 6*d.*; class "D" (10*s.* and under 15*s.*) at 12*s.* 6*d.*; and class "E" (over 15*s.*) at £1, the *average* weekly expenditure of the whole of the 9,613 men included in the above returns works out at 3*s.* 8½*d.* per head. The figures—as will be seen from the particulars given elsewhere[1]—vary greatly in different trades, while the inquiry also showed that the average is far from being uniform in the case of different sets of men engaged in the same trade. A noteworthy instance of this occurred in the case of colliers. The *average* expenditure of 617 colliers reported on was 4*s.* 1¼*d.*, but this total included one group of 307 men whose

[1] See Appendix, p. 616.

average weekly expenditure upon drink worked out at 1*s.* 11¼*d.* per head, and another group of 61 colliers whose average expenditure was 2*s.* 10½*d.* On the other hand, it included a group of 152 colliers belonging to a different part of the country whose average weekly expenditure amounted to 8*s.* 6¼*d.* per head.

One of the most remarkable features of the returns was the large proportion of men returned as "abstainers." It is probable that the proportion given (*i.e.* one in six) is greater than the actual proportion in the trades concerned, and that many men were so returned who should more properly be considered as moderate drinkers. But since the only effect of a confusion of this kind is slightly to lower the general average of expenditure without interfering with its general trustworthiness, it need not be here regarded.

The general results of the inquiry are confirmed by a large body of independent evidence which it was impossible to tabulate, but which nevertheless was of a reliable and representative character. A publican in Manchester, when questioned on the point, gave it as his opinion that "a working man of ordinary type would spend sixpence a day *quite*, say four shillings a week"—an estimate that curiously confirms the figures given above. A compositor in the Midlands—a reliable and capable man—estimated that "sixpence a day regular, and a little jollification at holiday times, might be put down for sober, steady men who never lost time at their work." Another working man—a scholar in an adult school in Birmingham—said, "I used to spend about half my earnings (28*s.*) in drink and treating—didn't often get drunk." Another said, "Five shillings is a big pull out of 30*s.* or 35*s.* a week for drink, but many a man I know would be well off

if he spent no more than this." A Birmingham scavenger said, "Me and my wife and two children had tightish work when I spent 6*s.* or 7*s.* a week on drink out of 24*s.* I gave it up three years ago."

The foreman of a railway workshop in the North quoted the case of a man known to him for twenty years "as a sample of very, very many cases which are not extreme—a man who would consider himself a 'moderate drinker.'" The man's wages amounted to £2 a week, say £100 per annum, and his expenditure was as follows:—

	Per annum. £
Rent (a flat)	13
Allowance to wife for food and clothing (supplemented by Co-operative Society dividend, which was spent in clothes for wife and two children)	52
Own clothing	5
Balance (retained)	30
	£100

Of the £30 retained for personal expenditure, the man "spends about 10*s.* a week on drink—the balance on other 'pleasures,' horse-racing, etc."

It would be easy to supplement these cases with others equally trustworthy and representative, but it is perhaps unnecessary to do so. The following statement may, however, be quoted as a final confirmation of the general accuracy of the estimates already given. The statement gives particulars of the average weekly drink expenditure of four typical workmen in the employ of a large engineering firm in London where

400 men are employed. The particulars are as follow :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Case "*A.*"—Married man, with five children, ages ranging from 12 downwards :			
Average weekly wage	2	0	0
Average weekly expenditure on drink	0	3	0
Case "*B.*"—Married man, with six children, ages ranging from 10 downwards :			
Average weekly wage.	2	10	0
Average weekly expenditure on drink	0	18	0
Case "*C.*"—Married man, no children :			
Average weekly wage.	1	18	0
Average weekly expenditure on drink	0	12	0
Case "*D.*"—Married man with two children, aged 6 years and 18 months respectively :			
Average weekly wage.	1	12	0
Average weekly expenditure on drink	0	5	0

The above figures were furnished to the present writers by a thoroughly competent and trustworthy informant, who is himself a non-abstainer and employed at the same works. In referring to the figures he says : "These four men are fairly representative of the 400 ; they are not notorious drunkards by any means." He adds : "Looking at the question roughly, I think it would be fair to say that the average working man spends a little more than a quarter of his weekly income on drink." Such an estimate as the last words suggest is, of course, only to be accepted as a broad generalization based upon observation of a limited number of men, but the statement as a whole, taken in conjunction with other evidence, undoubtedly strengthens a previous impression that the *average*

weekly expenditure of working men on drink is greater than the average of 3*s.* 8½*d.* suggested by the returns given on a previous page.[1]

But accepting the figures as they stand, it is clear that they go far to confirm the estimate of 6*s.* 2*d.* *per family* adopted by the Committee of the British Association in 1882. The average of 3*s.* 8½*d.*, it is to be remembered, represents a *per capita* expenditure only, the inquiry being restricted to the personal expenditure (as distinct from the *family* expenditure) of working men above the age of eighteen. If to this personal expenditure could be added that of the other members of the family, it is improbable that the result would be less than 6*s.* per week per family.

It must also be remembered that the 9,613 adult males whose expenditures are included in the average of 3*s.* 8½*d.* *do not represent* 9,613 *separate families.* Only a certain proportion of them would be heads of families. A considerable number would undoubtedly be members of the same families (*i.e.*, sons or brothers), or single men representing families the heads of which would be employed elsewhere, and for whom, therefore, an additional sum of 3*s.* 8½*d.* would have to be allowed before the *family* expenditure could be ascertained. In other words, since the average of 3*s.* 8½*d.* is a *personal* average only, and represents simply the expenditure of a male adult, whether single or married, it would be necessary in order to ascertain the drink expenditure of an average working-class family to allow 3*s.* 8½*d.* for each male adult above eighteen years of age living at home, and to add the result to the cost of the drink consumed by the wife and children (*i.e. all* the daughters and such of the

[1] See p. 15.

sons as were below the age of eighteen). In the case of a family, for example, which included both the father and one son of over eighteen years of age, the weekly drink expenditure would be 7*s.* 5*d.*, *plus* the cost of the drink consumed by the wife and the rest of the children living at home.

Such figures, it is needless to say, have only an approximate value, and are not to be pressed too far. Moreover, in attempting to apply them to individual cases it is necessary to remember that they are *average* figures based upon the expenditure of a considerable number of families. That a large proportion of the working classes spend very much less than the amount suggested is certain, but it is equally certain that a considerable number spend very much more, and when all possible deductions have been made it is doubtful if the average family expenditure of the working classes upon intoxicants can be reckoned at less than 6*s.* per week.[1]

The Economic Aspect of the Problem.

The economic seriousness of these figures, even if they are but approximately correct, can hardly be exaggerated in view of the grave social problems that still await solution, for it is important to remember that alcoholic drinks have no true or necessary relation to what is called the standard of life. That is to say, they do not belong to the category of commodities which are necessary for the real efficiency of human life. On the contrary—among the lowest paid workers at least—they can only be purchased at the cost of efficient necessaries.[2]

[1] For further evidence on this point, see Appendix, p. 617.

[2] For a fuller discussion of this point, see p. 53.

Dr. E. R. L. Gould, the Special Commissioner of the United States Labour Department, in referring to this point, says: "The danger resident in these huge national liquor bills reaches beyond misery and moral degradation. Civilization itself is menaced by this growing economic waste. If it be true—and there seems to a general opinion to that effect—that excesses are less frequent now than formerly amongst the upper classes, the burden must be falling chiefly upon those who are relatively least able to support it. Certainly, the family budget of the wage-earner is not so flexible that liberal expenditures for drink may be made with impunity. So delicately adjusted is the balance that the status of a new generation is largely determined by the quantity of liquor the fathers consume. . . . Even those—and they are many—who cannot regard total abstinence as the last word on the subject, and must hold that drunkenness rather than drinking is the real foe to be combated, will nevertheless allow that there is ample room for reduction, and, so to speak, redistribution of expenditure." [1]

The matter becomes of urgent importance when we remember how many of those upon whose efficiency the industrial prosperity of the nation ultimately depends are still below the "economical limit of subsistence." "Progress," says Professor Marshall, "has done much; but there still remains a great, and—in consequence of improved sanitation—perhaps a growing residuum of persons who are physically, mentally, or morally incapable of doing a good day's work with which to earn a good day's wage." [2] That "a large portion of the wage-earning class are kept below the

[1] *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, p. 9.
[2] *Principles of Economics*, 2nd Edition, p. 737.

economical limit of subsistence," says another eminent economist,[1] "there can be no doubt."

It is impossible to estimate, even approximately, the number of these; but if we may judge from the condition of things in London, where nearly *one and a third millions of persons*, or 30·7 per cent. of the entire population are "in poverty,"[2] the aggregate proportion for the kingdom as a whole must be very considerable. The poverty of London is certainly in some respects exceptional, but "there is every reason to believe that the extent and nature of poverty does not widely differ in all large centres of population."[3]

Intemperance and Poverty.

Now it would be foolish to suggest that intemperance is the sole, or even—to speak for the moment of *direct* causes only—the preponderating cause of poverty. On the contrary, it is unquestionable that to a large extent poverty is to be regarded as an industrial disease—the result of conditions and forces

[1] F. A. Walker, *The Wages Question*, p. 56.

[2] Booth, *Life and Labour of the People*, vol. II., p. 21. The classification of these 1,300,000 persons is as follows:—

37,610	form the "lowest class"—occasional labourers, loafers and semi-criminals.
316,834	form the "very poor"—casual labour, hand-to-mouth existence, chronic want.
938,293	form the "poor"—including alike those whose earnings are small because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, though regular, is ill-paid.
1,292,737	

[3] Hobson, *Problems of Poverty*, p. 6.

over which the workers have little control; while it is hardly less certain that of the intemperance that is found in intimate conjunction with poverty, a not inconsiderable proportion must be assumed to be the effect rather than the cause of the poverty.[1]

But when all legitimate deductions have been made, the relation between the two problems is too obvious to be seriously disputed.

Mr. Charles Booth, whose *Life and Labour of the People in London* forms the most complete analysis of the facts of poverty that has yet been attempted, has done more than any one to reduce the question under discussion to a scientific basis, and to make an ultimate decision upon it at least approximately safe. It would not be wise, as Mr. Booth himself admits, "to generalize very confidently from an analysis of this sort, unless it can be supported by other evidence." His figures have, however, statistically one great element of value. They are "representative of *all* the poor in the districts from which they are drawn, and not only of those who apply for relief."

The figures he gives relate altogether to some 4,000 cases, 1,600 of which belonged to classes A and B[2]

[1] It must not, however, be overlooked that while intemperance is sometimes an effect, as well as a cause, of poverty, it is a *reproductive* effect, which by demoralizing the worker still further destroys his industrial efficiency, and, as a necessary consequence, seriously aggravates the problem to be solved. The helpless despair of a sober poverty is unutterably sad, but it is not hopeless; but a poverty that deadens despair in drink creates for the statesman an almost insoluble problem.

[2] Class "A" represents the lowest class of occasional labourers, loafers, and semi-criminals.

Class "B" represents the "very poor," *i.e.*, those who live in a state of chronic want.

(the "very poor"), and 2,400 to classes C and D [1] (the "poor").

Of the former (*i.e.*, the cases of the "very poor"):—

4 per cent. were "loafers."

14 per cent. were attributable to drink and thriftlessness.

27 per cent. were attributable to "questions of circumstance" (*i.e.*, large families, illness, etc.).

55 per cent. were attributable to "questions of employment."

Of the latter (*i.e.*, the cases of the "poor"):—

13 per cent. were attributable to drink and thriftlessness.

19 per cent. were attributable to "questions of circumstance."

68 per cent. were attributable to "questions of employment."

In his comment upon the figures, Mr. Booth says: "To those who look upon drink as the source of all evil, the position it here holds as accounting for only 14 per cent. of the poverty in the East End may seem altogether insufficient; but I may remind them that it is only as principal cause that it is here considered; as contributory cause it would no doubt be

[1] Class "C"—Intermittent earnings; Class "D"—Small regular earnings. Together the "poor," *i.e.*, those who live "under a struggle to obtain the necessaries of life and make both ends meet," whose family earnings vary from 18*s.* to 21*s.* per week for a family of moderate size.

connected with a much larger proportion." [1] The latter admission is important as confirming a view that is impressing itself more and more strongly upon the minds of careful social workers; namely, That it is in their indirect and contributory influence that the drinking habits of the poor are most to be deplored. But apart altogether from this, the figures given are sufficiently serious, and it is easy to see how ominously suggestive they are when applied as a test to the sum total of our national poverty. Fourteen per cent. of 4,000 families is not in itself, perhaps, an immediately arresting figure, but 14 per cent. of the *entire poverty of the United Kingdom* presents us with really appalling facts.

The full importance of the figures becomes apparent when we remember that the existence of a large class of "poor" is a serious drag upon the economic progress of the nation. A nation's economic wealth, as we shall presently show, lies in the "fitness" or "efficiency" —moral and physical—of its workers, and everything that tends to the degradation and impoverishment of the workers tends by so much to the impoverishment of the productive forces of the nation.

Poverty and "Under-Consumption."

We have no wish, let us repeat, to suggest that intemperance is the sole *fons et origo malorum*, but its economic effects are nevertheless such as to claim the serious attention of all who are interested in industrial progress. It is undoubtedly true that if there could be universal sobriety to-morrow the problems of poverty and of unemployment would not be

[1] *Life and Labour of the People*, vol. I., pp. 147–8.

instantly solved, but the point we are here concerned with is the ultimate effect which such sobriety would have in stimulating industrial progress by increasing the efficiency of the workers, as well as by creating a greater demand for ordinary "productive" commodities. The crux of the economic position, so far as it stands related to drink expenditure, is this: that *the poor cannot afford the expenditure*, that the means of subsistence as it is are insufficient for efficiency, and that an expenditure of even 4*s.* 3*d.* a week in drink (to quote Mr. Mundella's figures for East London) is purchased at the cost of other necessary and more "productive" commodities. Commercial crises (in a normal way) are said to arise from over-production. But it may be doubted if the world has *ever* actually suffered from over-production. The radical defect in the economic situation is always one of *under consumption*. Over production of two million pairs of boots is not over-production while ten million people remain unshod. What is needed is to stimulate consumption, but the man who is thriftless, lazy, drunken, so far from helping consumption, stops it for himself and family. It is not only what he fails to earn, and so cannot spend, that stops consumption, but what he earns and wastefully expends; for all forms of expenditure, as is elsewhere shown,[1] have not the same economic value. Expenditure upon drink, for example, has not the same *reproductive* value to the community as expenditure upon clothes, food, books, etc.

"From the standpoint of the community," says a well-known economic writer, "nothing else than a rise in the average standard of current consumption can

[1] See pp. 57, 58.

stimulate industry. When it is clearly grasped that a demand for commodities is the only demand for the use of labour and of capital . . . the hope of the future of our industry is seen to rest largely upon the confident belief that the working classes will use their higher wages . . . to raise their standard of life by the current satisfaction of all those wholesome desires of body and mind which lie latent under an 'economy of low wages.' . . . If there are theoretic economists who still hold that 'a demand for commodities is not a demand for labour,' they may be reminded that a paradox is not necessarily true. . . . The growing opinion of economic students is veering round to register in theory the firm empirical judgment from which the business world has never swerved, that a high rate of consumption is the surest guarantee of progressive trade." [1]

The Temperance advocate may often appear to overlook important factors in the economic problem, but at least he does not over-estimate the importance of moral defects. They have an economic importance that can hardly be exaggerated. They lower the ideal and the standard of life for the man and his family; whereas thrift, sobriety, moral purpose, tend to widen the outlook upon life. They open out a vista of new needs and possibilities, creating new demands, stimulating inventions, and multiplying the commodities to be consumed. Industries really are the outcome of a quickened imagination, and the number of commodities open to the competition of commerce at any given time depends upon the measure of awakened intelligence that exists in a

[1] J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, pp. 283–4.

people. In the early stages of civilization the world knows few needs, and therefore has few industries, but as man develops he awakes to new needs, and demands new commodities, and so industries develop and multiply. Does any one doubt that if all men and women became thrifty, sober, and efficient citizens to-morrow, with an extended outlook, a wider moral and intellectual vision, we should soon have a marvellous development of existing industries, and the establishment of many new ones? [1]

There may be—there undoubtedly are—factors of gravest urgency in the problem of poverty which no proposals for Temperance reform could cover or meet, but it would be folly therefore to deny to these proposals their legitimate place in the solution of the social problem. So long as the vice of intemperance remains what it is to-day, so long will the utmost efforts of the political economist be hindered and thwarted. "An economic millennium," it has been well said, "would be an epoch in which there was no Waste—no waste of human lives, no ignoble sloth, no disease and decrepitude, engendered by ignorance or neglect of natural laws, no waste of useful things in vulgar, insolent vanity; above all, no waste of health, substance, and self-respect in drunkenness and its attendant vices." [2]

Relation of Drink Expenditure to "Efficiency."

Apart, however, from any general discussion of the causes of poverty, it can easily be shown that the drink expenditure of a considerable number of work-

[1] See also p. 59.

[2] William Newmarch, F.R.S., *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, 1871.

ing men is made at the cost of efficiency. In other words, there is no margin in their weekly incomes for such expenditure if the interests of the future are to be considered. Sir George O. Trevelyan, speaking in the House of Commons on May 12th, 1890, put the matter with great clearness. "The Government last year," he said, "issued a very interesting Report,[1] showing the expenditure of the working-man householder; and it appeared from that that even the better sort of artizans, after defraying the ordinary household expenses, have hardly any margin left for expenditure on drink. A working man who is in the habit of drinking cannot have his glass of beer and have done with it. He can hardly spend less than 4*s*. or 5*s*. a week on drink, and where that is to come from out of his little budget it is difficult to imagine." [2]

It will give definiteness to our discussion of this matter if we consider, first of all, what are the *necessaries* for the efficiency of an ordinary labourer and his family. According to Professor Marshall, the "necessaries for the efficiency of an ordinary agricultural or of an unskilled town labourer and his family, in England, in this generation" consist of "a well-drained dwelling with several rooms, warm clothing, with some changes of under-clothing, pure water, a plentiful supply of cereal food, with a moderate allowance of meat and milk, and a little tea, etc., some education and some recreation, and lastly, sufficient freedom for his wife from other work to enable her to perform properly her maternal and her household duties. If in any district unskilled labour is deprived

[1] See *Board of Trade Return* C.—5861, 1889.
[2] *Hansard's Debates.*

of any of these things, its efficiency will suffer in the same way as that of a horse that is not properly tended, or a steam-engine that has an inadequate supply of coals." [1] "Perhaps at present prices," he continues, "the strict necessaries for an average agricultural family are covered by fifteen or eighteen shillings a week, the conventional necessaries by about five shillings more. For the unskilled labourer in the town a few shillings must be added to the strict necessaries. For the family of the skilled workman living in a town we may take twenty-five or thirty shillings for strict necessaries, and ten shillings for conventional necessaries." [2]

Now it needs little argument to show that such a standard of "necessaries" is altogether beyond the reach of several millions of the people of the United Kingdom at the present time; and although the causes of this fact lie deeper than the problem of intemperance, the fact itself shows the economic seriousness of the widespread expenditure upon drink.

But the matter can be brought to an even closer test. It will be generally admitted that "no sanitary necessity can be more real than the common animal need of proper food—that no morbific influence can be of worse import to life than mere privation of nourishment." These "are propositions which every one feels to be true, when they are illustrated in individual cases of death by starvation, or in those national extreme sufferings of scarcity which constitute famine. But the propositions are not exclusively true in that utmost range of their application. In degrees far short of what is known properly as

[1] *Principles of Economics*, 2nd Edition, p. 121.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

starvation or famine, insufficiency of nourishment may bring very hurtful consequences to health. Local defects or local peculiarities of diet may exercise important influence in determining or colouring particular localizations of disease. And generally it may be said that, in order justly to estimate the sanitary circumstances of a people, scientific regard must be had to the quantity and quality of the people's meat and drink."[1]

The harm inflicted by a diet which is defective in albumen especially is very great. It is not made apparent, says a well-known Italian economist, "by laboratory experience: only statistical induction is able to reveal what is, in this case, a cardinal law of human physiology. We can scarcely, by means of experiments in a laboratory, see an individual nourished on a small allowance of albuminoid substances losing ground at one stroke: an experiment on the other hand is too brief in duration to allow us to follow save for a very slight interval the effects of denutrition. Where, however, the physiologist can only obtain glimpses by means of particular experiments, statistics are able to reveal clearly when applied to the collective life of peoples. Partial starvation in the supply of albumen does not act at one blow, nor does it kill; but the people or the class afflicted by it either pine slowly, or do not develop. Slackness in muscular vigour, which is made especially evident in weak labour-energy, low stature, an irrepressible tendency to compensating idleness, an emaciated aspect, a low power of resisting disease—these are the inevitable effects of this kind of starvation, which no

[1] *Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council*, 1863, p. 11.

moral law can conquer, and which, as in the case of the small folk of Naples, stamps a whole nation or class with the stigma of degradation." [1]

The quantity and kind of food required vary according to the nature of the work to be done. If the work is light and intermittent, a cheap but nutritious grain diet will for the most part suffice; but wherever the physical or nervous strain is continuous, a food is required which can be easily digested and assimilated. It can hardly be doubted that more flesh is consumed by a large part of our population than is absolutely necessary or desirable. But this, says Sir Henry Thompson, "is mostly to be observed among those who possess ample means, and whose employments do not necessarily demand great muscular exertion, exposure in all weathers, or other causes of wear and tear to the animal tissues. Where exercise is very largely taken, and manual labour is hard and prolonged, the concentrated and easily digested proteids of flesh are the most valuable food for man's purpose. Where there is but little physical labour or activity, a smaller proportion is mostly advisable; and a better state of bodily health may be generally assured by adopting an animal food—fish, poultry, and game, for example—less rich perhaps in proteids, and especially so in fat, than are beef or mutton. together with a considerable proportion of the products of vegetable origin. The selection, however, has to be judiciously made." [2]

But the point here to be insisted upon is, that for

[1] Nitti, *Economic Journal*, March, 1896, p. 50. See also Manfredi, *Sull' alimentazione nelle classi povere del popolo di Napoli*, pp. 72, 73.

[2] *Food and Feeding*, 9th Edition (1898), p. 35.

the great army of workers there is a minimum standard of nourishment below which they can only sink at the cost of physical and mental efficiency. The question to be determined, then, is: What is this minimum standard? In other words: What is the minimum quantity of food required by the working classes for efficiency?

Food and Efficiency.

In the Appendix to the present volume,[1] a careful attempt has been made to give a general answer to this question. The estimates there given are, of course, only to be accepted as approximate, the available data being too meagre and uncertain to make strictly accurate conclusions possible. Physiologists themselves, although generally agreed as to the quantity of food necessary for *bare existence*, are not so generally agreed as to the quantity necessary for *efficient* subsistence. For the convenience of the present argument the estimates referred to may here be briefly summarized. It should be stated that in the calculation of the *family* expenditure a wife has been estimated to require eight-tenths as much food as her husband, while two children have been reckoned as one adult.[2]

Statement showing the necessary weekly expenditure on food for a family of *five persons* on the scale of:—

[1] See p. 624.

[2] These proportions are based upon a comparison of the most generally accepted estimates.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
(1) Diet of indoor paupers in the *Whitechapel Workhouse* (assuming each child to receive half the quantity of food allowed to an adult pauper) .	0	13	9
(2) Diet of indoor paupers in the *St. Pancras Workhouse*	0	16	1[1]
(3) Professor Atwater's estimate of *cheapest rations* based on Professor Voit's standard for a "*labouring man at moderate work*," 12*s.* to 13*s.* 6*d.*, say .	0	12	9
(4) Regulation allowance (partial diet only) of a *British soldier* in time of peace	0	12	8
(5) Regulation diet of an *American soldier*	1	2	2
(6) Dr. Meinert's estimate (*i.e.*, for a ration with nutrients a little in excess of the standard for a labouring man at moderate work)	0	17	0
(7) Average weekly food expenditure of 237 men in an American workmen's boarding-house for a period of thirty-nine weeks	0	17	7
Average, 16*s.* per week.			

Now, without attempting to lay undue stress upon these figures, or to claim for them an exactness which they do not and cannot possess, it is nevertheless impossible, in the face of them, to avoid two conclusions: First, that, as things are at present, a large proportion of the working classes do not receive sufficient nourishment for *efficient* subsistence; and,

[1] If we assume the children to be fed on the same diet as the children in the workhouse schools, the cost would be 22*s.* per week.

secondly, that a much larger proportion have absolutely *no margin in their weekly incomes for expenditure upon alcoholic drinks.* It is unnecessary to do more than glance at the preceding figures to realize the truth of this. It will hardly be suggested, for example, that the diet of an indoor pauper is an extravagant diet for a robust working man or a busy working woman. On the contrary, it is clearly insufficient. The total allowance in the case of the Whitechapel pauper, according to Mrs. Barnett,[1] amounts to no more than "10½ oz. of carbonaceous food and 2¼ oz. of nitrogenous food, against the estimated quantity of 16 oz. carbonaceous and 4 oz. nitrogenous, which is the necessary allowance for ordinary people, and against the 25 oz. of carbonaceous and 5 oz. nitrogenous, which is the regulation diet of the Royal Engineers during peace." And yet even on this scanty diet the necessary weekly expenditure of a family of five persons (reckoning the three children as 1½ paupers) would amount to nearly 14*s.* per week, while on the somewhat higher scale of the St. Pancras Workhouse it would amount to 16*s.* per week. These sums, it must be remembered, represent the cost of the food *at cheap contract prices*, and not at the prices paid by the poor. But it is clearly impossible for an ordinary unskilled labourer to feed himself and his family on this pauper scale so long as he spends even the average amount of his class on drink. For instance, a weekly expenditure of 15*s.* per family on food (the mean of the two workhouse diets) added to an expenditure of 6*s.* per week on drink (the average of a working-class family) *would absorb the*

[1] *Practicable Socialism*, 2nd Edition (1894), p. 20.

entire family income of one and a third million persons in London alone, and leave absolutely nothing for rent, clothes, fuel, lighting, furniture, household utensils, etc. Even if we take the drink expenditure at a lower figure, namely, the 4*s.* 3*d.* per family stated by Mr. Mundella to be the average weekly expenditure of the poor in a district of East London, the result is practically the same, only 1*s.* 9*d. per week* being left out of an income of £1 1*s.* per week, for rent, clothes, fuel, lighting, etc. These figures refer, it must be remembered, to families of five persons. But, as every one knows, there are thousands of labourers' families that consist of six, seven, and eight persons. In all such cases the expenditure upon drink must force down the level of subsistence to a point that cannot be contemplated without dismay.

It may perhaps be said that the drinking habits of the poor are often provoked by non-nutrition; that ill-nourished bodies crave the momentary stimulus which alcoholic liquors give, and that the people are thus insensibly drawn into intemperance. That non-nutrition is often a *cause* as well as an *effect* of intemperance cannot be disputed. The evidence on the point is overwhelming. But this is far from being an economic justification of the expenditure. It is impossible even in such cases to overlook the fact that the money spent on alcohol would often go far, with good management, to supply the deficiency in diet. In any case, the very inadequacy of the means of subsistence makes it a matter of vital moment that there shall be a wise economy of expenditure. An official return, made in 1889, gives over 40,000 children in the London Board Schools, or

nearly 10 per cent. of the number on the roll, as habitually attending in want of food, to which number returns from Voluntary schools add about 11,000 in the same condition. "The returns," says Mr. Charles Booth, "were somewhat loosely made during a period of exceptional distress, and the figures are doubtless in excess of the facts; but there is abundant evidence that the aggregate of children underfed at home is deplorably large. . . . Puny, pale-faced, scantily clad, and badly shod, these small and feeble folk may be found sitting limp and chill on the school benches in all the poorer parts of London. They swell the bills of mortality as want and sickness thin them off, or survive to be the needy and enfeebled adults whose burden of helplessness the next generation will have to bear. Unhappily, in many cases, this semi-starved condition of the child is due not to poverty alone, but to drink, neglect, or vice at home. The practised eye can readily distinguish children of this class by their shrinking or furtive look, their unwholesomeness of aspect, their sickly squalor, or it may be by their indescribable pathos, the little shoulders bowed so helplessly beneath the burden of the parents' vice. 'How was it you came to school without any breakfast this morning?' I asked a forlorn little lad one day. 'Mother got drunk last night, and couldn't get up to give me any,' was the reply given, as if it were an ordinary incident in the child's daily life. It is from houses of this class also that the majority of children come whose irregular attendance is the torment of the teacher, and the cause of so much waste of the public money." [1]

In describing, a little later, the districts in which

[1] *Life and Labour of the People*, vol. III., pp. 207–8.

the lower class schools are found, Mr. Booth says: "Public-houses are usually abundant in a neighbourhood like this. Sometimes we find as many as one to every eighty or a hundred adults, all thriving on the custom they receive. It is not always easy to specify the individual drinkers, but with so many of these houses kept going by a population on the verge of pauperism, it is clear that the feeding of his children cannot in all cases be a first charge on the parent's earnings. Pawnshops, too, are handy of access; and in them may be often found the little jackets, boots, and petticoats, which account for the half-clad condition of the children in the schools."[1]

Elsewhere, in referring to a "Special Difficulty"[2] school, Mr. Booth says: "Under-feeding and irregular attendance, the teacher tells us, next to the stringency of the Code, are the two great difficulties with which they have to contend. Nearly a third of the children here have free tickets for the Penny Dinner Centre close by, and more are needing them. Many, but for these free meals, would starve; and to teach a starving child up to the requirements of the Code taxes not only a teacher's energies, but his conscience too. As usual, however, poverty alone is not to blame. One child after another we notice with the peculiarly squalid pallor that marks habitual underfeeding, and find that he comes from a drunken home. So with the attendance. A fixed set come well—some hardly ever miss. Others come indifferently well.

[1] *Life and Labour of the People*, vol. III., pp. 210–211.

[2] A "Special Difficulty" school is one containing any large proportion of children from drunken and irregular homes. There are 22 such schools in London, containing in all about 21,000 children.

And a fixed set, from 18 to 20 per cent., come badly, and these with scarcely an exception are from the worst and most irregular homes." [1]

Rent, Clothing, etc.

The matter becomes even more serious when we consider that food, although of first importance, is only *one* of the vital necessaries of life. "After food," says Professor Marshall, "the next necessaries of life and labour are clothing, house-room, and firing. When they are deficient, the mind becomes torpid, and ultimately the physical constitution is undermined." [2] "Even of those," says another economist,[3] "whose lot is more fortunate, but a very small proportion, in any of the older countries, have in their lodging the light and air which the least exacting hygiene declares to be essential to the harmonious development and adequate sustentation of the bodily powers." The "falling off in the quantity or quality of food and clothing, and in the convenience and healthfulness of the shelter enjoyed, will at once affect the efficiency of the labourer. With less food, which is the fuel of the human machine, less force will be generated; with less clothing, more force will be wasted by cold; with scantier and meaner quarters,

[1] In this connection it may be added that Mr. Wm. White, J.P., of Birmingham, in a recent communication to the present writer, states: "Having during the past ten years to deal as a magistrate with more than 14,000 cases of neglect of parents in not sending their children to school, *I do not hesitate to say that* 13,000 *of these cases originated through the drinking habits of the parents.*"

[2] *Principles of Economics*, 2nd Edition, p. 254.

[3] Walker, *The Wages Question*, p. 64.

a fouler air and diminished access to the light will prevent the food from being duly digested in the stomach, and the blood from being duly oxidized in the lungs; will lower the tone of the system, and expose the subject increasingly to the ravages of disease."[1]

The actual conditions under which large numbers of the working classes live are discussed so fully elsewhere[2] that they need not be further emphasized at this point. But the fact with which we are here concerned is, that, deplorable as those conditions too often are, they nevertheless entail so heavy and indispensable a charge upon the limited incomes of the people, as to make expenditure upon drink, from a strictly economic point of view, even more indefensible. A report issued by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade in 1889[3] showed that the cost of rent in the case of 34 working men[4] living in different parts of the country, varied from 12 to 20 per cent. of their total income,[5] the percentage increasing in inverse ratio to income. A proportion of one-fifth is certainly a serious charge upon the ordinary incomes of the working classes, but there can be no doubt that in our largest cities the proportion actually paid for rent is very much more than this. In Central London the average rent is six shillings per week *per room*, while in the crowded districts of Soho the rent of three-room tenements ranges from 14*s.* to 25*s.* per

[1] Walker, *The Wages Question*, pp. 84–5.

[2] See pp. 548–560.

[3] *Board of Trade Return*, C—5861. 1889.

[4] Of these 6 were miners; 5 joiners; 8 engineers; 2 shoemakers; 3 printers; 2 clerks; and 8 "general."

[5] The incomes ranged from £28 to £150 per annum, the *average* income being £73 per annum, or £1 8*s.* per week.

week.[1] Mr. Marchant Williams, an Inspector of Schools for the London School Board, found that 86 per cent. of the dwellers in certain poor districts of London pay more than one-fifth of their incomes in rent; 46 *per cent. paying from one-half to one-quarter.*[2]

In the face of such figures as these, can anything be more absolutely indefensible than an expenditure of from four to six shillings per week on drink? It is no part of the present inquiry to discuss the problem of high rents. Such a question lies outside the scope of the present argument. All that we are concerned here to show is, that, *rents being what they are*, the ordinary unskilled labourer who spends (either alone or in conjunction with his family) from four to six shillings per week on drink, is leaving himself and them no chance of a healthy and efficient existence. Nor is it the poorer class of labourers' families only who suffer. Even if we raise the limit of income to thirty shillings per week, the economies necessary to provide the drink expenditure must still be severe. A drink expenditure of six shillings per week, added to a rent of six shillings (the cost of a single room in Central London) would leave exactly eighteen shillings a week for food and all other purposes. If from this sum we deduct a further sum of fifteen shillings per week for food, there would remain a balance of *three shillings a week* for clothing, fuel, lighting, furniture, household utensils, medical attendance, recreation, thrift, and the hundred and one incidental expenses of ordinary domestic life. And even then the parents would only receive the diet of a workhouse pauper, and the children little more than *half* the diet

[1] See *Life in West London*, pp. 42–4.
[2] Hobson, *Problems of Poverty*, p. 10.

of a child in the St. Pancras Workhouse Schools. This, be it remembered, is for a family of *five* persons only (*i.e.* husband, wife, and *three* children). In the innumerable cases where there are more than three children in a family, the level of subsistence must fall still lower. "How is it done?" it may be asked. The answer is simply that it is not and cannot be done. If one-fifth of a limited income be spent in drink, economies must be practised somewhere, and since rent, reduced to its lowest limits by unwholesome crowding, remains an inflexible quantity, food must be stinted, and expenditure upon clothing, fuel, etc., reduced to limits that are not only relatively, but absolutely, destructive of efficiency.

We have no wish to labour the point. The facts are too ominous for more than bare statement, but they claim the gravest attention from those who desire to estimate the conditions of social well-being. They do not constitute the whole of the social problem, but they certainly represent one of its most serious elements.

Relation of Standard of Living to Industrial Efficiency.

If we look at the question from a merely industrial point of view, its gravity is sufficiently apparent. The economic position of nations is, to a large extent, one of food and of standard of living. "Wherever we see peoples and classes descending in their diet below the standard necessary for a moderate labourer, or barely reaching that limit, we may be confident that in the fight for work these peoples and classes will never fill but an inferior function, and will not

reach the higher rungs of the industrial ladder." [1] For what after all is labour? It is simply physical and muscular exertion made economically valuable by intellectual guidance. "The greater the intellectual force and physical power introduced by the labourer, co-operating with equally well-developed auxiliary and surrounding conditions, the greater must be the sum of the products created. But to this we must add the further and most important fact, that labour, be it ever so intelligently conducted, will always remain physical exertion. This is to say that labour is an expenditure of vital force. Unless this is replaced by wholesome nutrition (air, light, sanitation, and even cheerful surroundings, are part of wholesome nutrition) the frame will work itself out, and labour will become economically of smaller and smaller value." [2]

The older economic view—the view of the so-called Physiocrats especially—was based upon the now exploded theory that ill-paid (and, consequently, ill-nourished) labour lessened the cost of production. It limited the term "necessaries" to those things which were sufficient to enable the labourers, taken one with another, to support themselves and their families. "In happier times, however," as Professor Marshall reminds us, "a more careful analysis has brought into prominence the distinction between the necessaries for efficiency and the necessaries for existence, and has made it evident that there is for each rank of industry, at any time and place, a more or less clearly defined income which is necessary for merely sustaining its members; while there is another and larger

[1] Nitti, "The Food and Labour Power of Nations," *Economic Journal*, March, 1896.

[2] Schoenhof, *The Economy of High Wages*, p. 392.

income which is necessary for keeping it in full efficiency. Thus, in the South of England population has increased during the present century at a fair rate, allowance being made for migration. But the efficiency of labour, which in earlier times was as high as that in the North of England, has sunk relatively to the North; so that the low-waged labour of the South is often dearer than the more highly paid labour of the North. This indicates that we cannot say whether the labourers in the South have been supplied with Necessaries, unless we know in which of these two senses the word is used. They have had the bare necessaries for existence and the increase of numbers, but they have not had the necessaries for efficiency." [1]

"What the employer will get out of his workman," says another well-known economist,[2] "will depend very much on what he first gets into him. Not only are bone and muscle to be built up and kept up by food, but every stroke of the arm involves an expenditure of nervous energy which is to be supplied only through the alimentary canal. What a man can do in twenty-four hours will depend very much on what he can have to eat in those twenty-four hours; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, what he has had to eat the twenty-four hours previous. If his diet be liberal, his work may be mighty. If he be underfed, he must underwork. So far away as the Hundred Years' War Englishmen were accustomed to assign a more generous diet as the reason why their 'beef-fed knaves' so easily vanquished their traditional enemies, and even into this century, the island writers were

[1] *Principles of Economics*, 2nd Edition, p. 120.
[2] Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–5.

accustomed to speak as if still for the same reason, in work at least if not in war,

> 'Upon one pair of English legs did march three Frenchmen.' [1]

"Of course in this, as in every other department of expenditure, there is an economical maximum, where the greatest proportional return is received. . . . With the labourer the economical maximum of expenditure on food is reached far short of the point at which 'gorging and guzzling' begin; it shuts off everything that partakes of luxury or ministers to delicacy; yet till that maximum be reached every addition to food brings a proportional, or more than proportional, addition of working strength. To stop far short of that limit and starve the labouring man is as bad economy as to rob the engine of its fuel."

The matter is not one of theory but of practical experience. "One of the most intelligent manufacturers I ever met," says Dr. Gould, the Special Commissioner of the United States Labour Department,[2] "told me a few years ago he would be only too glad to pay higher wages to his working people, provided they would spend the excess legitimately and not hoard it." A similar remark is quoted by Mr. Schoenhof:[3] "'They don't eat and don't work,' said a shoe manufacturer of Vienna, when we compared notes on the productiveness of Austrian and German labour and of American labour. 'Bread and beer-

[1] "Each Frenchman consumes on an average 16 oz. of wheaten bread a day; each Englishman 32 oz.; the former 1¾ oz. of meat; the latter 6 oz."—Alison, *Europe*, 1815–51, chap. VII., sec. 126.

[2] *Contemporary Review*, January, 1893.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

swilling and an occasional bit of sausage cannot give strength sufficient to compete with you.'" [1] It is necessary, of course, in pursuing this argument to distinguish between two different forms or aspects of efficiency. "There is the efficiency due to sheer strength, brute force, and endurance; and there is the efficiency due to the cultivated and intelligent skill of the trained artizan. There is the efficiency that is born of the improvement of processes and machinery, in which the worker not only generally bears a subordinate part, but in consequence of which he is often transformed from a subtle thinker and a deft worker, into a self-acting tool; and there is the efficiency consequent upon the possession and exercise of higher skill and greater concentration of energy." [2]

The demand for "brute force" is no longer what it was when the man's hand and arm turned the spinning wheel and drove the shuttle. At the present time, thanks to improvements in machinery, less than one-sixth of the industrial classes in England are engaged on work requiring special muscular exertion. The force exerted by steam-engines alone is more than twenty times as much as could be done by the muscles

[1] Another American economist (Mr. Edward Atkinson), in a work published in 1886, says: "It has been found expedient for the employers of labour in certain brickyards of Massachusetts and Connecticut to serve their workmen with a supply of the best food which represents in its chemical proportions, as well as in its calorics, twice the ration which is served to the soldier of the German army when upon a forced march, or when engaged in the most arduous struggle of active service in war, in order to promote the largest production of brick per man at the lowest cost to the employer."—*The Food Question in America and Europe.*

[2] J. S. Jeans, *Statistical Journal*, December, 1892.

of all Englishmen.[1] But, great as the change has been, it cannot be said to have encouraged the lowering of the standards of efficiency, nor to have made it possible for ill-nourished and ill-developed workers to compete more successfully with their rivals at home and abroad. The demand for muscular exertion has been replaced by a demand for attention and skill, and the standards of necessary efficiency have been by so much enhanced. "Though as a rule," says a writer already quoted,[2] "machinery tends to take over the heavier forms of muscular work, it also tends to multiply the minor calls upon the muscles, until the total strain is not much less than before. What relief is obtained from muscular effort is compensated by a growing strain upon the nerves and upon the attention. Moreover, as the machinery grows more complex, numerous, and costly, the responsibility of the machine-tender is increased. To some considerable extent the new effort imposed upon the worker is of a more refined order than the heavy muscular work it has replaced. But its tax upon the physique is an ever-growing one. 'A hand-loom weaver can work thirteen hours a day, but to get a six-loom weaver to work thirteen hours is a physical impossibility.' The complexity of modern machinery, and the superhuman celerity of which it is capable, suggest continually an increased compression of human labour, an increased output of effort per unit of time. This has been rendered possible by acquired skill and improved physique ensuing on a higher standard of living."

[1] Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

[2] Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, p. 276.

Changes in Industrial Competition.

It is the more necessary to concentrate attention on this point by reason of changes that are rapidly shifting the centres of commercial activity and intensifying the forces of industrial competition. In the commercial world things are not as they were. Other nations have been moving up to our own standards of efficiency, so that British labour "does not enjoy the same incontestably high relative position that it formerly did." The fact, in short, as Mr. Benjamin Kidd has lately reminded us,[1] has "begun to make itself more and more distinctly felt that the competing nations in most cases possess but little advantage one over the other, and that the probable tendency is for even this to become less." Within the last thirty years Germany, Belgium, and even Russia, have transformed themselves economically. The two former especially are now highly developed industrial States claiming a large share of the world's markets; while we are also face to face with the unprecedented competition of the United States. The conditions of industrial competition are, therefore, wholly changed, and the question of efficiency—mental and physical—has become one of paramount importance.

At present our most highly equipped—and therefore most formidable—competitors are our kinsmen across the Atlantic. America is commercially formidable, not merely because of her gigantic enterprise and almost illimitable resources, but because, as recent investigations have shown,[2] her workers are better nourished and possess a relatively higher efficiency.

[1] *The Control of the Tropics*, p. 4.

[2] See *Sixth and Seventh Annual Reports of the U.S. Commissioner of Labour, Washington.*

Dr. E. R. L. Gould, in a survey of the results of a most exhaustive inquiry recently undertaken by the United States Labour Department, says: "A second element in a just social standard for an industrial labourer is food. We see from the double column wherein the figures are portrayed, that in practically every instance, the largest absolute but the smallest relative sum falls to the American. Does this mean that the family of the working man in America is better nourished than abroad? I believe it does, and principally for two reasons: the family in the United States is smaller, and therefore with the largest sum of money spent the amount *per capita* is considerably greater. But does higher expenditure mean more food? We may answer affirmatively, because a greater quantity of the principal articles in a working man's menu can be had for an equal amount of money in the New World."[1]

The conclusion which Dr. Gould thus reaches is made evident by the following table which Professor Nitti has compiled from Dr. Gould's data.[2] Taking 100 as the price of any given commodity in the United States, Professor Nitti finds that the European nations in which inquiry has been made stand in the following relations:—

Commodity.	United States.	Belgium.	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.
Meat	100	147	150	123	152
Potatoes . . .	100	70	103	50	119
Butter . . .	100	109	104	122	135
Sugar . . .	100	151	50	119	184
Coffee	100	113	140	119	167

[1] *The Contemporary Review*, January, 1893, pp. 139–40. See also Appendix, p. 635.

[2] See *Economic Journal*, March, 1896, p. 39.

The great superiority of working-class nutriment in the United States comes out still more clearly in the subjoined table.

Commodity.	100 representing quantity consumed in U.S., the European workmen[1] consumes :
Meat	33
Bacon (or fat)	50
Eggs	85
Butter	100
Flour	100
Potatoes	175
Sugar	25
Coffee	85

"The columns in which expenditure for alcoholic drinks are exposed," says Dr. Gould, "present food for serious reflection. National pride will no doubt be flattered to learn that American families spend the smallest sums for this purpose. Not only so, but there must also be a smaller *per capita* consumption, since the prices of alcoholic drinks are higher in the New World. Still, this is only a partial satisfaction. If we conceive that the American spends too much, the European, to whom the struggle for existence is keener, wastes more." In summing up the results of the inquiry, Dr. Gould says: "What inferences are we to draw from the foregoing statistics? Unmistakably this, that higher daily wages in America do not mean a correspondingly enhanced labour cost to the manufacturer. But why so? . . . The real explanation I believe to be, that greater physical force,

[1] The figures refer to the *average* consumption of the British, Belgian, German and French workmen (taken together) employed in the industries investigated.

as the result of better nourishment in combination with superior intelligence and skill, make the working man in the United States more efficient. His determination to maintain a high standard of life causes him to put forth greater effort, and this reacts to the benefit of the employer as well as to his own. We should give the principal credit of the higher wages in America neither to the manufacturer, the tariff, nor any other agency, but the working man himself, who will not labour for less than will enable him to live on a high social plane. That he can carry out his policy with but little disadvantage to his employer in economic competition, teaches a lesson of far-reaching importance. Instead of a Ricardian *régime*, where the wages of labour become barely sufficient to permit a sustentation of effort and a reproduction of kind, it looks as if ere long the world's industrial supremacy would pass to those who earn the most and live the best." [1]

We are then face to face with this supreme necessity: Either we must grapple with the forces that undermine our national strength and weaken our industrial efficiency, or be content to fall behind in the struggle for commercial supremacy. Nations, like animals, as the late Lord Playfair long ago reminded us,[2] "have their changing struggles for existence. To remain prosperous they must possess the conditions which Herbert Spencer prescribes for individual welfare: 'a constant progress towards a higher degree of skill, intelligence, and self-regulation—a better co-ordination of actions; a more

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 151–52. See also on the same subject the *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour* (1896).

[2] *Subjects of Social Welfare*, p. 309.

complete life.'" The actual material wealth of our cities, as another careful thinker points out,[1] is "simply in their effective population plus their effective material surroundings. Here, then, the question again is of life and surroundings, of 'organism and environment,' of evolution or degeneration, and it is best to treat it so. The working classes, like any other, will be in well-being in proportion as they become healthy organisms, leading fuller lives in richer surroundings both of art and nature, adjusted to satisfy all their needs alike, not only the fundamental but the supreme ones; and they are in ill-being until some approximation to that state of affairs is reached. Remedies are indeed offered on all hands . . . panaceas for every symptom of our disordered social state are also proffered, but the social disease lies deeper. Reproduction has outrun individuation; the mere growth of our cities has outrun their real development. Our progress is as yet only 'quantity not quality.' . . . Remedial treatment then demands a raising of the whole character and aims of our civilization, yet this would only be the sum of that raised and ennobled standard of individual living, at which no one need think it Utopian to aim. . . . Only thus can we ever hope to realize the aim of practical economics, which is not illusory progress visible only in census returns and bank ledgers, but is the progressive development of the highest human and social life—not the Increase of Wealth, but the Ascent of Man."

[1] Patrick Geddes, *The Conditions of Progress of the Capitalist and of the Labourer.*

Temperance and the "Standard of Life."

It is as we pursue this line of inquiry that we find the true answer to the familiar objection that Temperance, by lowering the standard of a working man's requirements, tends to endanger the standard of wages. The objection is plausible enough to give it an appearance of weight; but none the less it is entirely misleading. It starts by assuming two utterly erroneous propositions. First, that materialistic considerations are the only factors in economic progress; and, secondly, that the standard of life is a fixed and permanent standard, in which, moreover, alcohol has a recognised and natural place. It will be convenient to consider these conclusions conjointly; indeed, they cannot strictly be separated. To begin with, it is a serious mistake to assume that the standard of life is a fixed and invariable quantity. On the contrary, it is always relative to a given time and place, and to a given set of moral and intellectual conditions. Moreover, it is affected, both directly and indirectly, by every fresh achievement in the physical, intellectual, and moral progress of the individual and of the community. The habitual drunkard requires (*i.e.* is satisfied with) little food, little or no intellectual stimulus, and few interests. The sober man, on the other hand, requires more, and better, food; greater decencies; and wider and more varied interests. In a word, he is ever reaching forward towards a higher standard of life. Hence it is that we may safely assert (what, indeed, we know historically to be the fact) that sobriety, as a part of the moral advancement of mankind, so far from diminishing, tends unfailingly to raise the standard of life, and there-

fore the standard of wages also.[1] Further, as has been pointed out, the objection assumes that alcohol has a necessary and natural place in the standard of life. So far from this being the case, it has been clearly shown that indulgence in alcoholic drinks (so far as a large proportion of the workers are concerned) can only be maintained by *lowering* the standard of life. As a matter of fact, it may safely be asserted that if the reforms herein advocated became effective to-morrow they would in no way endanger the standard of wages, especially as we are still, unhappily, very far from having attained—in the case of unskilled labour especially—to that minimum standard of life which is essential to efficiency.

It would not, indeed, be difficult to show that the presence in our cities of large numbers of those who have been made "unfit" by habits of vice and intemperance "creates a costly and often unavailing struggle to raise the standard of life and health." In many branches of unskilled labour moral factors count

[1] "Let us take the term the Standard of Life to mean the Standard of Activities and of Wants. Thus a rise in the Standard of Living implies an increase of intelligence, and energy and self-respect; leading to more care and judgment in expenditure, and to an avoidance of food and drink that gratify the appetite but afford no strength, and of ways of living that are unwholesome physically and morally. A rise in the Standard of Life for the whole population will much increase the National Dividend, and the share of it which accrues to each grade and to each trade; and a rise in the Standard of Life for any one trade or grade will raise their efficiency and their own real wages; while it will at the same time enable others to obtain their assistance at a cost somewhat less in proportion to its efficiency, and of course it will increase the National Dividend a little."—Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 738.

for very little. In some of them the demand even for physical efficiency is not very great, so that they provide room for men who have impoverished their standard of life by wasteful expenditure and who are content to be employed at low and inadequate wages. It is the competition of these men in many branches of unskilled labour that really endangers the wages of unskilled labour.

In his presidential address to the Royal Statistical Society in 1892, Mr. Charles Booth said :—

"In 1887, when I was considering dock employment as a principal East End industry, I found the position to be very hopeless as well as very unsatisfactory. The employers were content, and the men, though far from content, were entirely unorganized. The dock managers accepted the crowd and the struggle at the dock gates as an inevitable phenomenon which happened to fit in well with the conditions of their trade. They could always be sure of sufficient labour, and though its quality might be bad, its pay was correspondingly low." [1] It is true that evils such as this are largely remediable by improved organization, and trade unions have done, in this respect, an invaluable service to labour. But it must never be forgotten that to be economically effective trade unions require —and indeed must have—moral efficiency in their members. It is singular how slow we are, in our study of economic facts, to realize the importance of the moral factor, to perceive that it is really the ultimate and most effective instrument of economic reform. Eliminate it, and progress is made impossible. We are left with nothing but a lifeless mechanism of reform—a lever without driving power or fulcrum.

[1] *Statistical Journal*, December, 1892, p. 522.

Intemperate Consumption of Alcohol.

There is another aspect of the question still to be considered, and that is the direct and unquestionable loss that results from intemperate drinking. That much of the indulgence in alcoholic drinks is excessive and wasteful is not seriously disputed. Opinions, it is true, differ as to the proportion of the total consumption that may be so regarded, and the amount at the best can only be approximately determined; but even at the lowest computation it certainly forms a not inconsiderable proportion of the whole. Professor Leone Levi, in his evidence before the Lords' Committee in 1877, estimated the amount of intemperate consumption at one-fifth of the total consumption. "Assuming," he said, "the consumption by the temperate at sixty gallons of beer and two gallons of spirits in England, and three gallons in Scotland and Ireland per annum, I calculate that out of 1,100,000,000 gallons of beer consumed, about 900,000,000 gallons would be consumed by the temperate, and 200,000,000 gallons, probably, by the intemperate; and that out of the 42,000,000 gallons of spirit consumed, 33,000,000 will be consumed by the temperate, and 9,000,000 probably by the intemperate." And again: "Of this large consumption, a very considerable proportion is used by the temperate in a temperate manner. Only a small proportion—I do not imagine more than 23 per cent. of spirits and 13 per cent. of beer—constitutes the consumption of the intemperate which may be considered as actual waste." [1]

Even if we assume the proportion to be as low as is

[1] *Evidence of the Lords' Committee on Intemperance*, qq. 9,742 and 9,762.

here suggested,[1] it would follow that upwards of £23,500,000 were spent in 1899 in intemperate and wasteful drinking.

Mr. Dudley Baxter's estimate is very much higher than this. The figures which he gives for 1869, and which are quoted elsewhere,[2] show that 38 per cent. of the total consumption of spirits, and 32 per cent. of the total consumption of beer, must in that year have represented *intemperate* consumption. If we make the most liberal allowance for a more general diffusion of wealth and a consequent increase in the amount of *temperate* consumption in the interval, and reduce the proportions which Mr. Baxter gives to 30 per cent. and 25 per cent. respectively, it would follow that £38,700,000 were spent in 1899 in intemperate and wasteful drinking.

The Committee of the British Association, in their report on the subject in 1882, emphasized the elements of "luxury" and "wastefulness" even more strongly. After discussing the general distribution of the national expenditure under various heads, the Committee proceed :—

"On examination of the component parts of these various items of expenditure it will be found that, whilst the expenditure on articles of food consists mostly of necessaries, the expenditure on drink includes a large amount for beer, spirits, and wines, only a small portion of which, probably 20 per cent., can

[1] It must be borne in mind that expenditure may be intemperate and wasteful far short of actual drunkenness. "Social drinking," for example, on the part of young men and others, may bear no fruits in insobriety, and yet still be wasteful in the sense that it bears no relation to spending capacity.

[2] See Appendix, p. 619.

be supposed to be necessary, *the remainder being either pure luxury or sheer waste.*"

The true comment upon these figures is supplied in the closing words of the same report. After pointing out that the subject under consideration (*i.e.* the right appropriation of wages) is "of the highest practical importance," the Committee proceed: "It is erroneous to imagine that it does not matter how money is expended, whether productively or unproductively, provided it gives labour to the people, or provided the money expended remains at home; for while in one case the object produced remains, and, like capital, becomes serviceable for further production, in the other the object produced is either useless or utterly wasted. What is expended productively is never consumed. It reproduces itself again and again. What is expended unproductively is lost." [1]

This aspect of the question is wisely emphasized. In the discussion of the economic bearings of the Temperance problem by the representatives of the "Trade," it is too often forgotten that a reduction of expenditure in what is admittedly non-productive consumption would proportionately increase the amount of money available for productive consumption. In this connection it is unnecessary to assume—what is invariably assumed by the apologists of the Trade—the total suppression of the traffic and a consequent wholesale displacement of labour. That is a result which, it is safe to say, is entirely improbable, and, in the present state of public feeling, impracticable. It will be wiser to consider the economic results of a reduction to, say, the limits of the drink consumption

[1] *Report of the British Association*, 1882, p. 304.

of the United States. Such a reduction, as we shall shortly show, would mean the possible transfer from non-productive to productive expenditure of an annual sum amounting to nearly £66,000,000. That the greater part of this vast sum would, as a matter of fact, be spent productively—*i.e.* in the encouragement of productive industries—cannot be doubted, nor can the economic value of such a transfer easily be exaggerated. But it is not necessary for the purposes of the economic argument to contemplate even so reasonable a reduction as the foregoing. There are other incontestable figures available. No one, for example, will question the economic wastefulness of intemperate drinking, and yet this, to take only a basis of calculation that the "Trade" itself does not contest,[1] must have represented an expenditure in 1899 of upwards of £23,500,000; while if we take as the basis of calculation the opinion of the Committee of experts appointed by the British Association in 1881 and 1882, out of a total expenditure of £162,000,000, in 1899, only £32,400,000 can be regarded as "necessary" expenditure, the remainder (*i.e.* £129,600,000) "being either pure luxury or sheer waste." If these sums, or any considerable proportion of them, had been spent on useful or necessary commodities, the economic gain to the nation would have been enormous. Such considerations are, indeed, so obvious as to need little emphasis, but they cannot be excluded from any serious discussion of the economic results of the traffic. It was a recognition of their importance that led the late Lord Randolph Churchill to make pronounced and public reference to them,[2] and that

[1] See *The Fallacies of Teetotalers* (Peter Walker & Son, Ltd.)

[2] "Imagine what a prodigious social reform, what a bound

caused Richard Cobden to declare that "the Temperance cause lies at the foundation of all social and political reform."

The Loss to the Revenue.

But another and more practical objection claims attention. There is a somewhat widespread impression that the efforts of Temperance reformers are "adverse to the interests of the [Imperial] Exchequer, and that were these labours to be crowned with success, the minister who is charged with providing the ways and means of meeting the national expenditure would be puzzled from what source to raise the money which is now so easily procured through the agency of the brewer and distiller." At the present time the taxes imposed upon the traffic yield an annual sum of £36,000,000, and it is urged that if Temperance reformers had their way this £36,000,000 would not be forthcoming, but would have to be raised "by an enormous increase in the Income Tax, or by some other means of taxation." In a general way it might perhaps be sufficient to reply that the objection presupposes the *immediate* and *total* extinction of the traffic. So far from this being possible, it is probable

in advance we should have made, if we could curb and control this devilish and destructive liquor traffic; if we could manage to remove from amongst us what I have called on former occasions the fatal facility of recourse to the beer-house, which besets every man and woman, and really one may almost say every child of the working-classes of England; if we could divert from that drink and from that source of expenditure at any rate a considerable portion only of the £100,000,000 or more which this nation thinks it necessary at present every year to spend in drink; if we could direct that expenditure to objects more civilized."—*Speech at Walsall*, July, 1889.

that few Temperance reformers look for a greater *immediate* result than a reduction of the traffic by one-half (*i.e.* to the level of the United States)—a proportion that would reduce the amount of revenue derived from the traffic by £18,000,000. The matter is, however, so intimately bound up with the economics of the Temperance movement that it will be well to give it fuller consideration here. Apart altogether from the strictly moral aspects of the question,[1] it is important to point out that it is entirely contrary to the truest economic interests of a country to raise revenue in such a way that its material resources are impaired. The objection, to have force, would require to show that the revenue derived from the liquor trade was a *net* gain to the imperial treasury, subject to no deductions or counter-claims in the shape of both direct and indirect losses to the community arising out of the results of the traffic. So far from this being the case, it is matter of common knowledge and concern that very considerable charges, amounting, at the lowest estimate, to many millions sterling,[2] are annually incurred in directly combating the results of the traffic which provides the revenue. To

[1] Mr. Ruskin has said that "drunkenness is not only the cause of crime, but that it *is* crime; and that if any encourage drunkenness for the sake of the profit derived from the sale of drink, they are guilty of a form of moral assassination as criminal as any that has ever been practised by the bravos of any country or of any age."

[2] "It must be borne in mind that at least one-half of the taxes accruing from drink are expended by the State in preventing, punishing, and repairing evils the result of that drink being consumed." Bourne, "The Taxation of Alcohol."—*Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1882, p. 638.

estimate the real effect of an abolition or, what is more practicable, a large reduction of the drink traffic, upon the revenue of the country, it would be necessary to make full allowance for these. In the Appendix to this volume[1] an attempt has been made to trace the part which intemperance plays in the production of pauperism, insanity, crime, etc. The estimates there given, it is hardly necessary to say, do not claim to be more than approximately correct, but they embody the results of a careful analysis of the most important evidence on the subject. In considering the loss which they represent to the community, it must be remembered that the figures themselves cover but a small part of the actual impoverishment which the community suffers in respect of the evils described. It might be possible, for example, to estimate, at least approximately, the minimum proportion of crime that is due, directly or indirectly, to intemperance in drink, and to charge that proportion against the aggregate cost to the nation of the administration of justice and the maintenance of our prison system. But this is not all. "Each criminal has his one or more victims whose life, health, property, or time he destroys or wastes. No one who has ever attended our criminal courts but must be aware that the expense borne by the State in the apprehension, trial, and punishment of the wrongdoer is but a portion of the cost of his crime."[2] Moreover, there is the further loss to the community through the withdrawal of the criminal from productive labour. "Treating each child as an investment of capital to

[1] See p. 636.

[2] Bourne, "The National Expenditure upon Alcohol." — *Statistical Journal*, June, 1882.

be applied productively in honest industry," says Sir Edwin Chadwick, "it is a total loss if he fail from moral defaults. If he turn mendicant, pauper, or thief, he will still levy a maintenance on the public; as a thief most wastefully by spoil, as a criminal in prison or in convict establishments, he will be kept unproductively, generally at double the expense of maintaining a pauper. The insurance table would give him, from the tenth year, the chances of forty years of life and waste, and this waste would be underestimated at the keep of a pauper, or a total loss of £480 on every case of failure."[1]

So too in respect of other results of the drink traffic. It is a sufficiently serious social fact that during the five years 1892–96 the number of deaths in England and Wales directly referred to intemperance was 10,220, or an average of 2,044 per year.[2] But these figures fail even remotely to suggest the loss which the community suffers from the sickness and disease that result from excessive drinking. The late Sir Andrew Clark, in referring to the matter, said: "I do not desire to make out a strong case; I desire to make out a *true* case. I am speaking solemnly and carefully in the presence of truth, and I tell you I am considerably within the mark when I say to you that going the round of my hospital wards to-day, *seven* out of every *ten* there *owed their ill-health to alcohol.* Now what does that mean? That out of every hundred patients whom I have charge of at the London Hospital,[3] 70 per cent. of them directly owe their

[1] *Statistical Journal*, vol. XXV., p. 519.

[2] See Appendix, pp. 665–6.

[3] Situate in the East End of London, between Whitechapel and Mile End.

ill-health to alcohol—to the abuse? I do not say these 70 per cent. were drunkards, but to the excessive use. I do not know that one of them was a drunkard."[1] And again: "I am not saying, because I have no means of saying, in human life in society at large, what is the percentage of victims which alcohol seizes upon as its rightful prey. I do not know. I have no method of coming accurately to the conclusion, but I know this, that not only do a large percentage of such diseases as I have mentioned, but a great mass—certainly more than three-fourths—of the disorders in what we call 'fashionable life,' arise from the use of this very drug of which I am now speaking."[2]

What these figures represent in actual monetary loss to the community it is impossible to compute.[3] This much, however, we do know: that "Public Health is Public Wealth." "Every man," says Sir James Simpson,[4] "who is obstructed by sickness from working his work and doing his duty as a citizen, is necessarily a loss to the revenues of the State at large. If we have a community of ten thousand, with one hundred sick, the wealth producing power of this hundred is not only taken from the public purse, but

[1] Sir Andrew Clark, *The Action of Alcohol upon Health*, p. 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[3] The late Sir Edwin Chadwick, in his Presidential Address to the Economic Section of the British Association in 1862, said: "The actual waste of capital in England and Wales, from the loss of labour, from excessive sickness and premature mortality, I estimate at the very least at between fourteen and fifteen millions per annum."—*Statistical Journal*, vol. XXV., p. 507.

[4] Address on Public Health.—*Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science* (Belfast), 1867.

ten or twenty more additional citizens have to be told off to attend to them in their sickness, and during their term of illness the sustenance of the sick and their attendants is required to be obtained from public or private sources. But, further, if from the severity of the disease, five or ten adults, fathers or mothers, in this hundred die, the consequent loss to the community is difficult to calculate, as their children might require to be sustained, and the status of their families be deteriorated morally and materially. It is impossible, indeed, to estimate in mere yellow gold the value of the life of a father, however humble a mechanic he may be, cut down prematurely by disease and death." It is the consideration of facts such as these that shows how misleading (from the larger view of national well-being) the appeal to the fiscal argument really is. The effective answer to it was given by Sir Robert (then Mr.) Giffen, nearly twenty years ago. Speaking before the Royal Statistical Society of London in 1882, Mr. Giffen said: "If with regard to any article they could say definitely that a certain part of the use of it was absolutely injurious to the people at the time they were consuming it, and that it produced a certain loss of time, and disease and sickness resulted from its use, then there was an economic waste arising from the consumption of alcoholic liquors, which could be spoken of apart from any theories of total abstinence or the reverse, and this waste, which everybody must recognise, whether total abstainers or not, must be very large indeed. Professor Levi had very properly drawn attention to some calculations which might be made upon the statistics of crime and pauperism, in contradiction to estimates which were made by those intimately acquainted with the con-

dition of the people; but looking at the balance of evidence, he (Mr. Giffen) thought the very small percentage which the Professor arrived at was hardly supported, and they could not but come to the conclusion that of the hundred million pounds, which must be admitted to be spent by the people on alcoholic liquors, a very large part was wasteful expenditure. Even if it were one-fourth only, or twenty-five million pounds, that was an enormous sum, and that was entirely irrespective of the waste to the country from crime and pauperism, which, on Mr. Bourne's figures, would not be less than another twenty-five million pounds. These two sums amounted to fifty million pounds,[1] which was quite large enough to justify, in an economic view, all the complaints about the evils of intemperance, and the opinion that there would be an immense gain to the country if the evil could be removed." [2]

The view thus expressed by Sir Robert Giffen has been shared, for more than a century, by many of the ablest financiers and social students that the country has known.[3] Sir Frederic Eden, in referring to the matter in his great work on *The State of*

[1] It is interesting to note in this connection that the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1834 to inquire "into the extent, causes, and consequences of the prevailing vice of intoxication among the labouring classes of the United Kingdom" estimated "the mere pecuniary loss to the nation" from the evils of the drink traffic at a similar amount (*i.e.*, "little short of fifty millions sterling per annum").

[2] *Statistical Journal*, June, 1882.

[3] So far back as 1729 we find John Disney, magistrate and divine in his *View of Ancient Laws against Immorality and Profaneness*, putting forward similar views. "I deny," he says, "the assertion that the revenue of ye crown will really be impaired by prohibiting tipling and drunk^ss^ . . . 3 parts in 4

the Poor (published in 1797), says: "For Government to offer encouragement to ale-houses is to act the part of a *felo de se*. Nor ought the public ever to be lulled into an acquiescence by the flattering bait of immediate gain, which ere long they would be obliged to *pay back to paupers in relief, with a heavy interest*." Thirty years later (in 1830) we find a Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goulburn) declaring in the House of Commons that, "so far from the Government desiring to promote the consumption of spirits, they would rather see the people refrain from them altogether."[1] Forty years later, Mr. Dudley Baxter, whose right to be heard on all matters of imperial finance no one will question, wrote: "Take away excessive temptation, and you will greatly reduce excessive drinking. No one could lament a deficit in the Taxes on Alcohol caused by such a measure. On the contrary, it would be most desirable in the true interests of the nation."[2] The declaration of Mr. Gladstone was even more pronounced. Replying to a deputation of brewers who had intimated that his proposed course of action in regard to

of the pore families in this kingdom have been reduced to want chiefly by haunting Taverns or Ale-houses. Especy labouring men, who very often consume there on the Lord's day what they have gotten all the week before, & let their families beg or steal for a subsistence the week follg. . . . Now I suppose you will grant me that as the No. of poor & ruined families encreases in a nation, the Prince that governs must find a proportionable decay in his Revenue. On the other side, all such laws duly executed as keep men by sobriety tempce & frugality in a thriving condition, do most effectually provide for the happiness of the people & for the riches of the Prince."

[1] Speech in the House of Commons, June 4th, 1830.

[2] *The Taxation of the United Kingdom*, p. 149.

the malt tax duties would greatly affect the imperial revenue, he said: "Gentlemen, you need not give yourselves any trouble about the revenue. The question of revenue must never stand in the way of needed reforms. Besides, with a sober population, not wasting their earnings, I shall know where to obtain the revenue." Finally, the testimony of a distinguished political opponent of Mr. Gladstone may be quoted as completing the chain of argument. In the course of his Budget speech in the House of Commons on April 16th, 1874, the late Lord Iddesleigh (then Sir Stafford Northcote) said: "The main feature of the year was the great increase on Customs and Excise; and, as the House will probably be prepared to hear, far too large a proportion of the increase from both these sources of Revenue was due to the consumption of spirits. That is a matter which, if it be in some sense one of financial congratulation, is a much greater and higher matter of regret." And again: "I refer, as one main source of possible addition to the Revenue, to the vast increase in the consumption of spirits. You may say that it is a very dangerous thing to rely upon. It is dangerous and not very pleasant, I admit, to rely upon the increase in the consumption of spirits as a source of future Revenue. It may also be said that the time may come when a check will come, and that source of Revenue may fail you. I have asked myself how is it that you expect this source of Revenue will fail? . . . It must be from one of two causes—either from some general failure of the consuming power of the people—from some failure in their ability to purchase spirits, the will remaining as it was—or from some great change in the habits of the

people, inducing them to abandon the use of such enormous quantities of ardent spirits. If it were the former, it would tell upon all the sources of Revenue just as well as upon that derived from spirits. . . . But if the reduction of the Revenue derived from spirits be due to the other cause—if it should be due to a material and considerable change in the habits of the people and to increasing habits of temperance and abstinence from the use of ardent spirits—*I venture to say that the amount of wealth such a change would bring to the nation would utterly throw into the shade the amount of Revenue that is now derived from the spirit duty*, and we should not only see with satisfaction a diminution of the Revenue from such a cause, but we should find in various ways that the Exchequer would not suffer from the losses which it might sustain in that direction." [1]

The fundamental defect in the fiscal argument—as all these extracts show—is that it tacitly assumes that money that is spent on alcoholic liquors only comes into existence when the liquors are bought; or that if not spent on alcohol it must "take some impalpable, untaxable form and diffuse itself in expenditures from which no Chancellor of the Exchequer could draw any profit." It forgets that all expenditures are not equally productive, and that non-productive expenditures, from the view of highest national progress, are essentially wasteful. It is well to tax such expenditures, but "it is puerile to be glad that there should be a great deal of such expenditure to be taxed, as if a source of revenue were created by its own wasteful use, or as if it would run dry if it were used not wastefully but frugally and reproductively. England

[1] *Hansard's Debates.*

can drink much beer because she is rich; she is not rich because she drinks much beer."[1]

Comparison with the United States.

But apart from any question of the absolute economic importance of the figures of drink expenditure in this country, they have a comparative significance which it may be well at this point to consider. If, for example, we take the corresponding figures for the United States—a country whose racial traditions are sufficiently akin to our own to make the comparison a fair one—and compare them with our own, the result is both interesting and suggestive.

The following tables give the average *per capita* consumption of spirits, wine, and beer, together with the *per capita* consumption of absolute alcohol, in both countries for the five years 1894–1898:—

	United Kingdom. *English Gallons.*	United States. *English Gallons.*
Spirits	1·00	·93
Wine	·39	·28
Beer	30·60	12·60
Absolute Alcohol	2·08	1·00

That is to say, the *per capita* consumption of absolute alcohol in the United States is barely one-half (48 per cent.) of the *per capita* consumption in the United Kingdom.[2]

If, therefore, we could reduce our national con-

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, November 4th, 1898.

[2] The alcoholic strength of beer has been taken at 4 per cent. in America and 5 per cent. in the United Kingdom. The alcoholic strength of wine has been taken at 15 per cent. in both countries.

sumption of alcoholic liquors to even the measure of the American consumption—a by no means extreme suggestion—our national drink bill would at once be reduced by £66,000,000 [1]—a sum that is equal to (*a*) more than one-half of the national revenue, or (*b*) more than three times the amount of the Share Capital of all the Industrial and Provident (Co-operative) Societies registered under the Industrial and Provident Acts in the United Kingdom.

Or, to put it in another way, the amount saved by this moderate reduction in the consumption of alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom would be sufficient not only to provide all the funds needed for a national scheme of Old Age Pensions (*i.e.*, £26,000,000), but also to secure the entire extinction of the National Debt in less than sixteen years. In view, therefore, of the magnitude of these figures, which, it is important to repeat, are based upon an estimated reduction in consumption that is neither utopian nor unreasonable, but well within the reach of wise social and legislative arrangements, it is extraordinary that the subject has not received more definite and sustained consideration from political thinkers and statesmen.

[1] The actual figures would be as under :—

	Present Expenditure (*i.e.*, in 1899).	Expenditure on basis of American Consumption.
Spirits . . .	£46,196,788 . . .	£42,963,012
Wine . . .	14,995,778 . . .	10,766,199
Beer . . .	99,470,908 . . .	40,958,609
	£160,663,474	£94,687,820

Total amount of reduction, £65,975,654

The reduction in expenditure on wine and spirits, it will be noticed, would be comparatively small, nearly the whole of the reduction occurring in the expenditure on beer.

Influence of Climate on Consumption.

But it may be said that the *per capita* consumption in this country cannot be brought down to that of the United States on account of the character of the English climate. A people living under the clearer skies, and in the more exhilarating air of America, will not have the same craving for alcohol—so it may be urged—that is found in this country. The thought still lingers that the influence of climate is of so dominating a character that it will be the main factor in determining the consumption in any country, and that no Temperance propaganda or change in law can greatly affect it. That climate *has* an influence upon both the kind and volume of drink consumed is obvious, but the evidence certainly does not suggest that this influence is so arbitrary and powerful as many modern writers—following Montesquieu—appear to assume. It is probable that the influence of climate and of external conditions is far greater in the early than in the later stages of civilization. But whether this be so or not, there is abundant evidence to show that among modern nations the influence of climate upon drink consumption is relatively small. Let us take as an illustration three of the northern nations of Europe belonging to the same race, and speaking almost the same language, namely, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Now, if climate determined consumption, we might expect to find the amount of liquor consumed practically the same in each of these three countries. But what are the facts? The consumption of spirits and beer in Sweden is more than double that of Norway, and the consumption of the same liquors in Denmark is again more than double

that of Sweden. The following figures give the average *per capita* consumption of spirits and beer [1] in each of these countries for the five most recent years (*i.e.*, 1894–98) for which official statistics are available :—

	Spirits. *English Gallons.*	Beer. *English Gallons.*
Denmark	3·3	19·7
Sweden	1·6	8·8
Norway	·63	4·1

But the evidence does not end here. At the beginning of the present century Norway was one of the most drunken countries in Europe. At the present time it is the most sober country in Europe. In Sweden, again, the consumption of proof spirits in 1829–30 was about 10 gallons, and in 1855 between 5 and 6 gallons per head of the population. At the present time it is only 1½ gallons. The reduction in each case has been brought about, not by any change of climate, but by wise legislation inspired and sustained by Temperance sentiment.

As a matter of fact, when we inquire in what European country the *per capita* consumption of alcohol is greatest, we find that the highest figures are reached, not in any fog-bound northern nation, but in "Sunny France." [2]

[1] The consumption of wine in these countries is so slight as not to affect the comparison.

[2] With regard to the great increase in late years of the consumption of alcohol in France, see (Appendix, p. 622) the remarks made by the Commission appointed by the French Chamber in 1897 to inquire into the question and report thereon. In the departments of the north-west it is stated "that *the daily consumption of alcohol absorbs half the average salary of the working population.*"

The following table—which is based upon the latest official figures [1]—gives particulars of the *per capita* consumption of *absolute alcohol* in the principal countries in Europe. In order to eliminate, as far as possible, merely accidental variations, such as sometimes affect the statistics of a single year, an average for five years has, wherever possible, been adopted :[2]—

CONSUMPTION OF ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL.[3]

	Per Head of the Population. *English Gallons.*
France	3·56
Belgium	2·83
Switzerland	2·76
Denmark	2·43
Spain	2·33
Italy	2·30
Austria	2·08
Germany	2·08
United Kingdom	*2·08*
Portugal	2·07
Hungary	1·50
Sweden	1·16
Holland	1·00[4]
United States	1·00
Russia	·61
Norway	·52

[1] *Board of Trade Return*, No. 57 (1900): supplemented by information derived from official sources in other countries.

[2] The full details of the table are given in the Appendix. See p. 613.

[3] In the compilation of the above table, the alcoholic strength

The figures seem to show conclusively that the influence of climate is far less powerful in determining the consumption of alcohol than is often supposed.[5]

Comparison with the British Colonies.

It will be interesting in this connection if we further compare the statistics of consumption in the United Kingdom with those for the British Colonies. The figures—which are based upon the average consumption for the five years 1894–8—are as follow :[6]—

of beer has been taken at 5 per cent. for the United Kingdom and 4 per cent. elsewhere. *Wine* has been taken at 15 per cent. for the United Kingdom and the United States ; 12 per cent. in Italy, and 10 per cent. elsewhere, except that in Norway it is taken at 10 per cent. up to 1896, and 15 per cent. since.

[4] Exclusive of beer, for which no statistics are available.

[5] *The Bulletin Russe de Statistique Financière et de Législation* of January, 1899, after an examination of the facts relative to the effects of climate upon the consumption of alcohol, adds :—

"En présence de ces chiffres, on se demandera sans doute comment a pu se perpétuer la légende de l'influence du climat sur la consommation. Nous ne pouvons fournir à cet égard que deux hypothèses :

"1. En matière de statistique, une opinion a d'autant plus de chances de s'accréditer qu'elle est en contradiction plus évidente avec les faits et la raison."

The second hypothesis was that the true figures of consumption had not until recently been ascertained.

[6] For full particulars of the comparison, see Appendix, p. 614.

CONSUMPTION OF ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL.[1]

	Per Head of the Population. *English Gallons.*
United Kingdom	**2·08**
Western Australia	2·32
South Australia—Northern Territory	1·36
Victoria	1·19
Queensland	1·07
Cape of Good Hope	·91
New South Wales	·90
New Zealand	·73
South Australia (except Northern Territory)	·63
Tasmania	·56
Canada	·52
Natal	·20
Newfoundland	·19

The figures are interesting and might well claim fuller discussion than is possible here, but it must suffice to point out that they are hardly explained by considerations of climate alone.

NUMBER OF LICENSED PREMISES.

The facts that we have so far examined become more intelligible when we consider how widespread are the facilities for obtaining alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom, and how enormous is the temptation that is thus presented. In the Appendix to the present volume,[2] particulars are given of the number of premises licensed to sell intoxicants in the three divisions of the United Kingdom. The mode in

[1] The alcoholic strength of *Beer* has been taken at 5 per cent. for both the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and that of *Wine* at 15 per cent. for the United Kingdom and 12 per cent. for the Colonies.

[2] See p. 667.

which the traffic is conducted differs slightly in each division; in Scotland, for example, the proportion of "off" licences to "on" licences is much greater than in the other divisions of the kingdom; but the excess of facility is common to all.

(a) *England and Wales.*

Speaking broadly, the number of places licensed by justices for the retail sale of liquor in England and Wales is 125,000,[1] of which about 67,000 are fully licensed houses, and about 30,000 are beer-houses. The proportion of "on" licences to "off" licences is about 5 to 1. The proportion would be much greater but for the number of "off" licences in the boroughs. In the country districts the number of "off" licences is comparatively small. Indeed, in 72 country districts there are no "off" licences.

The excess in the existing number of licences is especially apparent in the towns. In London (Metropolitan Police Area[2]) the total number of licensed premises in 1896 was 14,039, or one to every 446 inhabitants. In the smaller area represented by the Administrative County of London,[3] the total number of licences issued in the same year was 11,811,[4] or one to every 50 inhabited houses. The total rateable value of the licensed premises in London (Administra-

[1] For the actual figures, see Appendix, p. 667.

[2] Population (1896) 6,259,966.

[3] Population (1896) 4,433,018.

[4] Licences issued to Victuallers 8,826
To sell beer to be drunk on the premises. 2,338
To sell beer to be drunk off the premises 647
11,811

(*Statistical Abstract for London*, 1897, p. 57.)

tive County) is £1,754,335—a sum that is equal to (*a*) nearly six times the total rateable value of all the Board Schools and Voluntary Schools in the metropolis, or (*b*) *one-twentieth part of the total valuation of London.* But these figures, covering as they do a wide area, give a very inadequate idea of the real situation. To understand how excessive the number of public-houses really is, it is necessary to examine the districts in Central and East London. One such district is shown in the annexed map (Plate 1). It covers, it will be seen, an area of about nine-sixteenths of a square mile, and includes the districts of Soho, St. Giles-in-the-Fields, etc. In this area there are no less than 259 public-houses, or an average of one to every 193 persons of the population.[1] But London is not exceptional in this respect. Much the same condition of things exists in all our large towns.[2] Manchester, for example, has nearly 3,000 licensed premises, or one to every 180 inhabitants; Liverpool has 2,310, or one to every 279 inhabitants; Birmingham 2,300, or one to every 215 inhabitants; Sheffield has 1,841, or one to every 176 inhabitants; while Bristol has 1,173, or one to every 195 inhabitants.

(b) *Scotland.*

If we turn to Scotland, the figures, although much smaller, are still excessive. The number of "on" licensed premises in Scotland is, in round numbers, 7,500. Of these all but 220 sell spirits. The "off" licences number 4,200. Of these, again, all but about 340 sell spirits. Edinburgh has one licensed house

[1] For further particulars of London, see Appendix, pp. 670-1.
[2] See Appendix, p. 669.

PLATE I.

MAP SHOWING NUMBER OF PUBLIC HOUSES IN A DISTRICT OF CENTRAL LONDON.

Walker & Boutall

to every 378 inhabitants; Glasgow, one to every 401; Paisley, one to every 392; Dundee, one to every 369; Aberdeen, one to every 367; Leith, one to every 274; and Greenock, one to every 358 inhabitants.

(c) *Ireland.*

The great feature of the licensing system in Ireland is the overwhelming preponderance of public-houses. Out of a total of 18,532 retail licences, no fewer than 16,826 are "on" licences. In the towns the figures are almost incredibly high. In Clonmel, for example, *one out of every* 11 *houses is a licensed house*; in Waterford, one out of every 15; in Limerick, Queenstown and Kilkenny, one out of every 17; in Cork, one out of every 19; in Dublin and Belfast, one out of every 33. The ratio of licensed premises to population in these towns is given in the Appendix.[1] It will be seen that it ranges from one licensed house to every 78 persons in Clonmel, to one to every 275 persons in Dublin.

Happily, in many parts of the kingdom (in England and Wales especially), the number of licensed houses is either stationary or tends slowly to decline. Comparing the returns for 1896 with those for 1886, we find that 56 boroughs and 82 Petty Sessional Divisions show a decrease in the number of "on" licences during the ten years. This is satisfactory so far as it goes, but the reduction has been so slight, and the numbers remaining are so enormous, that its effect is hardly appreciable. One of the most noteworthy reductions has taken place in London, where (taking the whole of the licensing divisions) 613 "on" licences disappeared between

[1] See p. 673.

1886 and 1896. But while this is matter for congratulation, its comparative insignificance is realized when it is noticed that even if the same rate of reduction were to continue, it would take *nearly two centuries* to extinguish the present number of "on" licences in London, while it would take nearly seventy years to bring them down to the limit proposed in Mr. Bruce's Bill.

Increased Size of Public-Houses.

But a more serious fact remains, and that is, that the small reduction in the number of public-houses and beer-shops has been more than outbalanced by the reconstruction and enlargement of those that remain. While Temperance workers have been steadily endeavouring to reduce the *number* of public-houses, the publicans and brewers have been busily intent upon increasing their *size*. The reduction in numbers has affected, for the most part, the smaller and least profitable houses only, but these have been largely replaced by huge "gin palaces," capable both by attractiveness and accommodation of much more extended mischief.[1] Of 250 public-houses

[1] The change was noted by the Lords' Committee on Intemperance in 1879. In discussing it in their Report, the Committee say: "It is to be remarked that in large towns, while the public-houses have decreased in number, they have increased in size, and in the amount of accommodation which they afford. The evidence from Liverpool is conclusive on this point. It appears, moreover, that a great number of public-houses have been converted into 'vaults' or 'gin palaces,' which are mostly spirit-drinking places, where people stand to drink, the drink being served over the counter. These vaults are a modern creation, and their mischievous character is recognised by all the witnesses from the large towns where they exist in the greatest number."

in Central London, which were examined in 1897, 61 had three entrances;[1] 65, four; 18, five; 4, six; 3, seven; and 2 eight entrances. The average for the whole of the 250 was three entrances per house. Of 37 public-houses examined in another district in the North-west of London—a district comprising less than a quarter of a square mile—15 had three entrances; 5, four; 2, five; 1, six; and 1 eight: the average being three entrances per house. Of 76 public-houses in a closely adjacent district (covering about a quarter of a square mile), 17 had three entrances; 18, four; 13, five; 2, six; and 2 eight. The average in this case was 3½ entrances per house.

The situation is further aggravated by the number of separate *compartments*. Thus, of the 76 public-houses just mentioned, 23 had four separate compartments; 17, five; 9, six; 1, seven; 3, eight; while 3 others had nine, thirteen, and fifteen respectively. The average for the 76 houses was nearly five (4⅔) separate compartments per house. These figures, although high, are hardly to be considered exceptional in the central districts of London. Of the 250 public-houses previously referred to, 96 had four separate compartments; 51, five; 31, six; and 12 seven; the average for the whole number being 4½ per house.

In the face of these figures it is easy to realize the force of Lord Randolph Churchill's statement that "the system of reckless profusion in the sale of alcoholic liquor, and the fatal facility of recourse to the public-houses, makes it extremely difficult for

[1] By entrance is here meant a separate lobby or doorway opening directly upon the street.

multitudes of persons, in view of the hardships of their lives, to avoid or resist intemperance." [1]

Prevalence of Drunkenness.

It remains briefly to consider the extent to which drunkenness now prevails as compared with former years.

The statistics of prosecutions upon which such comparisons are usually based are far from being completely satisfactory; but, inasmuch as they constitute the only possible data for such comparisons, we are compelled to accept them. The following table, which has been compiled from the most recent official figures,[2] gives the average number of persons proceeded against for drunkenness in England and Wales for each quinquennial period since 1857—the first year of the Judicial Statistics:—

Quinquennial Period.	Average No. of Persons proceeded against for Drunkenness per 1,000 of population.
1857–61	4·28
1862–66	4·78
1867–71	5·47
1872–76	7·83
1877–81	7·25
1882–86	6·90
1887–91	6·19
1892–96	5·84
1896	6·09

The figures, it will be seen, show a considerable

[1] Speech in the House of Commons, April 29th, 1890.

[2] *Judicial Statistics* (*England and Wales*), 1896. *Part I. Criminal Statistics.*

and steady decline since 1872–76 (when the consumption of alcohol was quite abnormal), but it is nevertheless disquieting to discover that the average number of prosecutions for drunkenness in the five years 1892–6 (the latest years for which statistics are published) was 36 per cent. higher than the average for 1857–61, and 22 per cent. higher than the average for 1862–6. That the increase is partly due to more efficient police administration in recent years is probable, but that this is not a complete explanation of the figures is made evident by an analysis of the general statistics of crime during the same period. The figures are given in detail elsewhere,[1] and a reference to them will show that while crime generally has *decreased* 24 per cent. in England and Wales since 1857–61, drunkenness has *increased* 36 per cent. If we limit the comparison to a period of thirty years, and compare the five years 1862–66 with the five years 1892–96, the result is still discouraging. The figures show a *decrease* in crime of 30 per cent., and an *increase* in drunkenness of 22 per cent.[2]

Geographical Distribution of Drunkenness.

The accompanying map[3] (Plate II) shows the geographical distribution of offences of drunkenness in England and Wales in the five years 1889–93. Speaking generally, it may be said that drunkenness is chiefly prevalent in the seaport and mining districts. If a line be drawn from the mouth of the Severn to the

[1] See Appendix, p. 676.

[2] See also the recent increase of drunkenness in London (Appendix, p. 677).

[3] Reproduced by permission from the *Judicial (Criminal) Statistics* for 1893.

Wash, it will be found that the "black" counties without exception lie to the north-west of this line. The worst counties in England and Wales in the matter of drunkenness are Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire and Glamorganshire, while Pembrokeshire and Shropshire follow close behind. The most sober counties, on the other hand, are Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, Oxfordshire, and Wiltshire.

Averages based upon the returns of entire counties do not, however, afford a complete guide to the distribution of drunkenness, inasmuch as offences are not equally distributed over the whole area of a county. A heavy ratio of drunkenness in a small district may often give a county an unfavourable position in the general averages, notwithstanding favourable conditions in the rest of its area. A much better classification is that adopted by the compiler of the Judicial (Criminal) Statistics for 1894, and which is represented in the following table:[1]—

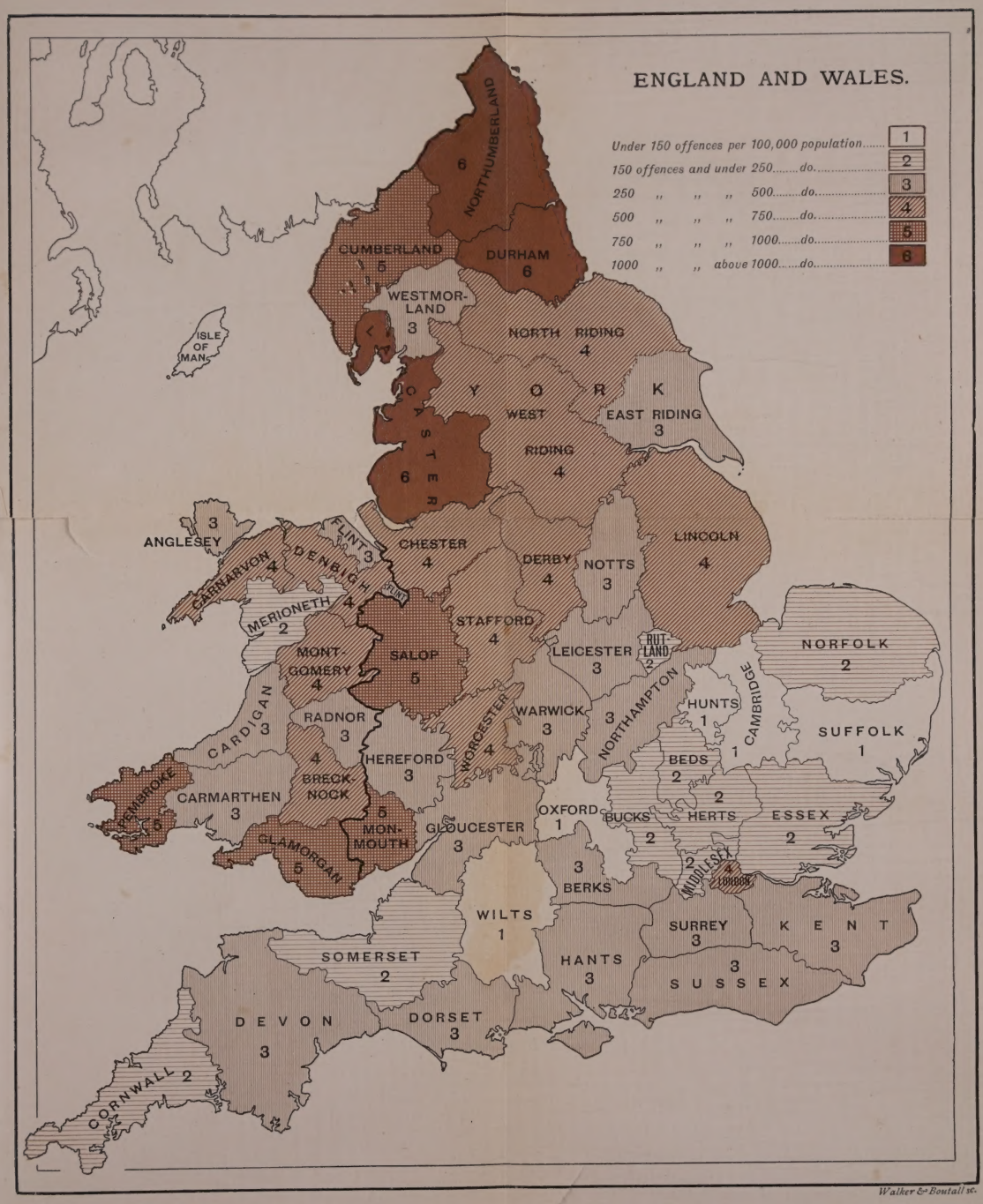
	Drunkenness (No. of offences in 1894) per 1,000 Population.
Seaports	12·60
Mining Counties	11·36
Metropolis	6·37
Manufacturing Towns	4·70
Pleasure Towns	2·89
Agricultural Counties:—	
Home Counties	2·45
South-western Counties	2·09
Eastern Counties	1·09
England and Wales	6·16

[1] The areas are as follow:—

Seaports.—Birkenhead, Cardiff, Hull, Liverpool, Newcastle-

PLATE II.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DRUNKENNESS.



Intemperance among Women.

Further analysis of the statistics of drunkenness shows that from 28 to 30 per cent. of the total number of offences are committed by women. In the larger towns the proportion, as a rule, is higher. In London, 38 per cent. of the drunkenness is attributable to women; in Manchester, 36 per cent.; in Belfast and Glasgow, 32 per cent. In Liverpool, on the other hand, the proportion is only 24 per cent.

The much controverted question as to whether intemperance is increasing among women can hardly, however, be decided by an appeal to the criminal statistics. So far as these statistics throw any light at all upon the question, they suggest important local differences. The figures given elsewhere [1] show that in both London and Liverpool there has been a notice-

on-Tyne, Newport (Mon.), Southampton, South Shields, Swansea, Tynemouth.

Mining Counties.—Derbyshire (excluding Derby Borough) Durham (excluding Hartlepool, South Shields, and Sunderland), Glamorgan (excluding Cardiff and Swansea), Monmouth (excluding Newport), Northumberland (excluding Newcastle and Tynemouth).

Metropolis.—Metropolitan Police District and City of London.

Manufacturing Towns.—Birmingham, Blackburn, Bradford, Derby, Halifax, Hanley, Huddersfield, Leeds, Leicester, Nottingham, Oldham, Preston, Sheffield, Wolverhampton.

Pleasure Towns.—Bath, Brighton, Eastbourne, Folkestone, Hastings, Leamington, Margate, Ramsgate, Scarborough, Tunbridge Wells.

Agricultural Counties.—(County police districts only).

Home Counties.—(County police districts only.) Essex, Kent, Surrey, Herts, Bucks, Berks.

South-western Counties.—Dorset, Hants, Somerset, Wilts.

Eastern Counties.—Norfolk, Suffolk, Hunts, Cambridge.

[1] See Appendix, pp. 677–679.

able decline in the proportion of offences of drunkenness recorded against women in the last twenty years. In 1875, 47 per cent. of the total number of persons arrested for drunkenness in London were women. In 1895 the proportion had fallen to 41 per cent., and in 1897 (when the number of arrests per 1,000 of the population was almost identical with that of 1875) to 39 per cent. In Liverpool the decline has been less marked, the proportion falling from 26 per cent. in 1876–80 to 24 per cent. in 1891–95. Manchester and Glasgow, on the other hand, show a not less marked *increase.*

A further and perhaps more direct clue is afforded by the Registrar-General's annual return of deaths directly attributed to intemperance. The figures are given below. In order to eliminate accidental variations, the comparison is based upon the average mortality during four consecutive quinquennial periods :—

Quinquennial Period.	Average No. of Deaths from Intemperance (England and Wales).	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1877–81	1071	69	31
1882–86	1320	66	34
1887–91	1710	64	36
1892–96	2044	61	39

The figures are certainly striking. They show, it will be noticed, that out of every 100 deaths from alcoholic excess in England and Wales at the present time, women contribute *eight more* than they did twenty years ago.

If, instead of taking the total number of deaths, we take the ratio per million persons living, the increase is seen even more clearly :—

	Males. Ratio per million living.	Females. Ratio per million living.
1877–81	60	25
1882–86	67	32
1887–91	79	42
1892–96	86	51

It thus appears that while the ratio of mortality from alcoholic excess has increased 43 per cent. among *males* during the last twenty years, among *females* it has increased by no less than 104 per cent.

CHAPTER II

The Social and Political Menace

AMONG the obstacles that stand in the way of any comprehensive measure of Temperance reform, the most serious is to be found in the magnitude of the vested interests, and in the number of persons interested in the maintenance of the traffic. Now what is the extent of these vested interests?

The *Brewers' Almanack* for 1898 gives a list of 119 Brewery and Distillery Companies in the United Kingdom which are quoted on the London Stock Exchange, and which have a Share and Debenture Capital of £70,319,188. Sixty-seven of these do not show any "Ordinary Shares." This is due to the Ordinary Shares being in private hands, and consequently having no Stock Exchange quotations. The seventy millions therefore by no means represent the total capital of these companies. Probably in a good many cases Preference Shares are also in private hands.

To the above list must be added the Companies not quoted on the London Stock Exchange, and the large number of private concerns.[1] The total sum invested

[1] The 42nd Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, p. 22, gives the following table of the number of brewers in the

in the trade is stated by the *Brewers' Almanack*[1] to be as follows:—

	£
Capital value of Breweries and Distilleries and their licensed property in the United Kingdom	200,000,000
Capital value of all Licensed Houses not included in the above, say . . .	20,000,000
Capital value of the Wine and Spirit Trades, and all other trades in connection with alcoholic liquors, say .	10,000,000
	£230,000,000

United Kingdom for the year ending 30th September, 1898:—

Number of Brewers as represented by the No. of Licences issued.	Number of Barrels of Beer brewed of Specific Gravity of 1·055°.	
	BARRELS.	BARRELS.
5,782	Under	1,000
1,023	1,000 and under	10,000
293	10,000 ,, ,,	20,000
140	20,000 ,, ,,	30,000
131	30,000 ,, ,,	50,000
91	50,000 ,, ,,	100,000
24	100,000 ,, ,,	150,000
9	150,000 ,, ,,	200,000
8	200,000 ,, ,,	250,000
—	250,000 ,, ,,	300,000
3	300,000 ,, ,,	350,000
2	350,000 ,, ,,	400,000
—	400,000 ,, ,,	450,000
8	450,000 ,, ,,	500,000
—	500,000 ,, ,,	550,000
1	550,000 ,, ,,	600,000
5	600,000 ,, ,,	1,000,000
10	1,000,000 and over	
7,530*		

* The actual number of brewers to whom licences were issued was 7,388. A brewer may hold more than one licence.

The number of distillers in the United Kingdom for the year ending September, 1898, was 197.

[1] *Brewers' Almanack*, 1898, p. 333.

The estimate of Temperance writers is even higher. Mr. JAMES WHYTE, the Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, says: "Capital amounting to from £250,000,000 to £300,000,000 sterling is invested in the liquor trade of this country."[1]

Under the wide extension of the Limited Company System these millions are distributed among a large body of shareholders. An examination of the share lists of five large Brewery Companies, made up to August, 1897, gives the following results:—

	Number of Shareholders.			
	Ordinary	Preference	Total.	
Arthur Guinness, Son & Co., Ltd.	5,450	3,768	9,218	The holders of Debenture Capital are not in any case included.
Bass, Ratcliff & Gretton, Ltd.	17	1,368	1,385	
Threlfall's Ltd.[2]	577	872	1,449	
Combe & Co., Ltd.	10	1,040	1,050	
Samuel Allsopp & Co., Ltd. .	1,313	2,189	3,502	
	7,367	9,237	16,604	

[1] *Alliance Budget*, 1898. The following statement is also of interest in this connection: "The trade in alcohol, in the several forms of beer, wine, and spirits, is one of the very largest in the world. The capital embarked in it in Europe alone defies all calculation, but is certainly far more than a thousand millions sterling." A. J. MOTT, F.G.S. *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Conference on Temperance Legislation*, 1886, p. 13.

[2] The directors of Threlfall's Ltd. are seeking to add to "the influence of the Company" by a policy which, if successful, will greatly increase its electoral power. "At an 'extraordinary general meeting' of shareholders, it has been decided that the shares of the company, which have been of £10 value, shall be split into shares of £1 each—each of the old shares, that is to say, becoming ten shares. At the meeting at which it was decided to make this change, some significant remarks were made by the chairman, Mr. W. A. Matheson, J.P., and by a Mr. Alfred Tyrer, who seconded the proposal that the change in the

It thus appears that the ordinary and preference shareholders alone in five large Brewery Companies number 16,604. If the debenture capital be as widely distributed, the number of share and debenture holders will, together, be 27,052.[1] Still more significant, as bearing upon the effect which the holding of these shares must have upon public opinion, is the social position of many of the shareholders. In the two first-named Companies, especially in Guinness & Co., peers and titled persons and doctors are, after women, the most numerous class. In the same Company are 178 persons bearing the title of "Rev.," including bishops, deans, archdeacons, and canons. In the other four Companies there are 133 persons designated as "Rev."[2] It is to be remembered that every new shareholder in a brewery adds to the number of those who have a direct interest in resisting any interference that will

value of the shares should be made. *The board were of opinion*, said the chairman, *that the splitting of the* £10 *shares into ten of* £1 *would increase the number of the shareholders, and thereby add to the influence of the company. By the proposed arrangement*, said Mr. Alfred Tyrer, *working men and artisans would be able to purchase the shares at the present reduced price.*" *Alliance News*, February 15th, 1900.

[1] The capital of these five Companies is £15,820,000; viz., Ordinary and Preference Share Capital, £9,710,000, and Debenture Capital, £6,110,000. If the whole of the 119 Brewery and Distillery Companies quoted on the Stock Exchange have the same proportion of share and debenture holders in relation to their capital, the number will amount to 120,245. From this number some deduction must, however, be made to meet the case of duplicate holders.

[2] In the course of recent investigations, the present writers were informed by the deputy-chief of the police in Stockholm that, in Sweden, it is an offence against the law for governors, clergy, doctors in the public service, schoolmasters, judges, police officials, and burgomasters to hold shares in distilleries.

cripple its opportunity of earning dividends. This transference of direct pecuniary interest from a limited number of individuals, or firms, to an almost unlimited number of the general public cannot fail to have a large influence in hindering a reform of the licensing laws.[1]

We have seen that in 1898 there were in the United Kingdom 7,388 brewers and 197 distillers[2]—a body whose influence will be persistently and resolutely exercised against any legislation calculated to restrict sales. As the *Times* said in a leading article on September 12th, 1891 : "The natural tendency of a brewer is simply to push the sale of his beer. Provided no forfeiture of the licence be incurred, the especial manner in which the business is conducted does not matter much to him. *His main desire is that the neighbourhood shall drink as much as possible.*"

The manner in which the influence of the Trade is exercised is apparent from its official statements. Thus the Executive of the National Trade Defence Fund, established in 1888, set forth that "Its objects are to watch at all times the general interests of the whole Trade in and out of Parliament ; to secure by all legal

[1] This is well understood by the Trade. The *Licensed Victuallers' Official Annual* for 1896 (p. 205), describing the steps taken by the Trade to influence the General Election of 1892, says : "A stirring manifesto was sent from the Central Offices to every Licensed Victualler in the Metropolitan constituencies. Test questions were laid before the whole of the candidates for Parliament. Their replies were duly considered, and directions given as to how the Trade votes should go in each case. On the completion of the list of candidates, it was sent with a covering circular to all members of the Trade in London, *as well as to thousands of shareholders in breweries and distilleries.*"

[2] 42nd Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, p. 31.

means, regardless of party politics, the return to the House of Commons, and other elected bodies, of candidates favourable to Trade interests ; to federate existing Societies ; to decide upon the general policy of defence ; and generally to do all things that the Committee shall deem to be for the interests of the Trade." [1]

The Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London thus defines its objects :—

"To watch all proceedings in Parliament with a view to taking such steps as may be deemed necessary to promote or defeat measures introduced therein ; to represent the views of the London Trade upon all questions touching its interests ; to aid in securing to the Trade such Parliamentary, Municipal and Parochial representation as is necessary for the protection of its interests ; and the federation with all local Metropolitan Societies, so as to form a central Society to adequately represent the Trade."

And the Beer and Wine Trade National Defence League names as its object : "To promote, support, or oppose Bills in Parliament, and to assist in the return to Parliament of candidates favourable to the interests of the Trade."

The ominous note in these declarations of policy is the avowed determination of the associations to act upon the principle of "Our trade our politics." [2] In

[1] See pp. 94–5.

[2] Mr. CHARLES WALKER, Chairman of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society, writing in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1893, says : "Attacked on all sides by proposals and threats which struck at their existence, they adopted the motto, 'Our Trade our Politics,' and loyally carried out the policy which that motto covered."

place of that conception of citizenship which would seek the highest good of the nation or of the municipality, Parliamentary and Local candidates are to be supported or opposed with primary reference to their attitude towards the Trade.

The degradation of public life which must follow the adoption of such a policy has been forcibly insisted upon by the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith. Speaking in 1895, he said : "I do not hesitate to say that if politics are to become the battle-field of organized and privileged interests, and if the electors are to be invited to subordinate their views upon all the larger questions of public policy to bring them into harmony with the requirements of a particular trade, we are entering upon an era of demoralization in British politics."

This "subordination of the larger questions of public policy" to the interests of the Trade cannot be looked upon as any passing phase. As the struggle between the forces of Temperance and of the Trade becomes more acute, the traffic will seek to protect itself by controlling Municipal and State legislation. No secrecy is maintained as to either its aims or methods, as will be seen by the following extracts from an article on "Trade Electoral Organization," which appears in the *Brewers' Almanack* for 1894, signed by the Manager of the National Trade Defence Fund (pp. 161-65) : "After a period of lamentable inactivity, the Trade realized the necessity of self-organization for electoral purposes, and for the past few years has been actively engaged in forming itself into a strong and compact non-political body for the most practical of all objects—self-defence."

Then, referring to the introduction of the Liquor

Traffic (Local Control) Bill in March, 1893, the writer proceeds : "Fortunately for the Trade, this declaration of war did not find them unprepared. Their leaders had seen the necessity for organization for electoral purposes as distinct from former antiquated combinations for social intercourse and protection as Traders. Meetings had been held, funds had been collected, officers had been elected, and a policy framed—nothing was wanted to unite the Trade but an outward and visible foe, who made his appearance in the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"The Direct Veto was met by the only answer the Trade could give, a direct No ; and the opportunity arrived of putting to practical test the value of our improved organization, of which we had had a satisfactory trial at the General Election (of 1892)."

"Organization is the process of forming instruments of action. When the time for action arrives those instruments should be ready : the organizer therefore must not remain inactive until that time comes. . . ."

"No amount of 'paper' organization from a central office will be of any practical use *unless the local instruments are to hand, and prepared to act.* . . ."

"*Our one object is to return, by all legitimate means, regardless of politics, to the House of Commons and other administrative bodies, candidates favourable to Trade interests.* . . ."

"When the Trade fully realizes its political possibilities in a state of efficient organization, *it will become a power in the State.*"

The entire article powerfully suggests the operations of an elaborate political organization, directed by qualified leaders,[1] working through the agency of more than 125,000 licensed houses, and supplied with unlimited funds.[2] The significance of the whole is summed up in the passage already quoted. "No amount of 'paper' organization from a central office will be of any practical use unless the *local instruments* are to hand and prepared to work." The proposition may appear to be self-evident, but its real importance and bearing upon practical legislation has been strangely overlooked. We shall have occasion to refer to the point further on. Here it will suffice to show how numerous and effective the "local instruments" are.

The following figures give the total number of licensed premises in the United Kingdom in 1896 :[3]—

[1] *The Licensing World* of July 12th, 1895, referring to the General Election Campaign of that year, says: "The Board (*i.e.*, the Board of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London) has at its command at this moment a great number of assistants specially skilled in every department of activity now called for, and these men are simply working night and day. The Chairman, Secretary, and the principal members of the Executive—the very cream of the elected leaders of the Trade—are daily, we may say almost hourly, in consultation, directing the work of the vast organization under their command, and applying the forces of the Trade with what we believe will prove to be unerring skill."

[2] "Mr. BASS told the world that for every pound put down by the Alliance, he and his friends would put down a hundred."—Sir GEORGE O. TREVELYAN, *Speech delivered at Edinburgh, November 28th*, 1875.

[3] *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, Vol. V. (Statistics).*

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.
"On" Licensed Premises	101,903	7,402	16,826	126,131
"Off" " "	24,041	4,224	1,706	29,971
	125,944	11,626	18,532	156,102

In considering these figures, it is to be remembered that each of the 126,131 "On" licensed houses—to say nothing of the 29,971 "Off" licensed houses—will have its own circle of customers, a certain proportion of whom will unquestionably be influenced by the proprietor.[1] The "local instrument" which the organizers of the Trade desire is thus ready to their hand in a singularly efficient form. The publican, like all other tradesmen, wishing to sell as much as he can, will energetically resist the candidature of men who would seek to restrict the national consumption.

[1] The influence upon public opinion and the electoral force likely to be exercised by these Licensed Houses becomes apparent by a comparison of their number with that of existing agencies for education and moral progress.

The number of Primary Day Schools (Inspected) in England and Wales in 1896 was 19,848 (44th No. of Statistical Abstract, p. 255), or less than one-sixth of the number of houses licensed for the retail sale of liquor. *That is to say, for every primary day school there are more than six licensed houses for the sale of liquor.*

Again, from the Census for 1891 (vol. III., page 10), it appears that in England and Wales the

Clergy of the Established Church numbered	24,232
Roman Catholic Priests	2,511
Ministers of other Religious Bodies . . .	10,057
	36,800

So that *for every Christian minister, as above, there are more than three places licensed for the retail sale of liquor.*

How this vast influence is exercised in Parliamentary Elections will be familiar to the reader.

The rival candidates are catechised upon their position in regard to the Trade, and, irrespective of whatever national questions may be at stake, the Trade influence is cast on the side of the candidate whose answers are deemed the most satisfactory. Under these circumstances, it was perhaps inevitable that the support of the Trade should eventually be given to one of the great parties in the State. And such has been the case. The *Brewers' Almanack* has, in each yearly issue, a full list of the Members of Parliament, with their attitude to the Trade indicated by the words "Favourable," "Against," "Doubtful." Turning to the *Almanack* for 1896—the one next following the General Election of 1895—we find that of the Conservative and Unionist Members, 388 are marked as "Favourable," 9 as "Against," and 13 as "Doubtful." If Great Britain alone is taken, there is only one Conservative or Unionist member marked as "Against." The sharpness of the line of cleavage between the two Parliamentary parties upon this question is further shown by the fact that of the Liberal Members 172 are marked as "Against," only 5 as "Favourable," and 2 as "Doubtful."

It would be a serious mistake to conclude from these figures that the entire Conservative party in the constituencies is hostile to licensing reform. Many of its members deplore that the supposed exigencies of party warfare should have ranged their representatives in support of the Trade. Not only do many Conservatives give laborious service in personal Temperance effort, but cordially support the far-reaching legislative proposals of the Church of England Temper-

ance Society. The frank recognition of these facts heightens, however, our sense of the menace exercised by the Trade. It has not only been able to impose its demands upon the representatives of a great party, but it has done so notwithstanding the existence of a considerable body of opinion hostile to such demands.

It now remains to be considered what is the direct effect upon the Parliamentary representation brought about by the action of the Trade. Upon this question the most conflicting opinions are put forward, some holding that the effect is insignificant, others that it is exceedingly marked. It is possible, however, to bring this matter to a test, which, whilst making no claim to scientific accuracy as to the exact measure of the influence exerted, affords decisive evidence upon the question whether the influence is, or is not, great.

The number of "On" licensed houses in England and Wales in 1896 was 101,903; in Scotland, 7,402; and the total Electorate in England and Wales at the time of the last General Election in 1895 was 4,959,805, and in Scotland 636,097.[1]

It is easy, therefore, to calculate the number of "On" licensed houses in each electorate upon the assumption that each electorate has its proportionate share. As a matter of fact, the number of licensed houses in each electorate will sometimes exceed, and in other cases fall below, the proportionate share. But it is doubtful whether this uneven distribution

[1] The following calculations are confined to England, Wales, and Scotland, as in Ireland the ordinary lines of political cleavage do not exist, the Nationalist question overshadowing every other, and any figures taken from Ireland could only be misleading.

of the licensed houses will materially affect the general conclusions which we deduce.

The General Election of 1895 may be taken as the one in which for the first time (at any rate in recent years) the Trade put forth its full electoral strength.[1]

The extent and direction of this influence may be taken from the following declaration of the Trade, extracted from the *Licensed Victuallers' Official Annual* for 1896: "From the beginning of the year (1895) the Executive of the Central Board had devoted its chief thought to preparing for the dissolution, which every one saw was looming ahead. A Special Electoral Department was formed and worked up to a high state of efficiency, as was shown in the County Council Elections, and also in the bye-election at Walworth, consequent on the death of Mr. W. Saunders, M.P. In this latter contest, by far the most important bye-election of the year, the Conservatives, almost solely through the efforts of the London retailers, and the electoral organization of the Central Board, were able to win a Radical seat by a magnificent majority, and to ring the knell of the Rosebery administration. From the moment when the disso-

[1] Mr. Charles Walker, Chairman of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society, writing in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1893, says: "Whatever strength the Trade possessed at the last (*i.e.* the 1892) General Election will be found multiplied at the next. Sir William Harcourt's Bill has had the effect of welding the whole Trade—wholesale and retail—into one homogeneous body, and *of substituting for that apathy which has been our reproach* an enthusiasm which is prepared to go all lengths permitted by the law and to make all sacrifices demanded by the occasion, in defence of our property and our homes."

lution was certain, the electoral forces of the Board, raised to their highest strength, occupied the field, and simply pervaded every constituency within the scope of the Board's operations . . . in fine, all that experience could suggest, or energy realize, was done to crush the enemies and secure victory. The result was so magnificent that it needs no emphasizing from us."

Assuming then the electoral efforts of the Trade to have been as stated, we have to consider what effect these efforts had upon the results of the General Election. For the purpose of this inquiry, a list of those constituencies has been made out in which a contested election resulted in the return of either a Conservative or a Unionist candidate, and in which the transfer of one or two votes for every "On" licensed house from the Conservative or Unionist to the Liberal side would have affected the result. Opposite each name has been entered the majority by which the Conservative or Unionist candidate was returned; while in a second column has been entered the proportionate number of "On" licensed houses in the constituency. The number of votes which, upon the average, an "On" licensed house would be able to influence and transfer from one side to the other can only be estimated. The calculation may, however, be confined to the effect of the transfer of one vote[1] and of two votes; although experienced electioneers, to whom the estimates have been submitted, regard even the higher as inadequate. Upon these low estimates,

[1] To transfer a vote from one side to the other—from Candidate A to Candidate B—is, of course, equivalent in effect to inducing two voters, who would not otherwise have voted, to support Candidate B.

however, the results are startling in their magnitude.

At the General Election of 1895, the number of seats contested in England, Wales, and Scotland, which resulted in the return of Conservative or Unionist candidates was 270. Now what would have been the result in these 270 elections had the influence of the "On" licensed houses been eliminated? We may calculate it first upon the assumption that each "On" licensed house caused the transfer of only *one vote* from the Liberal to the Conservative or Unionist candidate, and, secondly, upon the assumption that each "On" licensed house caused a similar transfer of *two votes*. Upon the first supposition, 83 of the 270 seats would have been won by the Liberals, and upon the second supposition, a further number of 69 seats, making 152 in all, would have been so won.[1] To tabulate the result:—

	Conservatives and Unionists returned.	Liberals returned.	Total.
Upon the first supposition, the apportionment of the 270 seats would have been	187	83	270
Upon the second supposition, the apportionment would have been . . .	118	152	270

The Conservative and Unionist majority, after the General Election of 1895, reached the high figure of 152. It gives one some idea of the portentous power exercised by the Trade to note that but for its influ-

[1] In the Appendix will be found a detailed list of the 152 instances in which, but for the assumed transfer of votes, a Liberal would have been elected in place of a Conservative or Unionist. See p. 680.

ence exercised through the assumed transfer by each "On" licensed house of but a single vote, the Conservative majority would have been swept away. For if 83 be deducted from the Conservative majority, and the same number be added to the Liberal return, the Conservatives are left in a minority of 14. Equally startling is it to see that, but for the influence of the Trade exercised through the assumed transfer by each licensed house of two votes, the Liberals, instead of being in a minority of 152, would have had a majority of 152, obtained in about equal numbers from the Borough and County constituencies.[1]

In order to show that these remarkable results are not due to any special accident in the election figures of 1895, a similar table has been prepared for the Election of 1892.[2] In that year the electorate for England and Wales numbered 4,770,088, and for Scotland 606,403. The "On" licensed premises are taken at 103,000 for England and Wales, and at 7,500 for Scotland. The exact figures are not available, but these estimates may be taken as below the mark. Following the exact lines of the inquiry for 1895, we may note that in 1892 the number of seats contested in England, Wales, and Scotland which resulted in the return of Conservative or Unionist candidates was

[1] That the result is not materially affected by basing the calculation upon the proportionate number of licensed houses rather than upon the actual number (which is not to be obtained for more than a few of the Parliamentary areas) is shown by the fact that in the case of certain Boroughs where the Parliamentary area coincides with the Licensing area, and where the actual figures are available, the result is substantially the same.

[2] See Appendix, p. 688.

258. The influence of the Trade may be again calculated upon the two suppositions — first, that each licensed house caused the transfer of *one* vote only from the Liberal to the Conservative or Unionist candidate; and, secondly, that each licensed house caused a similar transfer of *two* votes. Upon the first supposition, 72 of the 258 seats would have been won by the Liberals, and upon the second supposition, a further number of 59 seats, making 131 in all, would have been so won. To tabulate the result:—

	Conservatives and Unionists returned.	Liberals returned.	Total.
Upon the first supposition, the apportionment of the 258 seats would have been	186	72	258
Upon the second supposition, the apportionment would have been . . .	127	131	258

The Liberal majority at the General Election of 1892 was 40. Apart, however, from the influence assumed to have been exercised by the Trade through the transfer by each "On" licensed house of but a single vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Unionist candidate, the Liberal majority would have been, not 40, but 184; while but for the influence exercised through a similar transfer of two votes, the Liberal majority would have been larger than any majority since the Reform Bill of 1832,[1] viz., 302.[2]

[1] Majorities at each General Election since 1832:—

1832 L. 300	1857 L. 92	1880 L. 176
1835 L. 108	1859 L. 40	1885 L. 170
1837 L. 40	1865 L. 60	1886 C. 118
1841 C. 79	1868 L. 100	1892 L. 40
1847 L. 2	1874 C. 52	1895 C. 152
1852 C. 8		

[2] It is interesting in this connection to quote the following

In the foregoing calculations, no account has been taken of the influence exerted by the "Off" licensed houses, which in 1896 numbered 24,041 in England and Wales, and 4,224 in Scotland. The influence of the "Off" licences, although less than that of the "On" licences, must be very considerable. Nor has any account been taken of the constituencies in which there was no contest. The figures which have been given, however, indicate that many majorities now regarded as too great to overcome would be enormously reduced if the influence of the Trade were withdrawn.

It would be a grave mistake to treat this question as primarily one between Liberals and Conservatives, or to assume that the thoughtful members of the party, which, so far as voters are concerned, now benefits by the alliance with the Trade, regard this

passage from Mr. Chamberlain's pamphlet, *The Right Method with the Publicans*, published in 1876: "In boroughs where parties are evenly divided, it is too much to expect that either side will incur the reprobation of a powerful trade which furnishes one householder to every thirty, *and each member of which boasts that he can bring five voters to the poll.*" To bring five voters to the poll is equivalent to transferring 2½ votes from one side to the other.

Writing from Toronto on September 15th, 1898, the correspondent of the *Voice* said: "Two secret circulars sent out by the executive of the Ontario Licence Holders' Protective Association have just come to light, and reveal the desperate tactics and tyrannical methods of the Ontario whisky sellers. They are headed with the names of the executive. The first circular calls for a special assessment by each local association for the campaign, and includes the following significant sentences: 'Our success in the fight will depend upon the thorough manner in which each individual will carry out the plan in his own immediate vicinity. The convention considered that each licence-holder should be at least able to poll 25 friendly votes.'"

alliance with satisfaction. No statesman, whether Conservative or Liberal, would for one moment imagine that the building up of a rightly ordered commonwealth is likely to be furthered by the electoral support of a monopolist class whose "one object" is "to return candidates" who will carry out its own behests. Nor is any institution which is worthy to be "conserved" likely to be ultimately strengthened by such support. It is not matter for wonder that statesmen are dismayed at the growth of a power which threatens to dominate the legislature, a power whose "one object is to return, by all legitimate means, regardless of politics, to the House of Commons and other administrative bodies, candidates favourable to Trade interests."[1] Lord Rosebery, among others, has shown himself keenly alive to the danger, as will be seen by a few extracts from recent speeches :—

"I am not a fanatic in Temperance reform. I am, I hope, a sensible and level-minded politician on that and on all other subjects, but I cannot but be struck by the pathetic urgency with which the appeals for dealing with this question come from every part of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; and though I say I am not a fanatic on this question, I view the uncontrolled condition of our liquor traffic as a serious danger, for two reasons.

"In the first place, no one can deny that there is a great deal too much drink in this country, and that much of the crime, and much of the pauperism, and almost all the degradation prevalent in this country are attributable to the curse of drink. That does not

[1] See article already quoted on "Trade Electoral Organization," by Mr. H. A. Newton, Manager, National Trade Defence Fund, in *Brewers' Almanack* for 1894, p. 164.

mean, of course, that there should be no use, but it does mean that there should be a check placed on abuse. But the second point on which I regard it as a danger is this, that it is becoming too great a power in the State. I go so far as to say this, that *if the State does not soon control the liquor traffic, the liquor traffic will control the State.*" Again:—

"Then there is the great contest with regard to alcoholic liquors. That involves a twofold conflict. In one aspect, that in which it is meant to promote Temperance, it has my heartiest sympathy; but in another aspect it has even more—my most enthusiastic support—and that is that it will put an end to a political ring *which threatens to throttle and control the Commonwealth itself.*" [1]

And again:—

"I see the danger coming nearer and nearer, that owing to the enormous influence wielded, directly and indirectly, by those who are concerned in upholding the drink traffic, *we are approaching a condition of things perilously near the corruption of our political system.*"

Hitherto in this chapter, attention has been concentrated upon the menace of the Trade to the Imperial Legislature. But the menace reaches far beyond this. In the avowed objects of the Trade Defence Associations are passages like the following: "To aid in securing to the Trade such Parliamentary, *Municipal*, and *Parochial* representation as is necessary for the protection of its interests"; "to secure by all legal means, regardless of party politics, the return to the House of Commons, *and other elected bodies*, of candi-

[1] *The Times*, July 3rd, 1895.

dates favourable to Trade interests." At the Annual General Meeting of the South London Licensed Victuallers, reported in the *Morning Advertiser* of May 6th, 1898, the Secretary stated "that the Committee strongly urged the members to take an active interest in the coming vestry elections." Mr. Meech also referred "to the vital necessity for the Trade interesting itself in the elections." Nor can it be said that the Trade has been slow in acting upon this counsel.

The *Licensed Victuallers' Official Annual* for 1896, in its chapter on "Four Years of Organized Work: a Story of Triumphant Success," states: "Just prior to the General Election (1892) the Board (*i.e.*, the Board of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London) had also thrown upon its hands the important work of *conducting* the triennial election of the London County Council. The County Council Election took place early in March, but the Executive entered into the fray with whole-hearted zeal. All the candidates were questioned, a list of those to be supported by the Trade was prepared and advertised in the public Press, and all other necessary steps, such as those mentioned in connection with the General Election, were rigorously and promptly taken."

The London County Council elected in 1892 nevertheless excited the hostility of the Trade; and when the triennial elections came round in 1895, "it was felt,"—so says the *Licensed Victuallers' Official Annual*—"that they demanded the most energetic intervention of the Trade. The Progressive majority returned in 1892 had proved bitterly hostile to the liquor industry." Among other crimes, "it started a crusade of 'purity,' which, though directed nominally at the

music-halls, was intended ultimately to undermine the whole licensing system." "Elaborate electioneering preparations were made under the supervision of the Electoral Department of the Board; operators were provided wherever needed; the efforts of the local societies were backed up in all ways; lists of candidates favourable to the Trade were prepared, *and the influence of the Trade was exercised to the utmost in every division throughout the Metropolis.*"

"The result of a clear stand-up fight was that our foes were simply smashed. . . . By the common consent of friends and foes alike this splendid result was due more directly to the influence exercised by the Trade, under the leadership of the Central Board, than to any other force. Radical newspapers and Nonconformist ministers naturally deplored what they openly admitted to be a great triumph for the Trade; and the National Trade Defence Fund, as representing the Wholesale and Retail Traders of the United Kingdom, passed a vote of thanks and congratulations to the Board upon the great work it had done."

Other influences, as is well known, helped to determine the results of the London County Council Election of 1895. But, remembering the effect that would be produced upon the constitution of Parliament by the transfer, through each public-house, of one or two votes from the candidate of one party to the candidate of the other, it may be assumed that, except on occasions when London is deeply stirred, the Trade will be able to exercise an enormous influence upon the character and personnel of its governing body; an influence that will be used "regardless of politics" to return candidates favourable to "Trade interests."

Each year witnesses a growing perception of the place and importance of municipal government. The health of the community, drainage, the cleanliness of streets and courts, the housing of the working classes, the provision of open spaces and playgrounds, public baths, the efficiency of the police, the management of asylums, facilities for technical education, and, not least, the wise and economical administration of the City funds, are among the matters with which City Councils have now to deal, and upon the intelligent and honest treatment of which the conditions of life in the district will depend.

It is a grave menace to municipal life when a powerful and wealthy trade, possessing exceptional means of influencing the electorate, disregards the claims of civic patriotism and subordinates questions of public welfare to the return of candidates "favourable to Trade interests."

The danger in its acute form is of recent growth. Hitherto, we have prided ourselves upon the purity of our municipal life, and so long as the community did not interfere with the drink traffic, the Trade had no need to concern itself with municipal contests.

Mr. Cosmo Bonsor, M.P., President of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London, speaking as recently as April 12th, 1892, at the inaugural banquet of the new Board, said: "You have never before been properly organized; you have never been united; now . . . you are both organized and united."

It is clear, therefore, that just in proportion as the State or Municipality attempts to make its arrangements favourable to Temperance, will the Trade seek

to protect itself by controlling Municipal and State legislation.

In the United States the danger has been fully realized. "The liquor traffic, being very profitable, has been able, when attacked by prohibitory legislation, to pay fines, bribes, hush money, and assessments for political purposes to large amounts. This money has tended to corrupt the lower courts, the police administration, political organizations, and even the electorate itself. Wherever the voting force of the liquor traffic and its allies is considerable, candidates for office and office holders are tempted to serve a dangerous trade interest, which is often in antagonism to the public interest. Frequent yielding to this temptation causes general degeneration in public life, breeds contempt for the public service, and, of course, makes the service less desirable for upright men." [1]

Writing of the Tammany Ring of New York, Mr. McKenzie (author of *Sober by Act of Parliament*) says: "The plunderers are elected to office mainly by the saloon vote." And again: "Moreover, any party of reform has to reckon with the thirty thousand votes of the city drink-sellers and their men, which are cast solid for Tammany so long as it helps them. Without the saloon and its help, Tammany would not keep together for twelve months; but, with its influence on its side, it is no easy task to overcome it," The Right Hon. James Bryce, in his chapter upon "The Tammany Ring in New York City," says: "Considering what by origin, by training, by en-

[1] *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects.* By the "Committee of Fifty."

vironment, and by tastes and habits, are the persons who rule the city through Tammany—considering the criminal element among them, *and their close association with the liquor saloon*, it may excite surprise that the government, corrupt as it is, is not also more wasteful." [1]

It appears probable that the main source of the municipal misrule prevalent in the cities of the Union which so impresses European observers is to be found in the saloon system. A writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* [2] says: "To think of political reform with the influence of the saloon in politics what it is seems almost fatuous. To discuss the subject of political reform without taking this weighty factor into consideration seems almost puerile. To belittle the importance of the saloon is most dangerous. To essay compromise with it is a fatal mistake. In the nature of the case it must be eliminated, or it must dominate everything. Full freedom having been accorded it thus far, it has made a long stride toward dominion. Even among those who clearly recognise the perils of the situation, it has become an axiomatic statement that it is useless to oppose the saloon in the cities."

Those who have studied the volumes of evidence of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws will be cognizant of the dangers already threatening the municipal life of this country through the influence of the drink traffic—especially in relation to the action of Watch Committees, and the administration of the Police. Not only are there the glaring scandals of Manchester and Wigan, but abundant

[1] *The American Commonwealth*, vol. II., p. 402.
[2] G. F. Parsons, *The Saloon in Politics.*

evidence is given in respect of other large towns [1] to show that the evils which have been so disastrous in the civic life of the United States are already beginning to assert themselves in the municipal life of this country.

To sum up, it has been the purpose of this chapter to set forth and approximately to measure the danger to the State through the attempt on the part of a wealthy monopolist trade to obtain control of the sources of imperial and local power, and to use such power in the interests of its monopoly, apart from other considerations. It has been shown that this Trade possesses enormous wealth, and a highly efficient organization, capable of exerting through its local instruments—*i.e.*, the licensed houses—a direct and powerful influence upon the electorate. The independence of Parliament and the purity of municipal life are alike imperilled. Nor is there any probability that the danger will grow less. On the contrary, the more strenuous the efforts made to mould national and local arrangements in the interests of Temperance, the more determined will be the efforts of the Trade to obtain control of the sources of power.[2]

This aspect of the drink question has not hitherto received the attention which its gravity demands. But, in view of the facts adduced, it is evident that

[1] *E.g.*, Liverpool, Derby, Leeds, Nottingham, Hull, Brighton, Reading, Lincoln, and Devonport; also the County of Bedford. See also Minority Report of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws (1899), pp. 158–162.

[2] It may, of course, be urged that, in its electoral action, the Trade is but actuated by the ordinary motive of self-interest. But it is obvious that this fact in no way lessens the gravity of the situation. The evil to the Commonwealth remains, be the motive what it may.

no measure of licensing reform will meet the needs of the situation which does not take cognizance of and effectually deal with this menace.

The question which awaits solution is, how best to eliminate the public-house interest as a political force, and to dissociate politics from the sale of drink.

CHAPTER III

State Prohibition

With the exception of the introductory pages—which are substantially the same as in the earlier editions of this work—this chapter is almost entirely new. The former chapter was wholly based upon official and other documentary evidence, which, although of unquestionable authority and accuracy, and the latest available, practically ceased with the year 1893.[1] In the summer of 1899, however, one of the present writers was able to make careful personal investigations into the working of the prohibitory and other liquor laws in the United States and Canada, and the results of those investigations are incorporated in the present chapter. It was at first intended merely to supplement the former chapter with the later facts, but the new information obtained was so voluminous and important, and the available space in the present volume so limited, that it was subsequently decided to entirely re-write the chapter, giving preference to the later information. The student of the question will, however, probably continue to find the earlier chapter useful as a study of the condition of things existing in Maine and other States prior to 1894.

It will be noticed that the evidence contained in the present edition points to a much more serious and systematic violation of the prohibitory law in Maine than

[1] Mr. John Koren's investigations—the latest then available—were undertaken in the summer of 1894, but the evidence collected chiefly refers to the years prior to that date. The investigations of the Royal Canadian Commissioners were made in 1893.

was suggested by the former chapter. The explanation of this is simply that in the earlier statement the evidence referred chiefly to the years 1891–3, when, as we now fully know, a temporary but resolute effort was made to enforce the law in Portland. That effort, however, was short-lived, and the situation since that time has been much more serious than that which confronted the Royal Canadian Commissioners in 1893.

Of the numerous suggestions made for the solution of the drink problem, that which aims at the total suppression of the traffic through the exercise of a prohibitive veto naturally claims first attention, inasmuch as it represents the deliberate policy of an influential section of Temperance reformers whose convictions are entitled to full respect. Two methods have been adopted for securing the suppression of the traffic, namely, *State* prohibition, which is arbitrarily applied to all localities in the State, irrespective of local opinion; and *local option*, which vetoes the traffic only where local opinion demands such a veto. It is with the former method (*i.e.*, *State* prohibition) that the present chapter is exclusively concerned.

It is unnecessary to lay stress upon the abstract side of the question, inasmuch as the practical possibilities of the system are sufficiently suggested by important historic experiments. That certain *a priori* objections have been urged against the principle of prohibition is true, but they are not of a kind which call for special consideration here. The objection, for example, that it is an unwarrantable interference with individual liberty is probably more academic than real, and is hardly supported by political practice. The organic unity of society is a cardinal principle of political science against which the individualist may be said to protest in vain. The oft-quoted passage in which John

Stuart Mill condemned the Maine Law, and behind which much of the current *a priori* opposition to prohibition shelters itself, becomes far less convincing when it is remembered that it depends entirely for its weight upon his assumption that "the act of drinking fermented liquors belongs to acts and habits which are not social, but individual," and the statement is itself sufficiently refuted by other passages of the same essay. For instance, it is Mill himself who tells us that "as soon as any part of a person's conduct affects prejudicially the interests of others, society has jurisdiction over it, and the question whether the general welfare will or will not be promoted by interfering with it becomes open to discussion. . . . To individuality should belong the part of life in which it is chiefly the individual that is interested; to society, the part which chiefly interests society. . . . Whenever, in short, there is a definite damage, or a definite risk of damage, either to an individual or to the public, the case is taken out of the province of liberty, and placed in that of morality or law." [1]

The same broad truth has been stated in other words by an even greater authority, whose philosophical judgment was certainly unbiassed by fanatical considerations. "Every one," says Immanuel Kant, "may seek his own happiness in the way that seems good to himself, provided that he infringe not such freedom of others to strive after a similar end as is consistent with the freedom of all according to a possible general law." The only questions, indeed, in philosophy as in politics, are—(1) whether the social consequences of the evil as it exists are sufficiently grave to justify the stringent character of the

[1] *Essay on Liberty.*

suggested remedy, and (2) whether that remedy carries within itself a sufficient promise of practical success. In other words, the question is practical rather than philosophical, and to be determined by experiment rather than by logic. Whatever may have been the accepted social philosophy in England forty years ago, it is hardly necessary to-day to point out that a theory of society that aims at the complete autonomy of the individual is not only essentially anarchic, but, from the view of social politics, entirely impracticable.[1]

PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES.

The United States of America furnish the only instance of prohibition on a scale sufficiently large to entitle it to be considered a satisfactory test of the effi-

[1] The position and policy of the State in regard to these questions are admirably stated in the Report of the Select Committee (House of Commons) on Intemperance in 1834. In summarising the results of its investigations the Committee lays down the following broad conclusions:—

(*a*) "That the *right* to exercise legislative interference for the correction of any evil which affects the public weal cannot be questioned, without dissolving society into its primitive elements, and going back from the combined and co-operative state of civilization, with all its wholesome and lawfully imposed restraints, to the isolated and lawless condition of savage and solitary nature."

(*b*) "That the *power* to apply correction by legislative means cannot be doubted, without supposing the sober, the intelligent, the just, and the moral portion of the community unable to control the excesses of the ignorant and disorderly, which would be to declare our incapacity to maintain the first principles of government by ensuring the public safety."

ciency of the system.[1] In one or two British Colonies a system of local prohibition has, it is true, from time to time been adopted;[2] but the experiments in these cases have been too partial and intermittent to furnish so clear and conclusive a test of the system as is supplied by certain of the American States which it is proposed in the present chapter to consider.

It is important, however, to notice at the outset a fact too frequently overlooked in the discussion of the question in England; namely, that not even in the prohibition States of America has the suppression of the use of alcoholic liquors as beverages been attempted. In the sense in which the matter is sometimes conceived of in this country prohibition does not exist. The prohibitory laws in force in the United States aim merely at the suppression of the liquor traffic (*i.e.*, the buying and selling of liquor for beverage purposes) within the boundaries of the particular States which have adopted such laws. In so far, however, as the traffic is, or may become, an inter-State or foreign traffic, it is subject to the Federal law. A citizen, for example, who resides in a State where a prohibitory law exists cannot be prevented by the laws of that State from purchasing liquor in some other State (or in a foreign country) where it is not illegal to make sales, and having it transported into his own State for his personal use. In other words, it is the local manufacturer and the local dealer, and not the consumers of alcohol, who are placed under the ban of prohibition.

Prohibition is now the law of five American States;

[1] The case of Sweden is, of course, one of *local option*, applied to rural districts only. In the present chapter the system of *State* prohibition is alone considered.

[2] See pp. 323-363.

namely, Maine, Kansas, New Hampshire, Vermont, and North Dakota. Three of these have prohibition amendments to their constitutions. It has been tried and abandoned in Delaware, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Indiana, Nebraska, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, and South Dakota.

The table on page 121 shows the States that have at different times adopted prohibition, and the duration of the experiment in each.

Density of Population.

If we carefully analyse the particulars given in that table, and compare the history of the prohibition experiment in each State with the statistics of population, area, etc., a remarkable result appears. It quickly becomes apparent that prohibition has only permanently succeeded (*i.e.*, been continued) in sparsely populated States, while it has invariably failed (*i.e.*, been abandoned) in the more densely populated States that have given it a trial.

The following figures give the *average* density of population in (*a*) the five States in which prohibition still exists, and (*b*) the ten States that have tried and abandoned the system. The details of the comparison are given elsewhere :— [1]

	No. of Persons per Square Mile.	
	When Prohibition was adopted.	In 1890.
Prohibition States . . .	18	23
Ex-Prohibition States . .	44	98

[1] See Appendix, p. 695.

Adopted.	State.	Repealed.	Remarks.
(1) 1846	*Maine*	1856	Re-enacted 1858.
(2) 1851	Illinois	1853	
(3) 1852	Massachusetts	1868	Re-enacted 1869; repealed 1875.
(4) 1852	Rhode Island	1863	
(5) 1852	*Vermont*		Still in force.
(6) 1854	Connecticut	1872	
(7) 1855	Delaware	1857	
(8) 1855	Indiana	1858	
(9) 1855	Iowa	1894	Partial law only; re-enacted more completely 1883. In 1894, passed a law taxing the traffic and providing for local option.
(10) 1855	[1] Michigan	1875	
(11) 1855	Nebraska	1858	
(12) 1855	*New Hampshire*		Still in force; sale only prohibited.
(13) 1855	New York		Declared unconstitutional.
1858	Maine		Still in force.
(14) 1867	Kansas	1879	Partial law only.
1874	Rhode Island	1875	
1879–80	*Kansas*		Constitutional Amendment; still in force.
(15) 1885	South Dakota (then a territory)	1896	Continued in force by State, 1889; Repealed 1896.
1886	Rhode Island	1889	Constitutional Amendment carried and subsequently annulled.
(16) 1887	Alaska (territory)	1899	
(17) 1890	*North Dakota* (as a territory)		Still in force under State law.

[1] In 1861 the law was amended as follows:—Manufacturing alcohol, 80 per cent. pure, or over, to sell out of the State, and making cider and wine, and the sale of the same in quantities of one gallon or over, and manufacturing beer and the sale thereof in quantities of five gallons or over, not to be drunk on the premises, were excepted from the prohibitory law. (Laws, 1861, No. 226.)

It will thus be seen that, taking the last census (1890) as the basis of comparison, the average density of population of the States that have *abandoned* prohibition was four times as great as the average density of population of the States that have *continued* prohibition.[1] If we confine the comparison to the three most densely populated States in each of the two divisions, a still more decisive result appears, the figures being in the proportion of more than seven to one.[2]

Proportion of Urban Population.

An even clearer indication of the relation which density of population bears to the success or failure of prohibition is seen when we compare the proportion of urban to rural population in (*a*) the States that have continued prohibition, and (*b*) the States that have abandoned prohibition. Before giving the figures, however, it is important to explain that, as commonly used in America, the terms "urban" and "rural" have not the same significance as in England, the word "town" being commonly applied to small and thinly populated centres that in England would be classed as "villages"; while even the word "city" is frequently used to denote what in England would be regarded as a small town. For the sake of clearness, therefore, a uniform standard of comparison has been adopted, and in the following table the line separating "urban" and "rural" districts has been drawn at

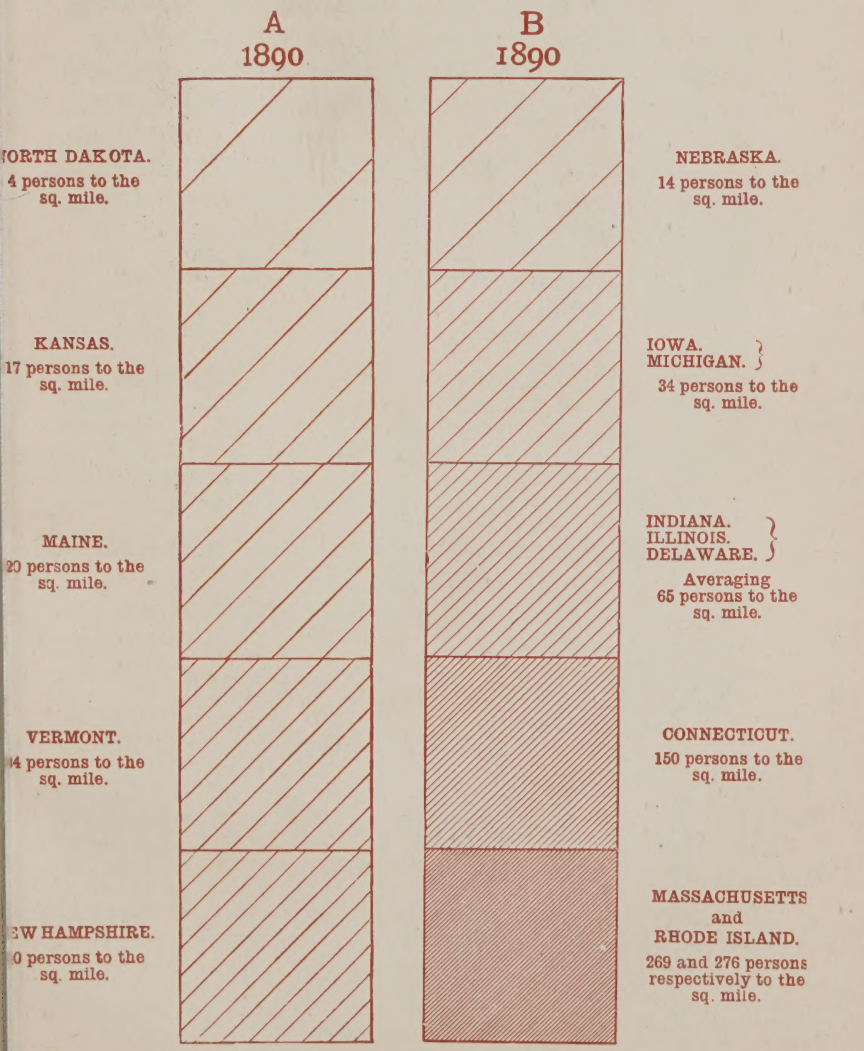
[1] It is to be noted, however, that several of the States that have abandoned prohibition as a *State* system have nevertheless made it possible of *local* enactment by substituting the principle of local option. See chapter iv.

[2] See Appendix, p. 696.

PLATE III.

DIAGRAM

Showing the Density of Population in (A) Prohibition States, and (B) States that have abandoned Prohibition as a State System.



towns of 8,000 inhabitants—the limit adopted by the United States census authorities.

The figures, it should be noted, are in every case based upon the official census returns of 1890.

Table showing the proportion of urban to rural population in (*a*) States that have *continued* prohibition and (*b*) States that have *abandoned* prohibition :—

(*a*) States that have *Continued* Prohibition.

State.	Total Population.	Urban Population (*i.e.*, in towns of 8,000 and upwards).	Rural Population (*i.e.*, in towns of *less* than 8,000 inhabitants).
		Per cent.	Per cent.
New Hampshire	376,530	28	72
Maine	661,086	20	80
Kansas	1,427,096	12	88
Vermont	332,422	8	92
North Dakota	182,719	—	100

(*b*) States that have *Abandoned* Prohibition (*i.e.*, as a *State* system).

State.	Total Population.	Urban Population (*i.e.*, in towns of 8,000 and upwards).	Rural Population (*i.e.*, in towns of *less* than 8,000 inhabitants).
		Per cent.	Per cent.
Rhode Island	345,506	79	21
Massachusetts	2,238,943	70	30
Connecticut	746,258	52	48
Illinois	3,826,351	39	61
Delaware	168,493	37	63
Michigan	2,093,889	26	74
Nebraska	1,058,910	24	76
Indiana	2,192,404	18	82
Iowa	1,911,896	14	86
South Dakota	328,808	3	97

If we carry our analysis further, and compare the proportion of population living in towns of (*a*) 30,000 inhabitants and upwards, and (*b*) 50,000 inhabitants and upwards in the two divisions, the result is even more striking.

Taking the five prohibition States, out of a total population in 1890 of 2,979,853 persons, only 149,874, or 5 per cent. of the whole, lived in towns of 30,000 and upwards; while there was no single town with a population of 50,000 and upwards.

On the other hand, taking the ten States that have abandoned prohibition, out of a total population of 14,911,458 persons, no fewer than 3,444,570, or twenty-three per cent. of the whole, lived in towns of 30,000 and upwards; while no less than 2,906,981 persons, or nineteen per cent. of the total population, lived in towns of 50,000 and upwards.

The figures are certainly suggestive, and go far towards compelling a conviction of the impracticability of prohibition in thickly populated districts. As a matter of fact, prohibition, however successful in rural districts, has invariably failed when applied to important urban centres.

PROHIBITION IN MAINE

Population of State (1890).	No. of Persons per square mile.[1]	Proportion of Urban Population (*i.e.*, in towns of 8,000 and upwards).
661,086	20	20 per cent.

It is important, however, for the full investigation of this question to supplement the foregoing comparisons with a thorough and systematic inquiry into the

[1] For a comparison with England and Wales, see p. 248.

actual working results of prohibition in such States as have adopted it. Considerations of space make it impossible to deal effectively with the history of the experiment in all the prohibition States. It has therefore been deemed advisable to select the principal and pioneer prohibition State for detailed examination here, and to deal with the history of the experiment in the remaining prohibition States in a more general and incidental way. The question of the practicability of State prohibition, it is not too much to say, virtually stands or falls upon the success or failure of the system in Maine.

The system has been tried there for upwards of fifty years, under conditions, legislative and other, admittedly as favourable as any that can reasonably be conceived of as existing elsewhere. It is therefore important to consider carefully the results of the experiment and the measure of its success.

The agitation in favour of prohibition in Maine began early in the thirties, and with it is intimately connected the name of General James Appleton, who was the first to outline and advocate prohibitory legislation. In 1837, as chairman of a joint committee of the Legislature which reported in favour of prohibition, he said: "If we have any law on the subject, it should be absolutely prohibitory." The report was laid on the table. The effects were to follow later on.

Amongst General Appleton's most zealous coworkers was a young man, born in Portland in 1804, who has since been known to the world as the "Father of the Maine Law." General Neal Dow spent several years in canvassing the State, scattering Temperance literature, holding mass meetings, and

delivering lectures. The combined efforts of the two men and their associates resulted in 1846 in the passage of the first prohibitory Act. It was a crude and unsatisfactory measure, and contained no adequate provision for the punishment of law-breakers or for the seizure of liquors illegally held for sale.

It provided that the "selectmen" might, at their annual meeting, license one person in every town of less than 1,000 inhabitants, two in any town having over 1,000 inhabitants, and from three to five in any town having over 3,000 inhabitants, to sell wine and strong liquors for medicinal or mechanical purposes only. All other sales were prohibited.

Not satisfied, however, with the working of the law, General [1] Neal Dow and his supporters persevered in an agitation to amend it, and a Legislature pledged to prohibition was finally chosen. General Dow, then Mayor of Portland, himself drafted a Bill which he believed would be effective, and which he subsequently submitted to the leaders of the Temperance movement in Portland, who declared it improbable that such a measure would be passed by the Legislature.

On April 29th, 1851, two days before the adjournment of the Legislature, General Neal Dow arrived in Augusta, the State capital.

"The next morning he requested the Speaker of the House to immediately appoint a committee to consider his Bill, and to grant a hearing that afternoon. The request was granted both in the House and in the Senate. In the afternoon the Legislature adjourned to give him a hearing. The hall was crowded. He

[1] Although here referred to as "General," it was not until 1862—in connection with the Civil War—that Mr. Neal Dow was appointed Brigadier-General.

spoke for an hour, and presented the Bill. It was rushed to the printer (who, curiously enough, was a rum-seller), and passed by a vote of 86 to 40 in the House, and by 18 to 10 in the Senate." Governor Hubbard, a Democrat, signed the Act on June 2nd, and the Bill became the famous Maine Law.

The law prohibited any one from manufacturing or selling intoxicating liquors except for medicinal and mechanical purposes. It punished selling in violation of the Act—for the first conviction, $10; second conviction, $20; and for a third conviction, $20, with imprisonment for from three to six months. If the defendant prosecuted an appeal, he was to give bond not to violate any of the provisions of the Act pending the appeal, and in the event of final conviction, he was to suffer double the punishment first awarded. The last clause was, however, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Search-warrants, seizure, and destruction of liquor found were authorised upon complaint of three inhabitants.

In 1853 the law was amended so as to elaborate the seizure and forfeiture clauses, and provisions to meet cases of destroying liquors to prevent seizure were included. The penalties under the law were also increased.

In 1855 an elaborate re-enactment of the law took place, the search, seizure, and forfeiture clauses especially being worked out in minute detail. The penalties also were again increased.

The year 1856, however, saw a revulsion of public sentiment which swept away all this legislation and substituted a licence law.

This law lasted for about two years. In 1858 the question of licence or prohibition was again sub-

mitted, with the result that the latter was once more adopted. The new prohibition law was short and moderate. The first conviction for illegal sale was made punishable by a fine of $10, which rose to $20, and three months' imprisonment for a third offence. Another Act of the same year declared houses for the illegal sale of liquor to be common nuisances, and made the keeper liable to a fine not exceeding $1,000, or imprisonment for not more than one year, and made his lease void if a tenant. If the owner of the house was found to be privy to the sale, or knowingly to have permitted it, he was subject to the same penalty. A State Commissioner for providing liquors authorized to be sold by the municipal liquor agents was appointed in 1862, and civil damages were awarded by the Act of 1872.

In 1884 a prohibitory amendment [1] to the State Constitution was adopted by a majority of 46,972. The total votes polled were, however, fewer by 47,819 than the total number polled at the nearest political election.

The law of 1858 is virtually the law of to-day, although in the intervening years between forty and fifty amendments have been made with a view of adding to its stringency.[2]

[1] A Constitutional Amendment is a change whereby a principle hitherto embodied in statute law only, becomes a permanent part of the State Constitution, and can thereafter only be rescinded by a formal vote of the people. In the event of a proposal to rescind a Constitutional Amendment, a resolution to re-submit the question to the people must first be adopted by a two-thirds majority of the legislature, after which a popular vote is taken in the State, the issue either way being decided by an absolute majority of the votes polled.

[2] See *Cyclopædia of Temperance and Prohibition*, pp. 305–309.

General Results of the Law.

In attempting to estimate the general results of prohibition in Maine, it is necessary to emphasize one or two important considerations. In the first place, it is important to remember (*a*) that Maine is to a large extent an agricultural State, possessing practically no important industries outside its lumber trade and fisheries, and with no more than 11 per cent. of its population engaged in manufactures; (*b*) that it is a sparsely populated State with a total population of less than 700,000 persons, of whom less than 200,000, or 30 per cent., live in towns having a population exceeding 3,500, and only 130,000, or 20 per cent., in towns of 8,000 inhabitants and upwards, while at the last census (1890) there were only two towns or cities in the State with a population of more than 20,000, of which the chief (Portland) contained less than 37,000 inhabitants. The entire State is peopled at the rate of 20 persons per square mile.[1] Moreover, 88 per cent. of its population are native born.

Secondly, in attempting to get at the facts, the distinction between *sale* and *consumption* must carefully be borne in mind. That the sale of liquor in many parts of the State has been considerably reduced cannot be disputed, but that there are still very considerable quantities of liquor consumed in the State cannot for one moment be doubted. It is every way unfortunate that even approximate estimates of the consumption of liquors in Maine, both before the enactment of prohibition and since, are altogether unobtainable. No such figures, indeed, exist. The importance of the distinction, in any estimate of the

[1] For a comparison with England and Wales, see p. 248.

general results of prohibition is, however, clear, as the following statements by the late General Neal Dow—given in his evidence before the Canadian Commission in 1893—will show :—

"I believe I said in Montreal that there was not one-hundredth part as much sold in the State as before the law, and not one-twentieth part as much in the city. One would suppose that a very extravagant statement, but when I say that we had seven distilleries here running in the molasses season, day and night, and when we had at the same time great quantities of wine and India rum imported then, and when you consider that we have not a drop distilled now, and do not have a puncheon of rum imported now, you will see that we had wholesale and retail liquor shops before the law."

"You were selling at that time liquor for exportation from the State?"—"It went into the country, but nevertheless it was sold in Portland."

"But it was not consumed in the State?"—"No, it was spread over the country. My statement was that there is not one-hundredth part so much liquor *sold* in Portland as before the Maine Law. I did not say '*drank*.'"

And again :—

"Then, when you speak of the liquor sold now as compared with what was sold prior to the prohibitory law, you include what was sold by distilleries for export?"—"Yes, all that was sold, distilleries included."

Leaving, however, these preliminary considerations, let us turn to the history of the experiment itself.

Federal Liquor Licences.

A remarkable fact that instantly arrests attention is the large number of persons in the prohibition States who regularly take out United States tax-papers, or licences, for the sale of intoxicating liquors. Under the United States law the Federal Government collects a tax from every person (irrespective of the State laws) who manufactures or deals by wholesale or retail in intoxicating liquors.[1] But the only persons who can legally sell liquor in a prohibition State are the few who are authorized under stringent regulations to do so for medicinal, mechanical, and the like special purposes (*i.e.*, the authorized liquor agents whom the authorities may appoint at their discretion). So that the payment of the Federal tax ($25) by others than those so appointed is strong presumptive evidence of an intention to violate the prohibitory law. As a matter of fact, the Maine State Law does so regard it. In 1887 an important section was added to the prohibitory law enacting that:—

> "The payment of the United States special tax as a liquor seller, or notice of any kind in any place of resort indicating that intoxicating liquors are there kept, sold, or given away, shall be said to be *prima facie* evidence, that the person or persons paying such tax, and the party or

[1] Retail liquor (spirit) dealers (*i.e.*, in quantities of less than five gallons) pay $25.

Retailers of malt liquor, $20.

Special tax is not to be levied on vintners selling wine of their own growth at manufactory, if they have only one sales' office; nor on apothecaries using wine or spirits for medicinal purposes.

parties displaying such notice, are common sellers of intoxicating liquors, and the premises kept by them common nuisances."

The provision was re-enacted in the Amendment Act of 1890 (approved April 3rd, 1891).

Nevertheless, in the face of these explicit statutory declarations, we find that the number of tax-payers in the prohibition States is very large.

In the year ending June 30th, 1899, no fewer than 1,359 persons in the State of Maine (representing 2·01 per 1,000 of the population[1]) paid the special tax for the sale or manufacture of intoxicating liquors. The following are the particulars:—[2]

Rectifiers	1
Brewers	7
Wholesale Liquor Dealers (Spirits)	13
Do. Dealers in Malt Liquors	24
Retail Liquor Dealers (Spirits)	1,125
Do. Dealers in Malt Liquors	189
	1,359

The total number of *authorised* liquor agents in the State is, however, only *twenty*, so that more than 1,300 persons were presumably engaged in selling liquor in defiance of the law. As a matter of fact, the actual number of liquor sellers in the State is probably much in excess even of this estimate, for—as the Internal Revenue officials freely admit—a large number of persons sell liquor who do not pay

[1] For comparison with England and Wales, see Appendix, p. 667.

[2] See *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue*, p. 71.

the tax. This is especially true of those who run what are termed "kitchen bars," *i.e.*, cottage or tenement rooms in which liquor is sold in small quantities to a more or less regular circle of customers. These places thrive chiefly in towns where there is a large foreign element in the population, and do most of their trade on Saturdays and Sundays; but as the police, even in towns where enforcement of the prohibitory law is otherwise practically non-existent, are almost always opposed to them, they not unnaturally prefer the remote risk of discovery and prosecution by the Federal Revenue officials [1] to the more direct danger of furnishing the local police with *prima facie* evidence for a prosecution for "search and seizure." In the one case the penalty upon conviction is only a fine of $12\frac{1}{2}$ (*i.e.*, half the amount of the Federal tax); in the other a fine of $100 and costs.[2]

The important point, however, is the evidence which the Internal Revenue returns furnish of widespread and systematic violation of the prohibitory law. That this is the only right construction to put upon them is universally admitted.

The Rev. Wilbur F. Berry, Secretary of the Maine Christian Civic League,[3] in discussing the Internal

[1] For a list of prosecutions by the Internal Revenue Officials in recent years see Appendix, p. 699.

[2] In the case of an indictment for "maintaining a nuisance," the fine would be $200 and costs.

[3] The Maine Christian Civic League, founded in 1897, is "a movement among the churches to unite the churches and the moral forces of all the communities in Maine for the promotion of Civic Righteousness throughout the State." The following is the avowed purpose of the League:—

"Its purpose shall be, by all means at our command and by co-operation with other existing agencies, (1) to educate the people in all that pertains to good citizenship; (2) to arouse and

Revenue returns for 1897, when the number of liquor sellers in Maine was less than in 1899, said:—

"The Internal Revenue report for the year ending June 30th, 1897, gives the number who paid a U.S. liquor-seller's tax in Maine as 1,151. Of these 995 were retail liquor dealers, 132 retail malt liquor-dealers, 11 wholesale liquor dealers, and 13 wholesale malt liquor dealers. The retail liquor dealers included fifteen town and city liquor agencies, provided for by law to furnish liquor for scientific and medicinal purposes, and one Keeley Institute where liquor is furnished only to patients while under treatment. This list also includes druggists who pay this tax. By our law druggists cannot sell clear liquor for any purpose. They may keep and use liquor in compounding medicine and in prescriptions, but to do this they do not need to pay the Internal Revenue tax. In fact, many so-termed drug stores are but thinly disguised saloons. Lewiston, with a population of 22,000, had 33 'drug stores,' and Waterville, with a population of 7,105, has 9 'drug stores.' Is it that these places are so very unhealthy that so many 'dispensers of drugs' are needed? Certainly not! . . . There are, on a conservative estimate, 1,400 liquor-sellers in Maine; for observation convinces me that 20 per cent. of those selling liquor in our State do not pay the Internal Revenue tax. In addition there are, among our foreign population, many so-termed 'kitchen bars' where liquor is sold in small quantities. It is not possible even to estimate the number of these.

maintain throughout the State a reverence for law; (3) to secure the enactment of the best possible laws, their impartial execution, and the choice of competent officials to that end."

"These saloons are not 'open' in the same sense that saloons are 'open' in a licence State. There are no signs, 'Wines and Liquors,' nor are bottles of liquor displayed in the windows. Still the saloon can be easily found. Certain 'marks' clearly point it out to the initiated, and the uninitiated easily learn these 'marks.' The bar can be seen from the street in some places, and in some localities you need only to follow your nose to find a bar. It is not unusual for drummers[1] on the street to drum up trade for the saloon. In some localities liquor is put out as openly as are groceries. Loads of liquor and liquor empties are hauled through the street in broad daylight; and officials, out of deference to something (?), have been known to request truckmen to throw a canvas over the liquor packages when hauled from boat or train by day.

"At agricultural fairs liquor is sold in the most open manner. At the New England Fair at Rigby last fall, liquor was sold freely and openly with the evident knowledge of county officials, and without rebuke."[2]

[1] A "drummer" is strictly a travelling salesman who solicits trade.

[2] *Zion's Herald*, January 26th, 1898.—Speaking at the Northport Camp Meeting more than a year later (*i.e.*, August 24th, 1899), the same speaker, after pointing out that over 1,300 persons—or 200 more than in the preceding year—paid the liquor tax in Maine in 1898, said:—

"It takes to run the State of Maine two millions of dollars per year. There are six millions of dollars per year paid for liquor over the bars of the State; $1,600,000 paid per year for liquor in Portland; $1,300,000 per year pays all the city's bills, including its State and county tax."—*Bangor Daily Commercial*, August 25th, 1899.

In commenting upon the foregoing statements, the editor of *Zion's Herald*, in whose journal the articles were published, wrote:—"In his second contribution upon the Prohibitory Law in Maine, Rev. W. F. Berry deals specifically with its general non-enforcement. The revelations which he makes as the result of personal investigation cannot be disproved. Our instructions to him were to the effect that he should give the unquestionable and unimpeachable facts in the case. Friends of prohibition all over this country, and indeed throughout the world, are making statements concerning the execution of the Maine Law that are simply untrue. The law is not enforced, and has not been for years. Nothing is gained, but much is lost, in this as in every other good cause, by misrepresentation. Let it be remembered, as Mr. Berry's disclosures are made, that he is a staunch and unfailing supporter of the law. . . . These facts have been known to us for a long time, and we have not, therefore, hesitated to repeatedly reveal the real situation. No one knows better the condition of things than our faithful ministers throughout the State. In personal conference with many of them, and in correspondence with others upon this subject, without a single exception the allegations of Mr. Berry have been sustained."

We are thus confronted at the outset of the inquiry with evidence which points not so much to occasional violation of law as to the virtual non-observance of the prohibitory law in a considerable portion of the State. How far such a conclusion is justified will appear from a detailed examination of the evidence. We select first the evidence of the towns.

	Estimated population (January 1st, 1899).[1]
Portland	41,500

The city of Portland is not only the largest, but also the most prosperous city in Maine. Finely situated on a hilly peninsula jutting out into Casco Bay, it adds to great natural beauty the possession of one of the best deep-water harbours in the United States. Its attractions, therefore, both as a holiday resort and as a centre of commerce, are considerable. Few cities, indeed, in the Union impress the casual visitor with so great a sense of well-ordered prosperity and natural charm. Nor does a closer acquaintance with the city belie the early impression of its general orderliness and prosperity. It suffers, although to a less serious extent than many other American cities, from that "political" method of municipal government which is the characteristic vice of American civic life; but its citizens—of whom 80 per cent. are native born—are for the most part prosperous and self-respecting, and are said to be well disposed towards the observance of ordinary law.

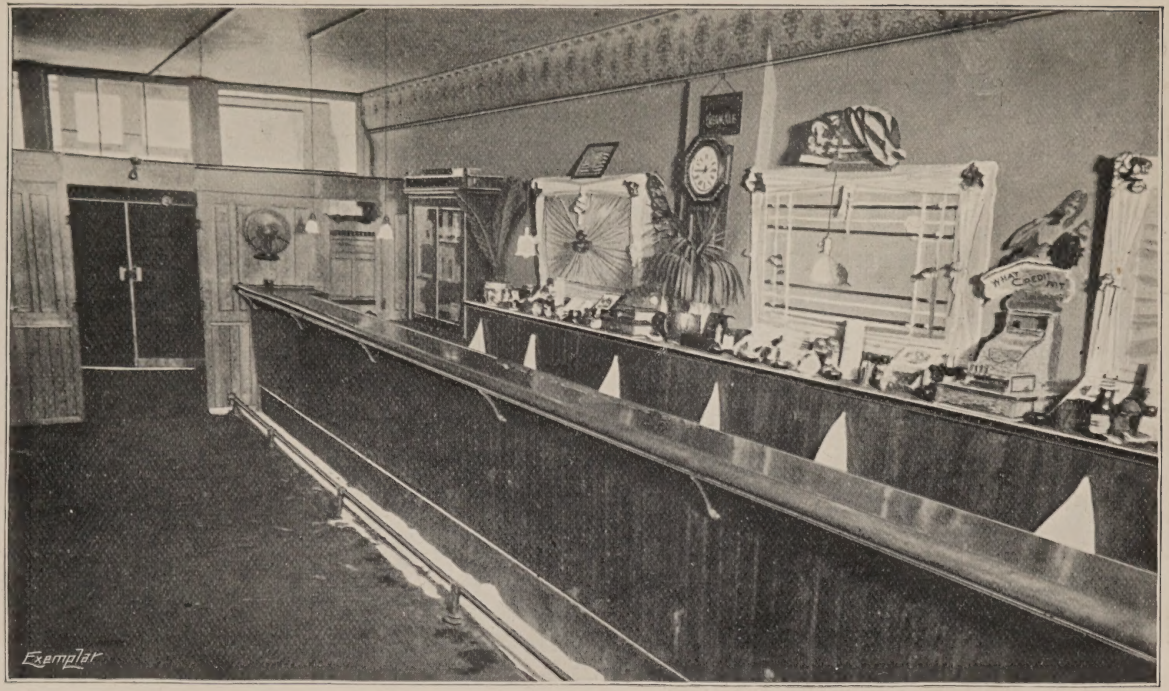
We say "ordinary law" advisedly, for upon investigation it becomes evident that in respect of the prohibitory law there is a marked exception. Indeed, the question that meets the investigator of the drink problem in Portland is, not the extent to which the prohibitory law is violated, but *whether the law is observed at all?* The fact is that prohibition in any but a nominal sense is non-existent in Portland. The law, it is true, is on the Statute Book, but in practice

[1] The city of Deering was incorporated with Portland in March, 1899, and the population of Greater Portland is now estimated at 50,000.

it is openly and systematically ignored. The sale of liquor in the city—as one of the present writers quickly found—is both widespread and undisguised. The proof of this is clear. On the day following our arrival in Portland (*i.e.*, August 12th, 1899) we accompanied the British Vice-Consul in a short walk through the central part of the town. A careful study of the most recent official information on the subject (*i.e.*, 1892–3) had led us to expect a certain amount of evasion of the prohibitory law, more or less open and undisguised; but we were entirely unprepared for the actual state of things which that walk disclosed. Many of the streets (*e.g.*, Center, India, Fore, and Commercial streets) seemed literally honeycombed with saloons, scores of which were passed, and several entered by one of the present writers. Except for the fact that there were no liquor advertisements outside or in the windows, there was no attempt at disguise about them. They opened through swing doors straight upon the street, and the word "push" was, in many cases, printed prominently upon the doors. Those entered had fully equipped bars, and men were drinking in nearly all of them. The men did not get their drink and leave, but loitered as men are accustomed to do in an English public-house. On entering one of the saloons, a photograph of which (Plate IV.) is appended, the proprietor came forward and entered into conversation, subsequently taking the writer behind the bar (where an assistant was serving), and showing the fittings, etc. The bars of two of the principal hotels, one of them the largest hotel in the city, were afterwards visited. Here also there was an entire absence of disguise. The rooms were large and the bars well fitted, and evidently furnished with a

PLATE IV.

Photograph of Saloon in Fore Street, Portland, Maine.



Specially taken for "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform."

large variety of liquors. The sales are not restricted to guests; any one from the street is at perfect liberty to enter and order what he chooses. In the case of the second hotel visited, not knowing the location of the bar, inquiry was made of the clerk in the office. "Downstairs, on the right," promptly came the answer. The writer descended a short flight of stairs, broad and light, and there, next to the handsomely appointed barber's shop, was a commodious and perfectly fitted bar.[1] (See Plate V.)

A week later (*i.e.*, Saturday, August 19th), a much fuller investigation was made. On this occasion we were "piloted" by a well-known citizen of Portland. In the course of a short tour, occupying less than two hours altogether (*i.e.*, from 8 p.m. to 10 p.m.), nearly forty saloons[2] were entered and examined, while a further number were "looked into" and many others pointed out. It was evident that with little extra effort fully a hundred drinking places could have been visited. All of those visited were situated within the limits of a comparatively small area. Many of the saloons were grouped thickly together; in some cases they were next door to one another, while many occupied corner positions in busy thoroughfares. They varied somewhat in size and character. In one or two cases the place was called a "café," but this was a slight and needless disguise; inside they had bars like the rest of the saloons. The majority of the places visited were, however, simple liquor saloons, fitted with ordinary bars, and opening straight on to

[1] The location of the bar downstairs in some of the hotels is not peculiar to prohibition cities. It is an arrangement which is common in licence cities also.

[2] Including three hotels.

the street. Many of the places were crowded, nearly all were busy, and only one was empty at the time of the visit. In this case the saloon-keeper explained that a concert was "going on outside." Several of the saloons had side and back rooms. In one case the front part of the premises was partitioned and curtained off into small private compartments, each fitted with a table and common sofa-chairs, while behind was a regular bar-room. This saloon was said to be largely used as a place of assignation for immoral purposes.

The evening on which these visits were made was warm, and in some cases the doors of the saloon were thrown wide open, and any one passing could plainly see what was going on inside. In some cases there was singing and instrumental music. On several occasions policemen were observed to be standing close to the saloons or passing by them. Once, as we entered, and again as we came out of a saloon where a "Sing Song" was in progress, a policeman was observed standing just outside the saloon and only a few yards from the door.

The actual situation, so far as the authorities are concerned, was summed up by one of the saloon-keepers, who, when asked how business was, replied, "Very fair," and then added that so long as he "kept cards and dice out and kept decent hours" he was "all right." This cynical indifference of the authorities—the justification for which they claim to find in the state of public opinion on the question—receives curious illustration at every turn. One of the most striking was given by the British Vice-Consul in the course of conversation with one of the present writers. He mentioned that some time previously he

PLATE V.

Photograph of Bar in one of the principal hotels in Portland, Maine.

Specially taken for "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform."

had had, as a part of his official duty, to search for two sailors who had "deserted" from their ship. On applying to the local police he was told that the best chance of finding them was by visiting the saloons, and a police officer was at once detailed to accompany the master of the steamer in his search. Indeed, so open is the traffic that references to saloons are frequent in the reports of the proceedings at the Portland Police Court.[1]

Number of Liquor Saloons in Portland.

The number of liquor sellers in Portland has been variously estimated, often loosely and with evident exaggeration, but for obvious reasons it cannot be stated exactly. The British Vice-Consul, when appealed to, said he had it on excellent authority that there are 350 liquor sellers in the city. The Mayor of Portland, on being questioned, did not contest this estimate, but said that the number could best be ascertained from the collector of internal revenue and from the city police. On the other hand, one of the two deputy marshals of police stated that the estimate of 350 liquor places was excessive, and when asked what in his judgment was a fair

[1] See the *Portland Courier*, August 16th, 1899, and the *Portland Express*, September 22nd, 1899, for two among many illustrations of this; the former case being that of a well-known saloon-keeper who was "given thirty days' imprisonment"—we quote from the local newspaper—"to get over his ugly fit, during which he broke four large panes of glass in another man's saloon on Center Street."

estimate, replied that of "rum saloons proper and 'kitchen bars'" there were probably 250. This number, he added, did not include druggists (of whom there are more than 50 in Portland), "all of whom," he said, "sell liquor." He further stated that in addition to these there were perhaps 100 places selling "soft" beers (*i.e.*, beers commonly supposed to be non-alcoholic), such as "lithia" and "uno."

Judge Gould—than whom probably few men in Portland are better qualified to speak[1]—gave it as his opinion that this estimate also was excessive. He himself put the number of liquor saloons (exclusive of drug stores) at 160 or 170.

A surer indication of the true number is afforded by the Internal Revenue returns, which show that in the year ending June 30th, 1899, no fewer than 218 persons in Portland took out Federal liquor licences.[2] These returns, as we have already shown, are far from including all who sell liquor, so that it would seem to be a moderate estimate to say that the number of liquor sellers in Portland (including drug stores, "kitchen bars," etc.) is not less than from 230 to 250. We are able, however, to speak more positively upon this point, and in the accompanying map (Plate VII.) to give the actual location of 176 places in Portland at which liquor was being sold in the summer of 1899. The particulars are as follow:—

[1] Judge Gould was until recently Judge of the Municipal Court at Portland, a position which he held for twelve years, and prior to that was Recorder of the Court for a period of two years.

[2] This number does not include Deering, which was annexed to Portland in March, 1899.

Photograph of Saloon in Commercial Street, Portland, Maine.

NOTE.—In the reproduction of this photograph the portraits of the bar-tenders have been disguised.

Specially taken for "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform."

Hotels with Bars, "on"	13
Saloons, "on"	88
"Kitchen Bars," etc., "on" . . .	17
Wholesale Drug Stores, "off" . .	3
Retail „ „ "off" . .	50
Bottling Factories, "on" and "off" .	4
City Liquor Agency, "off" . . .	1
	176 [1]

The list does not pretend to be exhaustive, but it is conclusive so far as it goes, and has been certified by fully informed persons in Portland, who have had exceptional opportunities, official as well as political, of knowing the number and location of the saloons, as an understatement of the actual facts. We may add that a complete list of the names and addresses of the proprietors or managers of the saloons and other liquor places shown on the map is in the possession of the present writers.

Wholesale Liquor Traffic.

The map, it will be seen, shows the existence of two branches of the liquor traffic in Portland, viz., *wholesale* and *retail*. We will describe the former first.

(*a*) Liquor Bottling Factories.

It will probably startle many English readers to learn that a wholesale liquor traffic is carried on in the chief city of Maine, but such is the case. It is

[1] This number, although not complete, gives an average of one liquor shop for every 240 persons of the population. For a comparison with English cities, see Appendix, p. 669.

encountered first of all in the shape of four bottling establishments which, in addition to a busy trade in so-called "soft" beers, bottle large quantities of ordinary beers and spirits which they supply to the local saloon-keepers and others. Three of these establishments—all of which we have thoroughly inspected—are large and commodious buildings, admirably equipped with the most modern appliances and machinery. The fourth is a smaller establishment with a far less perfect equipment of machinery, but doing, nevertheless, a good and increasing trade. The chief part of the trade done in these factories is, of course, an "off" trade, but in every case beer and spirits are also sold by the glass or bottle for consumption "on" the premises. As a matter of fact, the "bar" trade was in actual progress at each factory on the occasion of our visit.

The manager of the first establishment visited, where between forty and fifty "hands" were employed, informed us that they bottled eight separate kinds of lager beer, three kinds of ale, one of porter, and one of "half-and-half," besides wines, spirits, and "soft" beers (*i.e.*, "lithia," "uno," ginger ale, etc.). In showing us over the store-room, he explained that stocks were rather low just then, as "they couldn't bottle fast enough to supply orders."

The proprietor of the second establishment visited informed us that they employed forty-two men. He declined to state the average amount of trade done, but on being asked if they bottled "five hundred dozen of beer a day," replied, "More than that some days." He also said that they bottled "quite a lot" of spirits. This was evident from the large stocks on hand in the store-rooms. The other establishments

PLATE VII.

Map showing the number and location of Liquor Saloons, etc.,

IN

PORTLAND, MAINE.

(Estimated Population, January 1st, 1899, 41,500.)

NOTE.—This Map does not show the whole of the places where liquor is sold in Portland, but only those of which the present writers have definite knowledge. For the actual number of liquor saloons, etc., in Portland, see pp. 142-3.

were visited more than a month later. One, owned by a company, was very similar in equipment and character to those already described, and was evidently doing a busy trade. The other—the smallest of the four—has been running for two or three years only, and is furnished chiefly with hand machinery. Its trade, however, is steadily growing. Here also there was a small room used as a bar-room. Altogether these four bottling factories furnish an extraordinary illustration of the futility of the prohibition law in Portland.

(*b*) Wholesale Drug Stores.

But it will be seen from the map that the wholesale liquor traffic in Portland is further represented by three wholesale drug stores. These are well-established and perfectly reputable firms doing a large legitimate drug trade among the retail druggists of Maine and New Hampshire, and the trade in spirituous liquors is but an incidental part—albeit a very important part—of their general business. Mr. John Koren, who visited Portland in 1894, says: "So far as the wholesale druggists are concerned, the writer has it on the authority of one engaged in the business that a wholesale druggist who should refuse to fill orders for liquor from village druggists and physicians would be unable to retain his trade," and the results of our own inquiries entirely support this view. Each of the three firms "carries" a large assortment of liquors, one of them—so we were informed by a gentleman who had been twenty-four years in the drug trade—keeping no less than *twelve* different brands of whisky always in stock, and brandies, wines, cordials, "cocktails," etc., in addition.

Retail Liquor Traffic.

But it is when we turn to the retail trade that the full extent of the liquor traffic in Portland is realized. Here the evidence is overwhelming.

(*a*) Saloons.

We select first the saloons, of which (including hotels) the map shows 101. This number, we repeat, is not exhaustive, but it covers those of which the present writers have actual knowledge. Foremost among them are the hotels, all of which, with one exception, have bars, accessible alike to the casual customer from the street and to the *bona-fide* guest. They are, in fact, ordinary liquor saloons of a somewhat more respectable type. The one exception is a case where the hotel is prohibited by a condition in the lease from maintaining a bar, but even here any kind of liquor—from a bottle of beer to a "cocktail"— is easily obtainable. A guest has simply to give the order, and it is fetched immediately from a drug store next door. Wines, etc., are also freely served in the public dining room to guests who order them. These facts are matters of personal observation so far as the present writers are concerned. We should also add that the hotel bars are not even closed on Sunday.

The ordinary liquor saloons conform very largely to one type. There are, as already explained, no liquor advertisements in the windows,[1] but they are easily

[1] One of the present writers was informed that a few years ago advertisements of a particular beer were for a time placed in the saloon windows, but these were subsequently withdrawn on the order of the police.

PLATE VIII.

Photograph (exterior) of Saloon in Portland, Maine (see p. 147).

Specially taken for "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform."

distinguished, and cannot well be mistaken. It is, indeed, inconceivable that any one familiar with the central part of the city could pass them by without recognition. The impression so common in England that they are obscure, out-of-the-way and carefully-hidden "dives" is absolutely without foundation. Some idea of their real character can be gathered from the photographs which we append, and which have been specially taken for this volume. The present writers have others also in their possession, but these will suffice. The one facing this page (Plate VIII.) is an exterior view of one of the most recent and elaborately fitted saloons in Portland. In addition to the entrance shown in the illustration, it has another in a side street. The bar is furnished with electric light, and has also an electric fan for ventilation, and cost, according to the manager's own statement, $2,500 (£500) to fit up.

This saloon has had a somewhat chequered history. Just over it, in the same block, is the office of the United States Shipping Commissioner, where American sailors (of whom a large number visit the city) are paid off. At the other end of the block, separated by a few yards only, are other rooms which are rented and used by the British Vice-Consul as a Sailors' Reading Room and Institute, and which he maintains largely at his own expense as a counter-attraction to the saloons; while immediately opposite, on the other side of the road, is a well-known saloon, one of the most prosperous, probably, in Portland.

Now it was the evident design of the promoters of the new saloon not only to divert ordinary business from the saloon opposite, but, especially, to attract the custom of the sailors as they came downstairs with

their pay. The most elaborate arrangements were made to this end, and when the saloon was approaching completion, cards were sent out announcing that it would be opened on a given Saturday. One of these cards was handed to the British Vice-Consul, who, knowing how seriously the new saloon would compete with the work of his Sailors' Institute, had previously taken steps to notify the proprietor that he should object to a saloon underneath his rooms. He was, of course, precluded by his official position from active personal interference, but friends interested in his Institute came to his help, and the proprietors were warned that if they opened the saloon the law would be enforced against them. They replied that they knew what they were after, and should "go right on." Thereupon, the public becoming incensed over the matter, made representations both to the County Attorney and to the Mayor, and the proprietors were officially warned not to open. They, however, ignored the warning, and opened the saloon on the date advertised, whereupon instructions were given to the police to raid the place, and, contrary to the usual practice, to station a policeman outside to see that it did not re-open.

But the chief interest of the episode lies in the following facts. Immediately before the raid great pressure was brought to bear upon both the County Attorney[1] and the British Consul to induce them to withdraw their opposition. The latter was offered (1) help in securing new premises for his Sailors' Insti-

[1] One of the present writers had it from the County Attorney's own lips that he had been much "interviewed" by persons acting in the saloon-keeper's interest, to get him to induce the British Consul to withdraw his opposition.

tute, and (2) a donation of 1,000 dollars towards the cost of moving and extra rental if he would consent to go. He was so importuned in the matter that at last he said that if suitable premises could be found elsewhere, in a district free from saloons, he would move his institute. No such premises, however, could be found, and then it was suggested that if he would stay there and let the saloon stay there also, the proprietors would subscribe ten dollars a month towards his institute, and *station a policeman outside to see that he was not troubled by their customers.* Meantime, other saloon-keepers in the neighbourhood were watching the course of events with considerable interest, and the proprietor of another saloon offered to pay the rent of the Sailors' Institute if the Consul would "hold out" against the new saloon. In the end the matter solved itself in the usual way. For a time the management sold "soft" beers only, but the zeal of the authorities quickly subsided, and when one of the present writers visited the saloon in September, 1899—a few months after the trouble—the sale of beer and spirits was in full progress.[1]

The trade of these saloons is not confined to "on" sales; many of them do a large "off" trade also. A leading attorney in Portland informed us that a client (a saloon keeper) had that morning told him that his business had grown so greatly that he was now compelled to employ three assistants. He added that he was building up "a big family trade," and that this branch "kept one man going."

[1] Later information (February, 1900) says:—"Periodical seizures are made, but the proprietor 'bobs up again,' and business is carried on as usual."

(*b*) Retail Drug Stores.

The retail drug stores of Portland—of which there are more than fifty, or one to every 800 of the population[1]—represent another important branch of the retail liquor traffic. The trade done by these is chiefly an "off" (*i.e.*, bottle) trade, but there are at least five or six that sell for consumption on the premises also. Until recently, according to the deputy marshal of police, there were a number of "bogus" druggists in the city, whose drugs were only a "blind." Strong action by the Pharmaceutical Society had, however, served to suppress almost the whole of these, "but," he added, "all the regular druggists sell." Similar testimony was given by others, and while no one disputes the fact, many, even among those who favour a prohibitory law, regard it as a more or less innocent and necessary "safety valve." It would be unfair, however, while stating the fact, to appear to put all the druggists in Portland in the same category. Many of the drug stores in the city are as respectable and do as legitimate a drug trade as any similar stores in this country, but while in some of these cases no special effort is made to push the sale of liquor, the present writers were unable to discover one in which it is not actually sold. It is also certain that many druggists in Portland sell on Sunday also.

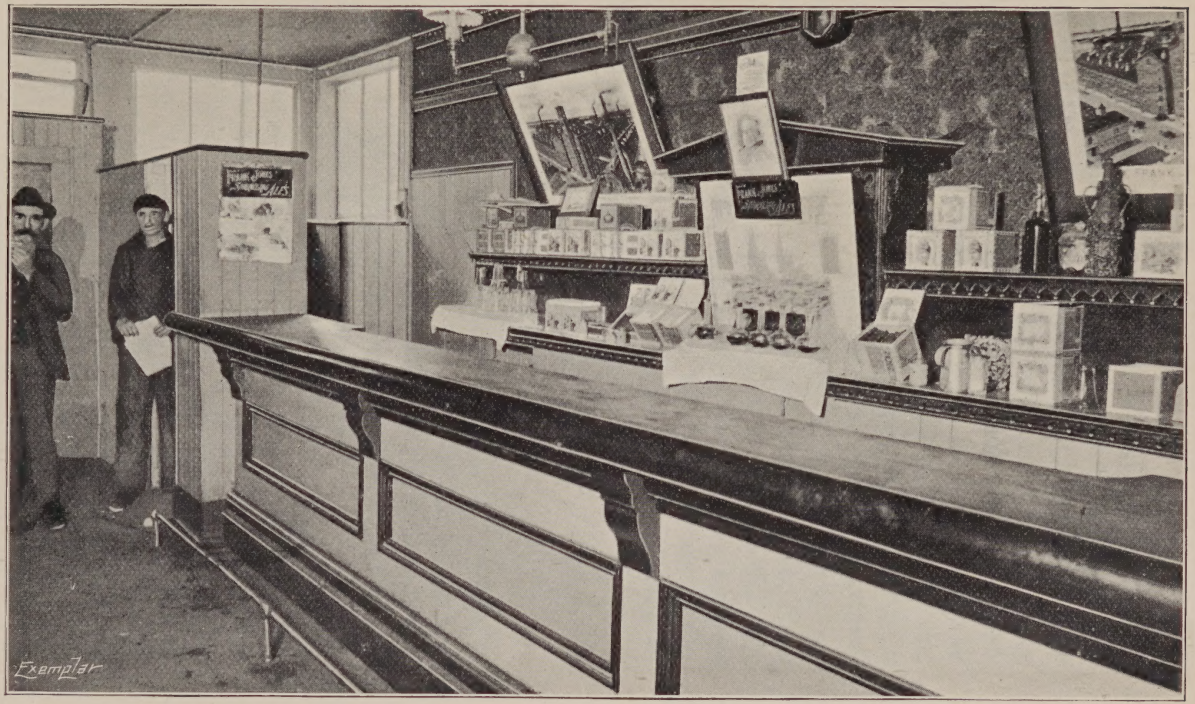
(*c*) "Kitchen Bars," etc.

Of the more irregular forms which the liquor traffic takes in Portland, the chief is that represented by the sales at what are called "kitchen bars." The number

[1] In Great Britain the proportion of registered chemists is one to every 2,350 of the population.

PLATE IX.

Photograph of Saloon in Center Street, Portland, Maine.



Specially taken for "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform."

of these varies, and can never be accurately determined; but while there are fewer now than there have been in the rare times when attempts have been made to enforce the prohibition law, it is certain that they are more numerous than is suggested by the accompanying map. Except in the case of "disorderly houses" the sales are chiefly confined to Saturday and Sunday. Both the sheriff and the police complain that it is difficult to get sufficient evidence against these places to sustain a prosecution, and this is doubtless true. Certain it is that in all parts of the State there is a much greater readiness to enforce the law against the keepers of "kitchen bars" than against the ordinary liquor seller. In Portland, however, not more than twenty-five "kitchen bars" had been raided during the first nine months of 1899.

(*d*) The Liquor Agency.

But apart altogether from violations of the law, it remains to be shown that, even under the recognised and deliberate provisions of the law, facilities abound in most of the large towns and cities for obtaining practically unlimited supplies of liquor.

The prohibitory law, for example, provides for the establishment of a State Liquor Agency, under the charge of a Commissioner appointed by the Governor in Council, for supplying pure liquor for "medicinal, mechanical, and manufacturing purposes" to officially established sub-agencies in the towns and cities of the State. This arrangement is generally regarded as necessary even by advanced prohibitionists, and probably some such provision is indispensable under any prohibitory *régime*, but the actual results of the

system are so peculiar, and the abuses connected with it have often been so great, that it may be well to examine the system in detail.

(1) The State Commissioner.

The State Commissioner holds a peculiar position in a prohibitive community. He is appointed for a period of four years, and the office, which is conferred for purely party political services, is generally regarded as one of the greatest "plums" in the State.

He has a complete monopoly of the supply so far as the sub-agencies are concerned, and all liquors sold by the sub-agents must be ordered through him. Formerly the practice was for the State Commissioner to keep (at his own risk) a constant stock of liquors on hand, and to supply the sub-agencies direct from his own stores, and that arrangement was undoubtedly the intention of the law; but the risk and losses connected with the system, owing to constant changes in the administration, led to another system being adopted under which the Commissioner contracts with certain firms outside the State (selected by himself) for the supply of all the liquors required. That the system is open to much abuse and has been a fruitful source of corruption there can be little doubt.

The amount of trade done by the State Commissioner can be gathered from the tables which are given elsewhere,[1] from which it will be seen that the total value of the sales in 1898 amounted to just under $40,000 (£8,000), as against $130,812 (£26,162) in 1893. The amount varies with the degree of enforcement which obtains in the State.

[1] See Appendix, p. 699.

(2) The City Liquor Agencies.

But it is with the sub-agencies in the towns and cities of the State that we are here chiefly concerned.

In Portland, as elsewhere, the city agent is really a political agent appointed by the mayor and aldermen, and holding office, as a general rule, for one year only. His salary ($1,100)[1] is paid by the city. The agency is supervised by a committee of three members of the board of aldermen, for whom the director of the agency nominally acts as manager. The equipment of the establishment belongs to the city, and all expenditure connected with the office is charged against the profits from the sales. It is the intention of the law that the liquors sold should be pure and retailed at a cost sufficient to cover working expenses only; and, in recent years, these aims would seem to have been successfully accomplished. Sometimes, however, large profits have been made, as, for example, in 1892–3, when more than $14,000 were paid into the city treasury as a result of the year's trading.[2]

The profits, however, vary with the amount of business done, and this again is determined by the amount of competition which the liquor agency meets with outside. Of late years, owing to the open sale of liquor in saloons, drug stores, etc., the sales at the agency have steadily declined, until in 1898–9

[1] He also receives $700 a year for an assistant.

[2] These profits were appropriated for the following municipal purposes:—

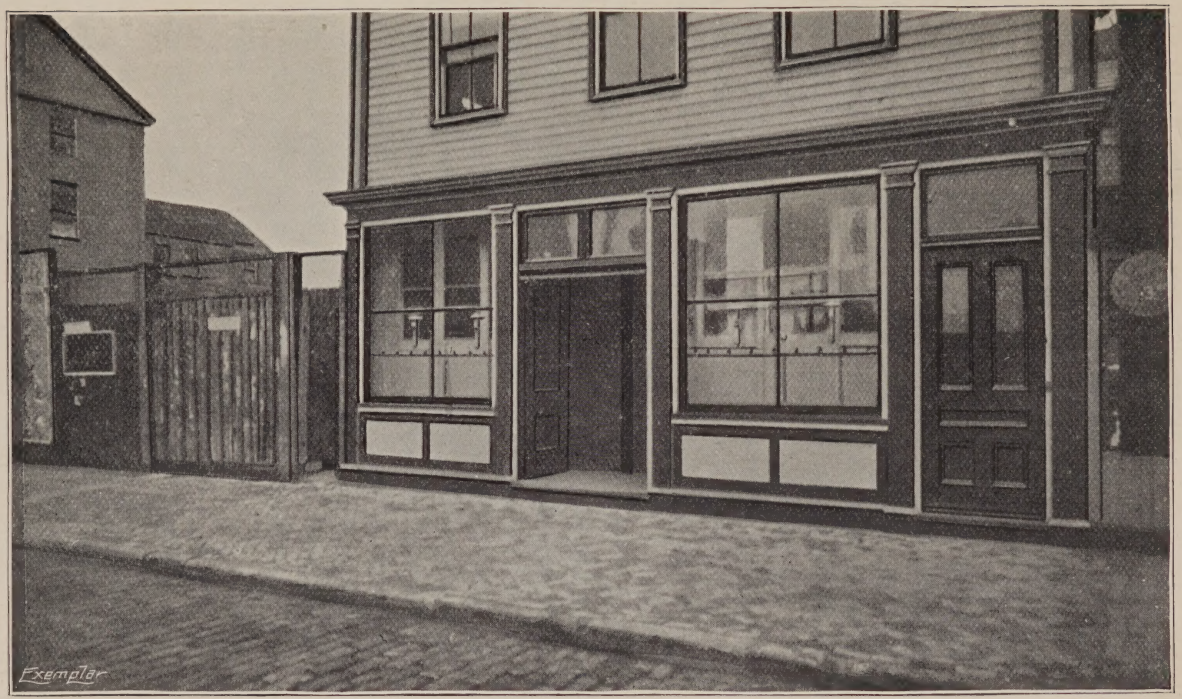
Police Telephone System	4,360·00
Deer Paddocks in the Oaks	505·31
Quarantine Station	5,761·06
Evening Schools	659·93
West School	3,000·00
	$14,286·30

— as will be seen from the table given in the Appendix[1]—they amounted to no more than $11,352, as against $58,742 in 1891–2, and $84,848 in 1892–3, when a temporary but strong effort was made by the sheriff to suppress the saloons. The close connection between outside competition and reduced sales in the city liquor agency was repeatedly emphasised in the course of the present investigation. The city liquor agent, on being asked why the sales at the agency had so greatly declined since 1892, replied:—"You haven't far to go for the explanation; you've got it all around you. They don't come here when the other places are running as freely as they are now." He further complained that the commission levied by the State on all liquors purchased from the State Commissioner (*i.e.*, 10 per cent. on the market value) seriously handicapped him in his competition with the drug stores and the saloons. In this he but echoed a complaint that is made by all the city agents in Maine. Sales are only supposed to be made for medicinal, mechanical, or manufacturing purposes, but, as a matter of fact, no questions are asked, nor is any certificate required. In one or two cases, on the occasion of our first visit, the name and address of the customer were taken, but this was evidently unusual, and provoked considerable surprise. A large proportion of the customers were women. Sales are freely made to minors if they bring a written order from a parent or guardian. The nominal hours of sale are from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m., but in reality they are what the agent "likes to make them." A large and varied stock of liquors is kept, but cheap whisky (ranging from three dollars a gallon upwards)

[1] See p. 700.

PLATE X.

Photograph (exterior) of Saloon in Commercial Street, Portland, Maine.



Specially taken for "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform."

is the liquor most in demand. Any quantity, from a gill to five gallons, can be purchased.

(*e*) Importations.

As has already been pointed out, under the Federal law no Prohibition State can prevent an inter-State railway or express company from carrying to any point within its borders liquor brought from another State. Shipments of liquor from Boston to Portland, for instance, are held to be valid shipments by the Courts. Once delivered, the liquor can be surreptitiously sold or given away, and have more or less potent effect in neutralising the prohibitory law. In the case of packages intended for legitimate private consumption no disguise is needed, nor can such packages, even when seized by the police, be confiscated. As a matter of fact, such seizures are exceedingly rare, and at the present time liquor is imported freely. Such importations must be carefully kept in mind in any attempt to estimate the amount of liquor consumed in Portland, for, apart altogether from the liquors imported for sale, a considerable quantity is obtained from Boston for private consumption. Many citizens, indeed, obtain all their liquor in this way, alleging as their reason the poor quality of the liquors sold in Portland.

Quantity of Liquor Consumed in Portland.

It is evident, therefore, upon a review of all the sources of supply, that the total quantity of liquor sold and consumed in Portland is very great, and far in excess of what is popularly supposed. It may, indeed, be doubted if it is not actually greater at the present

time than it would be under a properly regulated system of licence. Complete statistics are, of course, unobtainable, but the following figures, which show the actual quantities of ale delivered in Portland by *one brewery only* from May to August, 1899, will help to show that this conclusion is not so startling as it may at first sight seem. The figures were supplied to the present writers by the brewer's agent in Portland —a man who is personally responsible for the delivery of every barrel coming into the city from that particular brewery, and are taken from his private records. The total quantities only are given here, but the particulars for each day separately are in our possession. The figures are as follow:—

1899.	Barrels.	Half-barrels.
May . .	828 . .	26
June . .	883 . .	41
July . .	963 . .	36
August . .	964 (including half-barrels)	

The foregoing quantities, it must be repeated, represent the deliveries of *one brewery only*, and do not take into account the deliveries of other breweries, some idea of the magnitude of which can easily be formed by any one who takes the trouble to watch the Boston steamers unloading at the Franklin Wharf. The present writers have it on the same authority (and no one, probably, has greater or more explicit knowledge than our informant) that the *total* quantity of ale and beer coming into Portland, from all sources, may safely be put at 2,500 barrels per month (*i.e.*, 1,500 barrels of *ale* and 1,000 barrels of *beer*). This would give an annual *per capita* consumption—reckoning the present population of Portland (including Deering) at 50,000—

of 18·6 (American)[1] gallons, or 3·3 gallons more than the average *per capita* consumption of malt liquors for the whole of the United States. The imports *from one brewery only* represent an annual *per capita* consumption of 6·7 gallons.[2]

If we could add to these figures the consumption of spirits—the consumption of which, owing to their greater portability, is always stimulated by prohibitory legislation—it would be seen how great the consumption of intoxicating liquors in Portland really is.[3]

Prevalence of Drunkenness.

A consideration of these facts will help to make clear what has always been a source of perplexity to many temperance workers in this country, namely, the apparently wide-spread prevalence of drunkenness in the cities of Maine. That there is very considerable drunkenness in Maine is beyond dispute. So far from being challenged, the fact is publicly acknowledged and deplored by the staunchest friends of the prohibitory law, and is put beyond the region of controversy by the official returns.[4] The late General Neal Dow, writing to the

[1] An American gallon is ·833 of an English gallon, while an American barrel contains, according to the U.S. Inland Revenue Department, 31 gallons. An English barrel contains 36 gallons.

[2] Some deduction from this estimate must of course be made for the beer purchased in Portland but consumed outside, *i.e.*, in the neighbouring districts.

[3] It must be remembered that spirits have always been the national drink in America, and while of late years the consumption of beer has been steadily growing, having risen from 9·59 in 1880–4 to 15·21 gallons in 1893–7 (during which period the consumption of spirits has only slightly declined, *i.e.*, from 1·40 gallons to 1·19 gallons), whisky continues to be the popular beverage.

[4] See Appendix, p. 701.

Portland Argus on February 4th, 1896, said :—"There is a good deal of feeling about town as to the present state of affairs, and a conviction that the present city government seems to ignore the matter altogether, under the pretence that the suppression of these places [*i.e.*, saloons] is impossible. The ministers have taken the subject up with the hope of delivering the city from the evil which now oppresses it. It has been found by actual observation that many boys and young men are in the way of going to the bad by the many temptations to drink that are permitted openly and freely to lead them astray. A few weeks ago the police arrested eighty persons, sixty of them for drunkenness. That is a larger number by far than was ever before arrested in Portland for that offence. It would be interesting, perhaps startling even, to compare that harvest with those of Boston, New York, or Chicago, as to the proportion of drunkenness to population."

To compare, as General Neal Dow here suggests, a special outbreak of drunkenness in Portland with the normal figures for Boston, New York and Chicago, would obviously be unfair, but a comparison of the arrests for drunkenness in the cities named in 1898—the latest year for which statistics are available—is certainly striking. The figures are as under :—

	Population, Jan. 1st, 1899.	Arrests for Drunkenness. 1898.	Ratio per 1,000.
Portland	41,500	1,740	42
New York	3,500,000	46,170	13
Chicago.	1,850,000	42,212[1]	23
Boston .	582,463	26,177	45[2]

[1] Including disturbing the peace.

[2] See foot-note, p. 318.

PLATE XI.

Photograph of Saloon in Commercial Street, Portland, Maine.

Specially taken for "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform."

The Rev. Wilbur F. Berry, Secretary of the Maine Christian Civic League, writing in January, 1898, said :—" Drunkenness is increasing in the State. The imprisonments for drunkenness in Cumberland County in 1892 were 212; the number steadily increased to 988 in 1896. The *Portland Press*, of September 16th, 1897, published a list of twenty-one drunks who were before the municipal court the day before, and the average number of arrests for drunkenness per week is about forty. But the number arrested for drunkenness in no way indicates the number of persons drunk on the streets, for though the law requires the arrest of all persons seen intoxicated on the streets, only disorderly, quarrelsome, drunken persons are arrested as a rule; and not all arrested are brought into court, as not a few are allowed to go free from the lock-up when sobered. In brief, this is the condition of the liquor traffic in Maine." [1]

The statistical method of argument in relation to drunkenness is not one to which the present writers attach great importance, inasmuch as the statistics to which appeal must be made are necessarily governed by circumstances which are neither uniform nor always apparent; but at the same time, looking at the figures in the most general way, it is clear that they challenge the value of the prohibitory law as a restraint upon drunkenness.

[1] *Zion's Herald*, January 26th, 1898. The following statement, which appeared in the *Portland Argus* on August 18th, 1899, is also noteworthy :—" Nobody seems to exactly know what to do with the men who will insist on getting fairly drunk, and then just as firmly insist on keeping on Commercial Street. Their room evenings would be a good deal better than their company."

Moreover, as the Secretary of the Maine Christian Civic League is careful to point out, the figures are not explained by a greater stringency in the enforcement of the police law in Portland. Under the Maine Law (as elsewhere in America) simple drunkenness is made a criminal offence, but in point of practice no man is arrested if he is not actually creating a "disturbance." The effort of the police—as the City Marshal informed one of the present writers—is restricted to "keeping the streets clear." So long as a man is able to go home quietly, he is not interfered with.[1] This would seem to be an arrangement of long standing. The late General Neal Dow, in the course of his examination before the Royal Canadian Commission on June 27th, 1893, said:—"When I was Mayor [in 1851] every man who indicated he was drunk was arrested, but now they do not do that unless the man is noisy and disturbing the peace."

Another witness—a "Past Most Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance"—on being informed that evidence had been given that drunken persons who were not disorderly were not arrested, and that in the preceding year "men shook their fists in the face of the police in Portland, and dared them to arrest them," said: "I have no doubt of it."

"And that would naturally reduce the number of arrests very largely in the city of Portland?"—"Yes."

[1] On the first occasion on which one of the present writers visited the Portland Police Station (*i.e.*, August 14th, 1899), a drunken man came in and informed the officers that he had been drinking—a fact that was tolerably evident from his condition. The Deputy Marshal told him to go home and "keep in the house," and the man reeled out smiling.

The ex-City Marshal of Portland, when questioned on the point, said: "It has always been the practice of the officers, if they found a man intoxicated, and if he was unable to go home, to take him to the station. If he was able to go home, they would rather see him go home." [1]

That the practice is not confined to Portland was made evident by investigations in other cities. In no town visited was any other arrangement in force.

Administration of the Law.

The real explanation of the widespread prevalence of drunkenness in Portland lies, however, altogether apart from questions of police practice. It is to be found in the fact that prohibition exists in Portland only in name, and that the system actually in force there is a system of irregular licence in which the evils of the traffic are intensified, and from which the ordinary safeguards have been removed.

That the traffic is in effect licensed, or (to quote the official term) "regulated," is freely acknowledged by the city and county officials, who justify their action on the ground that public sentiment demands it. Thus, the mayor of Portland, when asked by one of the present writers what was the meaning of one or two raids that had recently been made, replied that he thought "things were getting too open," and so he had instructed the city marshal to raid one or two of the worst places, and now he "was going to watch the result." The city marshal was even more explicit. They closed up the places, he said, that were dis-

[1] See *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission* (1893, vol. v.).

orderly, but where a saloon-keeper "used discretion" (*i.e.*, kept his customers from making a disturbance), and "did not allow them to loaf about the doors of the saloon," they "did not interfere with him." They had, however, "cleaned out" some disorderly places that summer. The sheriff, in confirming this, said that he himself had "warned the keepers of hotels and saloons not to open on Sunday." They were, however, he added, "tolerably good in that respect."

What actually happens is that the saloon-keepers are periodically "visited" by the sheriff's deputies, or by the police—generally the former—and enough liquor is seized to support a prosecution. A fine, varying in amount from $100 for simple "search and seizure" to $200 upon an indictment for maintaining a "nuisance," is then imposed, and the liquor-seller is free to continue his trade for another term. The proceedings are purely formal, and can only by courtesy be spoken of as a "trial." The hollowness of the system, as it obtains in some counties, was well exposed in an incident described in the *New Voice*—the official organ of the National Prohibition party in America—on December 7th, 1899. "At a session of the Supreme Court in Aroostook County," so it was stated, "a rum-seller came in and proffered his fine of $100, and costs of $10, to the clerk of the court. 'I haven't any indictment against you,' said the clerk. 'Well, there ought to be one, and I want to pay my fine!' 'But I can't take your money,' said the clerk. 'You must,' said the rum-seller; 'I want the protection.' And the clerk hunted over the docket until he found an indictment several years old, took the fine, and let the man go, and keep on selling—all because that is the Republican party policy."

A liquor-seller convicted on a "search and seizure" warrant can, if he so choose, postpone payment of his fine by appealing from the municipal court to what is called the Superior Court, the sessions of which are held three times a year. If he still wish to postpone payment, he can further appeal (on what is called a "demurrer") from the Superior Court to the "Law Court," which sits in July only. In this way he can sometimes secure a year's delay, *continuing his sales all the while.*

The accompanying illustration (Plate XII.), which has been reproduced from the *Portland Advertiser* of October 18th, 1899, gives a complete list of the liquor cases which came before the Superior Court at Portland in September, 1899. The total number of indictments, it will be seen, was 234, and the total number of liquor-sellers indicted was 159. The amount of fines collected was $20,062 (£4,012), making a total for the year of $23,962 (£4,792). This sum, however, does not represent the whole of the revenue (*i.e.*, fines) derived from the sale of liquor in Portland. A further sum of about $5,000[1] must be added for the liquor fines paid upon conviction in the municipal court, making a total revenue from liquor fines of $29,000 (£5,800). These moneys are subsequently paid over to the county treasurer, and are used to defray the ordinary county expenses.[2] The law requires that

[1] The amount actually received in the first seven months (January to July) of 1899 was $3,500.

[2] These include cost of judicial administration, jail expenses, etc. The deliberateness of the system, as it exists in other counties, is illustrated by the following statement which appeared in the *New Voice*—the official organ of the National Prohibition party in America—on February 1st, 1900:—

"One Republican county attorney recently addressed a Grand

the penalty for conviction upon an indictment for "maintaining a nuisance" shall be a "fine not exceeding $1,000." The usual practice is, however, to inflict a fine of $200 and costs for a first offence, and to add a further fine of $100 for every additional offence, so that a saloon-keeper who had, say, three indictments against him in one term, would be liable to a penalty of $400 and costs.[1] The effect of this cumulative system of fining, if it were strictly carried out, would be to make liquor selling in Maine a much more expensive business than it is at the present time. But in practice the intention of the law is systematically evaded by making the bar-tender (who can easily be dismissed), and not the proprietor, the legal defendant. Whenever, therefore, a bar-tender becomes "too expensive" (*i.e.*, has too many indictments charged against him), he is removed from his post, and another man is put in his place. In this way the fines are kept within "reasonable limits."

This method of "search and seizure," with its subsequent "fine," is not, however, uniformly enforced, and in Portland, at least, it offers many loopholes for unequal administration. The fact that a liquor-seller is under the "protection" of the sheriff, or of the police, will often save him from the "inconvenience" of a prosecution, while another man who does not enjoy such "protection" may be indicted twice or

Jury in these words: 'Now I want you to indict these rum-sellers. We can get $5,000 in fines from them towards paying the county debt. They have as good a right to help pay the taxes as any other business, and it will make other people's taxes less.'"

[1] This rule is subject to exceptions, and is not adhered to strictly.

PLATE XII.

Particulars of 234 indictments against 159 liquor-sellers at the September term of the Superior Court, Portland (Maine), 1899, reproduced from the Portland *Advertiser* of October 18th, 1899.

ADVERTISER WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 18 1899

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B. C. STONE, Clerk.

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Legal Notices.

In accordance with the provisions of Sec. 9, of Chap. 366, of the Public Laws of the State of Maine for the year 1885 (as amended by Chap. 41 of the Public Laws of the State of Maine for the year 1887) I hereby publish "the disposition of each appeal case and indictment for violation of the laws regulating the use and sale of intoxicating liquors," disposed of at the September Term A. D. 1899, of the Superior Court, for the County of Cumberland; said term commencing on the first Tuesday of September A. D. 1899, and adjourning October 2nd, 1899, as follows:—

State vs George Downes. Common seller. Dismissed. Respondent not found.

State vs. Charles Murphy, aplt. Search and seizure. Dismissed. Respondent dead.

State vs. Charles Murphy. Nuisance. Dismissed. Respondent dead.

State vs Joseph Ouillette. Nuisance. Dismissed. Respondent not found.

State vs William J. Robinson, aplt. Search and seizure. Continued.

State vs John P Cook. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay a fine of $200 and $34.41 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs Michael J. McCoy. Nuisance. Continued for sentence.

State vs Michael J. Devine, aplt. Search and seizure. Continued for sentence.

State vs Thomas P. Crisham. Nuisance. Continued for sentence.

State vs Michael A. Scully. Nuisance. Not to be brought forward unless by special order of court.

State vs Simeon Sanborn. Common seller. Dismissed. Respondent not found.

State vs Simeon Sanborn. Single sale. Dismissed. Respondent not found.

State vs Dennis A. Carey, aplt. Search and seizure. Not to be brought forward unless by special order of court.

State vs John D. Eagan, aplt. Search and seizure. Continued for sentence.

State vs Charles L. Holland, aplt. Search and Seizure. Not to be brought forward unless by special order of court.

State vs Patrick J. Sullivan, aplt. Search and seizure. Not to be brought forward unless by special order of court.

State vs James Holland. Nuisance. Continued.

State vs Marshall Bachelder. Nuisance. Continued for sentence.

State vs Timothoy F Maloy. Nuisance. Not to be brought forward unless by order of Court

State vs Charles Rosenbloom. Nuisance. Continued for sentence.

State vs John E. Carter, aplt. Search and seizure. Not to be brought forward unless by order of Court.

State vs Patrick F. Duran. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $32.04 costs or six months in jail. Committed.

States vs Charles F. Landers, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $18.42 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs Cora B Leighton, aplt. Search and seizure. Contined for sentence

State vs Jonn Ames. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay a $200 fine and $148.23 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs John Ames. Common seller. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.41 costs and stand committed. Paid.

State vs Frank Morrill and Annie Morrill. Nuisance. Frank Morrill sentenced to pay $200 fine and $93.56 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid. Not to be brought forward unless by order of Court as to Annie Morrill.

State vs Frank Morrill. Common seller. Not to be brought forward unless by order of Court.

State vs Annie Morrill. Common seller. Not to be brought forward unless by order of Court

State vs David McGilvery. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $19.45 costs or six months in jail. Paid.

State vs Charles Stafford. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $300 fine and $18.79 costs or six months in jail. Paid

State vs Silas E Libby. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $57.48 costs or 6 months in jail. Committed.

State vs William F. Eagan. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $500 fine and $19.78 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs Stephen Hinds. Nuisance. Continued.

State vs Frank Hale. Nuisance. Continued.

State vs Michael J. McDonough, alias Tommy Flaherty. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $16.48 cost or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Harry Callan. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $16.48 cost or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs James A. Conwell. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $900 fine and $16.48 cost or 6 months in jail. Committed.

State vs Patrick J. Barrett. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $400 fine and $15.36 cost or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs Richard Wilkins. Nuisance. Continued.

State vs Patrick J. Barrett, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.36 cost or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs Michael F Barry, aplt. Search and siezure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $17.16 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs James A Conwell, aplt. Search and seizure continued.

State vs Henry F Conwell, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $20.34 costs or 60 days in jail. Committed.

State vs John C Duprey, aplt. Search and seizure. Bail defaulted.

State vs John Howley, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $18.44 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs Thomas J Lilly, aplt. Search and seizure. Continued for sentence.

State vs Ora G McLellan. Nuisance. Continued to next January term.

State vs Patrick H Feeney. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $19.28 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs John A Foster. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $19.28 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs Otto Marriner. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $400 fine and $19.28 cost or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs Harlan P. Ingalls. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $300 fine and $28.24 cost, or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs John C. Duprey and Stillman Duprey. Nuisance. Bail defaulted.

State vs Alfred Ouillet, alias Fred Ouillet. Nuisance. Sentenced to 30 days in jail. Committed.

State vs Peter B. Landry. Nuisance. Continued.

State vs Louis St. Pierre. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $300 fine and $49.40 cost, or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs August Bunker alias August Brown. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $19.28 cost, or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs Thomas J. Lilly. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $16.04 cost or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs James J McBrady. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $300 fine and $19.28 costs or six months in jail. Paid.

State vs Thomas J Flaherty. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $500 fine and $18.62 costs or six months in jail. Paid.

State vs Charles S Swett, Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $17.66 costs or six months in jail. Paid.

State vs Walter S Hodgkins. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $22.52 costs or six months in jail. Paid.

State vs Bernard Devine. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $400 fine and $19.28 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs Patrick W. McLaughlin. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $400 fine and $5.93 costs or six months in jail. Paid.

State vs Augustus W. Sylvester. Nuisance. Dismissed. Respondent dead.

State vs Michael O'Neil. Nuisance. Continued.

State vs Cornelius J Carlin. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $14.01 costs, or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs Frank Ashnault, aplt. Search and seizure. Continued for Sentence.

State vs Amos Ashnault, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $14.31 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs George H Bayes, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $20.49 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs Charles D Blair, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs John J Boyle, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs August Bunker, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $16.66 costs, or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs Henry Callan, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs, or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs Charles Carey, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $16.02 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs Richard A Conway aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs James A Conwell Jr aplt Search and seizure Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $16.68 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs Ernest E Cross aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $17.91 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs Robert E Crossman aplt. Search and seizure. Continued.

State vs Patrick Curran aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $16.68 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs Fred Erving aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.03 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs Joseph Fitzsimmons aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs James Foster, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs, or 60 days in jail. Paid.

Legal Notices.

State vs Joseph Gillis, aplt. Search and seizure. Bail defaulted.

State vs Harvey D Hall, aplt. Search and seizure. Bail defaulted.

State vs John Howley, Jr aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $17.16 costs, or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs George W Hunt, aplt. Search and seizure. Nol prossed.

State vs Abraham Jacobson, aplt. Search and seizure. Bail defaulted.

State vs Woodbury T Jordan, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs, or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs George Leonard, aplt. Search and seizure Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.01 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid.

State vs Thomas J Lilly, aplt Search and seizure Continued for sentence

State vs Edward J Logue aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs John M Logue, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.07 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs John Madden, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs John J McGill, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $16.02 costs or 60 days in jail. Committed

State vs James McGovern, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs Owen Norton, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.59 costs or 60 days in jail. Committed

State vs John M Parker, aplt. Search and seizure. Continued for sentence

State vs Daniel F Ronan, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $16.19 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs Martin J Ryan, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs, or 60 days in jail. Committed

State vs Augustus W Sylvester, aplt. Search and seizure. Dismissed, Respondent dead.

State vs Daniel Vaughn, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $17.01 costs, or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs Philip J Ward, aplt. Search and seizure. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $15.69 costs, or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs James Foster and Hiram Wolfe, aplts Search and seizure. Continued for sentence.

State vs Jasper P Hart. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $26.76 costs, or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Dana E Wescott. Nuisance. Continued to Jan. term, 1900.

State vs Amos Ashnault. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $300 fine and $12.63 costs, or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Frank Ashnault. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 costs, or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs George H Bayes. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 costs, or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Charles D Blair. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 costs or six months in jail. Paid

State vs John J Boyle. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 costs or six months in jail. Paid

State vs Henry Callan. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $300 fine and $13.93 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Michael C Clancy. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $14.81 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs George Conneen. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $15.57 costs or six months in jail. Paid

State vs Richard A Conway. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Ernest E Cross. Nuisance. Continued to January term, 1900

State vs Thomas Cummings Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Patrick F Duran. Nuisance. Continued for sentence.

State vs Joseph Fitzsimmons. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs James Foster and Hiram Wolf. Nuisance. Foster sentenced to pay $800 fine and $10.52 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid Wolf sentenced to pay $200 fine and $10.51 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs John Gaudet. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.55 costs or six months in jail. Paid

State vs Joseph Gillis. Nuisance. Bail defaulted

State vs Harvey D Hall. Nuisance. Bail defaulted.

State vs Edward Harlow and Frank E Perry. Nuisance. Harlow sentenced to pay $200 fine and $33.19 cost, or 6 months in jail. Paid. Continued as to Perry to January term 1900.

State vs George W Hunt. Nuisance. Continued.

State vs Woodbury T Jordan. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 cost, or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs George Leonard. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 cost, or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs John M Logue. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $400 fine and $13.95 cost, or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs John Madden. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 cost, or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs. John J. McGill. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $16.30 costs, or 6 months in jail. Committed.

State vs James McGovern. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 costs, or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs Patrick W. McLaughlin. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $500 fine and $13.95 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs Frank Murphy. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $300 fine and $13.95 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs Owen Norton. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $500 fine and $17.19 costs or 6 months in jail. Committed

State vs John M. Parker. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $400 fine and $13.95 costs or 6 months in jail. Committed

State vs Charles E Quimby and Joseph Comeau. Nuisance Quimby sentenced to pay $400 fine and $24.36 costs, or 6 months in jail. Paid Comeau sentenced to pay $200 fine and $24.36 costs, or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Daniel F Ronan. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 costs or six months in jail. Paid

State vs Martin J Ryan. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $400 fine and $13.95 costs or six months in jail. Committed

State vs Philip J Ward. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $300 fine and $15.57 costs or six months in jail. Paid

State vs Daniel W. Wiley. Nuisance. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $13.95 costs or six months in jail Paid

State vs Elmer F. Woodbury. Nuisance. Bail defaulted.

State vs. James L Aggus, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Michael F Barry, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Charles D Blair. aplt. Search and seizure. Plea, Nolo Contendere. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $12.39 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs Jesse Boesen, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs August Bunker, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs August Bunker, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Henry Callan, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs William Coleman, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs John D Conley, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Henry F Conwell, aplt. Search and seizure. Continued for sentence

State vs Robert E Crossman, aplt. Search and seizure. Not prossed for want of evidence.

State vs Robert E Crossman, aplt. Search and seizure. Not prossed for want of evidence

State vs Moses H Dole, aplt. Search and seizure. Judgment of lower court affirmed. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $13.39 cost or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs Maggie Donahue alias Mag Barry, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Nathan Druker, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Joseph M Flannagan, aplt. Search and seizure. Plea Nolo Contendere. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $11.74 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs James A Foster, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Elizabeth A Gill, aplt. Search and seizure. Plea Nolo Contendere. Continued for sentence

State vs Edward Harlow Jr., aplt. Search and seizure. Plea Guilty. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and $12.39 costs or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs Frederick G Haskell, aplt. Search and seizure. Nol prossed for want of evidence

State vs George W Hunt, aplt. Search and seizure. Dismissed. Misdescription

State vs James Hunter, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs William H Johnson, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Fred E Lamb, aplt. Search and seizure. Bail defaulted. Judgment of Lower Court affirmed

State vs Sarah Lent, aplt. Search and seizure. Submitted to jury. Verdict not guilty.

State vs Henry J Lessard, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Henry J Lessard and Martin Sullivan, aplt. Search and seizure. Nol prossed for want of evidence

State vs John Mahoney and James J Haley, aplt. Search and seizure Law on demurrer.

Legal Notices.

State vs Margaret E Mansfield, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Otto Marriner, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs John J McGee, aplt. Search and seizure. Plea—guilty. Sentenced to pay $100 fine and 11.74 costs, or 60 days in jail. Paid

State vs John McGuire, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs William Mitchell, aplt. Search and seizure. Nol prossed, Misnomer

State vs John Murphy, aplt. Search and seizure. Nol prossed for want of evidence

State vs Edward Nixon, aplt. Search and seizure. Plea—guilty. Continued for Sentence to January Term. 1900

State vs Owen Norton, aplt. Search and seizure. Dismissed. Misdescription

State vs John C. Quinn, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Patrick Sullivan, aplt. Search and seizure. Dismissed, misdescription

State vs John W Sullivan, aplt. Search and seizure. Nol prossed for want of evidence

State vs Frank Sherman, aplt. Search and seizure. Plea—guilty. Continued for sentence to January term, 1900

State vs William Walsh, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer.

State vs William White, aplt. Search and seizure. Law on demurrer

State vs Henry Callan. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Charles J Creary. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Henry J Godfrey. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Leopold Parquette and Mary J Parquette. Nuisance. Law on demurrer as to Leopold Parquette. Nol prossed as to Mary J Parquette

State vs Thomas A Webb, William McGinnis Michael J Duncan, Michael F Harrigan. Nuisance. Nol prossed as to Harrigan, Misnomer, Nol prossed as to McGinnis for want of evidence. Law on demurrer as to Webb and Duncan

State vs Mary Young. Nuisance. Law on demurrer.

State vs Tony Pasquale. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs George W Hamilton. Nuisance. Plea guilty. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $35.28 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Oren W Libby. Nuisance. Plea guilty. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $45.82 costs or 6 months in jail. Committed

State vs Samuel Adams. Nuisance. Plea Nolo Contendere. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $8.61 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs James L Aggus. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs George H Bayes. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Michael F Barry. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Jesse Boesen. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs August Bunker. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs William Coleman, Nuisance. Law on demurrer.

State vs John D Conley. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Robert E Crossman alias Robert C Crossman. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Margaret Donahue alias Mag Barry Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Moses H Dole. Nuisance. Plea guilty. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $11.59 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Thomas M Donahue. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Nathan Druker. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Joseph M Flannagan. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Roscoe D Flood alias Roswell D Flood. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs James A Foster. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Stephen J Gillis. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Guy T Harnden. Nuisance. Continued. Respondent not found

State vs Harry Harris. Nuisance. Continued. Respondent not found.

State vs Frederick G Haskell. Nuisance. Law on demurrer.

State vs George W Hunt. Nuisance. Plea not guilty, opened to the jury, verdict Guilty. Motion in arrest of judgement filed and overruled. Exceptions taken. Law.

State vs James Hunter. Nuisance. Law on demurrer.

State vs Sarah Lent. Nuisance. Nol prossed for want of evidance.

State vs Henry J Lessard and Martin Sullivan. Nuisance. Law on demurrer as to Lessard Sullivan not found.

State vs Mark Little. Nuisance. Plead nolo contendere, sentenced to pay $200 fine and $11.55 cost, or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs William H Lowery. Nuisance. Plea nolo contendere, sentenced to pay $200 fine and $8.61 cost, or 6 months in jail. Paid.

State vs John Mahoney and James J Haley. Nuisance Law on demurrer

State vs Otto Marriner. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs Frank Marston. Nuisance. Continued, respondent not found.

State vs James McGovern, alias James T McGovern. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs William Mitchell alias William T Mitchell. Law on demurrer

State vs Samuel L Moore. Nuisance Plea Nolo Contendere, sentenced to pay $200 fine and $8.35 costs, or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Delia Norton. Nuisance. Continued

State vs Owen Norton. Nuisance. Nol prossed

State vs Charles E Odiorne. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs John C Quinn. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs William P Shaw. Nuisance. Plea guilty. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $51.53 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs Frank Sherman. Nuisance. Demr. fd. withdrawn. Plea guilty. Sentenced to pay $200 fine and $7.98 costs or 6 months in jail. Paid

State vs George W Simms. Nuisance. Continued. Respondent not found

State vs John W Sullivan. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs William Walsh. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

State vs William White. Nuisance. Law on demurrer

B. C. STONE, Clerk.

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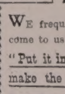

EVERY... ...MAN TO HIS TRADE.

WE frequently have customers come to us with copy and say "Put it in attractive form and make the price reasonable." In such cases the work is always satisfactory and brings excellent results

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PORTLAND, ME.

thrice in a year. But whatever the cause may be, the fact is certain that not all the liquor-sellers in Portland receive visits from the sheriff's deputies or from the police.

Nor is the number of "prosecutions" any indication of the number of seizures actually made by the sheriff's deputies and by the police. On the contrary, a large number of seizures are made without any intent to prosecute, but simply for the sake of the fees which they bring. The enforcement of the law is by the Act entrusted to sheriffs [1] who are popularly elected, apparently on purely party political grounds, and who retain office for two years. They appoint their own deputies, and both sheriffs and deputies are paid $2 per day when on duty, together with travelling allowances and fees for service of warrants, etc. In some cases warrants are also served by civil constables and by the city police, but in the cities and towns the work is almost invariably performed by the sheriff's deputies, who are known as "liquor deputies." In Portland, and, speaking generally, elsewhere also, the mode of procedure is for the sheriff or his deputy to apply to the judge of the municipal court for a search-warrant, armed with which he proceeds to make search and seizure.

Formerly, service fees were paid even when no liquor was seized, and this led to considerable abuse,

[1] The Statutes of the State also make it the duty of the mayor and aldermen of cities to make complaint and prosecute all violations of the law. Section 57 of the Statute says :—

"The mayor and aldermen, selectmen, assessors and constables, in every city, town and plantation, shall make complaint and prosecute all violations of this Chapter, and promptly enforce the laws against drinking houses."

large numbers of "dummy" warrants being sworn out simply for the sake of the fees,[1] and, in not a few cases, for the opportunities which they offered of levying blackmail upon the liquor-sellers. The abuse grew to such proportions that a year or two ago the rule was altered, and now no fees are allowed for the service of warrants except where there has been an actual seizure of liquor. It is not necessary, however, that a large quantity of liquor should be seized—a single half-pint suffices to establish a successful "search and seizure," and consequently many small seizures are made, upon which fees are collected, but where no prosecution follows.

[1] An extraordinary case of this kind occurred during one of our visits to Portland (September 22nd, 1899), when a man who had applied to the city council several months previously for election as a civil constable, but who, as it subsequently transpired, had never been elected, "raided" three of the Portland saloons, and made small seizures for the sake of the fees. This man *was himself a saloon-keeper*, who, less than a fortnight previously, had been indicted in the Supreme Court for maintaining a "liquor nuisance," and had been fined $200 and costs! One of the present writers had visited his saloon five weeks previously, and had listened to his complaint that the sheriff's deputies had that morning seized $15 worth of liquor from his saloon. His motive in making the raids was expressed with cynical frankness to a representative of the local press:—

"I want to say that I am actuated by no malice towards anyone in this matter. I am simply doing this as a matter of business. I get something like $2·12 on every warrant I serve, and I think it is a pretty good way to make a living."—(*Portland Daily Press*, September 23rd, 1899.)

His career as a "reformer" was, however, brought to a sudden close by the refusal of the judge to issue the necessary warrants, and by the subsequent discovery that, although nominated, he had not been elected a civil constable. The incident well illustrates the hollowness of the whole system of what is called "enforcement" of prohibition in Portland.

The following figures show the number of seizures (representing separate warrants) made in Cumberland County in the years 1896–1898, together with the number of prosecutions in the Municipal and Superior Courts. Nearly the whole of the seizures were made in Portland :—

Year.	Total No. of Seizures.	Total No. of Prosecutions in the Municipal Court, Portland.[1]	Total No. of Indictments in the Superior Court.
1896	3,830	99	67
1897	4,127	101	68
1898	4,286	58[2]	59

Many of the seizures were, of course, made at the same premises, but each represents a separate warrant, and would have furnished evidence for a separate prosecution.[3]

A flagrant illustration of the system is supplied by

[1] Ordinary "search and seizure" prosecutions are conducted in the Municipal Court, whereas indictments for maintaining a "nuisance" can only be prosecuted in the Superior Court. The technical difference in the two offences is that in one case ("search and seizure") it is the keeping of *liquor* with an intent to sell that constitutes the offence; in the other it is maintaining a *place* for the sale or keeping for sale of intoxicating liquor that constitutes the "nuisance."

[2] Of these, 32 were "police" cases, and only 26 were prosecutions by the sheriff's department.

[3] It may, perhaps, be urged by the officials concerned that it is not always possible to "connect" the owner or occupier of the premises with the liquor seized; but this can hardly justify the numerous cases where liquors seized from well-known saloons are returned in the libels as seized from "persons unknown." It is true, of course, that at no time could it be expected that every seizure should be followed by a prosecution, as there are necessarily errors in complaints, warrants, descriptions, names, etc.; but a wide margin between the number of seizures and prosecutions is certainly open to criticism.

the seizures made in Portland in December, 1898—the last month of the former sheriff's administration. In that one month no less than 344 seizures were made from 32 saloons, *an average of 11 seizures for each saloon.* And yet *in no single case*—as an examination of the Municipal Court records showed—was the defendant prosecuted for "search and seizure," and only in *three* cases was there an indictment in the January term of the Superior Court for maintaining a "nuisance."[1] The true character of the seizures is shown in the particulars given in the Appendix.[2]

Under the *régime* of the present sheriff, whose term of office began in January, 1899, a somewhat better condition of things has in this respect been brought about. He has laid down the rule—we quote his own statement—that his deputies shall not, except under special circumstances, swear out more than seven warrants per day. This rule considerably reduces the fees of the special liquor deputies, but it also to a large extent lessens the public scandal. That the present system is, however, very imperfect, the records of the Courts sufficiently show.[3]

But the Court records show more than this. They

[1] In a number of cases the name shown on the libel was that of the bar-tender, and not the actual proprietor. In two or three cases the nominal defendant had left the employ of the saloon-keeper prior to the month when the seizures were made. Prosecution in these cases (if attempted) would have been useless.

[2] p. 706.

[3] The total number of "seizures" for the first six months of 1899 was 705. The number of "search and seizure" prosecutions during the same period was 106, while the number of indictments in the Superior Court (including 27 belonging to the former year) was 80.

bring out with striking clearness the fact that the men who are selling liquor in Portland to-day have in many cases been selling it through a series of years. The same names occur in the records year after year, and the fact is suggestive of the organized character of the traffic. For the present condition of things, at any rate, there can be no excuse in lack of knowledge, for the judge who signed the "search and seizure" warrants in 1898 is now (1899) mayor of the city, while one of the two liquor deputies who served them is deputy marshal of police ![1]

Present Condition of Things not Exceptional.

Further, it is clear that the present condition of things in Portland is not exceptional. The traffic may be a little more open and undisguised at the present time than in some former years—notably in the years 1891–3—but the city and county records show conclusively that the prohibitory law has been persistently violated through a long period of years, and that this violation has been most marked since 1884, when the Prohibitory Amendment to the State Constitution was carried. Occasionally, it is true, resolute efforts have been made to secure an honest enforcement of the law, but these have always ended in speedy reaction and failure. As one of the witnesses examined before the Royal Canadian Commission in 1893, who described himself as "a strong

[1] It may be added that, prior to his service as judge, the mayor was for two years assistant prosecuting attorney and for four years prosecuting attorney for the county, ending his term of service in 1893; while the deputy marshal referred to had served as a policeman in Portland for eleven years prior to his appointment as liquor deputy!

prohibitionist," put it: "Once in a while the temperance people become active in regard to the matter, and they enforce the law; but it requires so much effort that they soon get tired of it, and the thing goes back to the old channel, and we witness the same evil effects of rum-selling as we do to-day."

Mr. John Koren, the Special Commissioner of the American Committee of Fifty, in describing the condition of things prior to 1891, says:—"With the prohibitory attempts previous to 1858 we need not concern ourselves, since there was a licence interregnum for two years (1856–58) after the passage of the first Maine Law. In 1860 it is estimated that liquor was sold at 266 places. This would seem to be much exaggerated but for the records kept by wholesale liquor-dealers from that period. The great national questions of the time naturally overshadowed local issues. It is a matter of record that men grew wealthy in the liquor trade during the Civil War. In these years and until 1868 the enforcement of the law lay entirely in the hands of the local authorities. The police were not slow to discover that the presence of liquor-sellers might be turned to their own advantage in a two-fold manner—first, by exacting from them fees for protection; and, secondly, by holding them to certain political promises. That blackmail was regularly levied by the police as early as in the sixties is unquestionably true. The advocates of the Maine Law had already become convinced in 1867, principally, we believe, on account of conditions in Portland, that the local authorities could not be trusted to execute it rigidly, since in that year the Act creating State constables was passed. The work of these officials in Portland was a conspicuous failure.

According to the statements of persons who had direct dealings with them, their practices were no better than those of the police. The 'Sheriff Law' of 1872—passed, it is said, under the promise that it should not become effective—made it the duty of the county sheriff and his deputies to annihilate the liquor traffic, and, so far as Portland is concerned, the prohibitionists have ever since placed their main dependence upon these officials.

"Under the *régime* of the first sheriff the law was honestly and impartially enforced, so far as it lay in his power to enforce it, but the support given him by other officials was not such as to check the sale of liquor permanently. As a matter of fact, for more than a decade after the passage of the sheriff law 'respectable saloons where gentlemen could go' flourished in the city. Until the adoption of the constitutional amendment in 1884, the officials generally contented themselves with compelling the saloonkeepers to close their shops at ten o'clock at night and on Sundays. An attempt in 1885 at enforcement was only partially successful, as may be judged from the fact that in the year following at least 158 liquor shops were known to exist in the city. Open violation of the law was the rule until the election of the sheriff in 1891."[1]

If further evidence on this point were required, it could be found in the facts obtained by the present writers in the course of a careful examination of the city records for the last fifty years, but which for want of space we forbear to quote.

In 1891 and 1892, however, a determined effort was made to suppress the saloons in Portland, and the

[1] *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, pp. 34-6.

vigorous measures adopted by the sheriff did unquestionably result in driving some of the dealers out of the business. But the traffic—as the evidence taken by the Royal Canadian Commission in 1893 abundantly shows—so far from being extinguished, was only driven into other and more mischievous forms.[1]

Further, the severity of the *régime* was so resented by a large portion of the population that the sheriff, who had been elected in 1890 by a majority of 2,335 votes, only secured re-election in 1892 by a majority of *55 votes*.[2] And this in a county that is invincibly Republican! His re-election, indeed, was only carried by the rural vote. Portland, which had given him a majority of 1,317 in 1890, recorded an *adverse* majority in 1892 of 359 votes. That election may be said to have decided the fate of prohibition in Portland. Shortly afterwards—we quote from the *New Voice*, the official organ of the National Prohibition party in America,—"a meeting of Republican politicians was held in Portland behind closed doors. What was done at that meeting, or just what influence was brought to bear, has never come to light, but the result was that the vigorous enforcement of the law came to a sudden stop. The old offenders returned and resumed selling, and were not molested; and an era of lawlessness began in Portland that has steadily increased till the present."[3]

Certain it is that from that time forward no

[1] See *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. v. A large body of independent evidence is also in the possession of the present writers.

[2] *Portland Daily Press*, September 14th, 1892.

[3] *New Voice*, December 7th, 1899.

serious attempt has been made to enforce the prohibitory law in Portland. The proof of this is found in an unbroken chain of evidence.

In September, 1895, we find the Rev. A. H. Wright, pastor of the St. Lawrence Congregational Church, Portland, calling public attention to the matter in a sermon preached before his church. We quote a few sentences from the report of his sermon published in the *Portland Express*:—"The condition of things here," he says, "is simply amazing to all honest, unprejudiced and right-minded citizens. Liquor-selling is a crime in this State in the eye of civil law. Liquor-sellers are criminals; yet here, in our Christian city, governed by Christian men, we are told that not less than 300 places are open, and in full operation for the sale of intoxicants. The sheriffs appointed by the State to protect this city against this criminal and corrupting traffic know this. The officers of our municipality, from the chief magistrate down to the members of the police force, know this. The Christian citizens of the city know this. Our professional men, who have, or are supposed to have, an interest in the moral welfare of the city, know this. Our prominent and influential merchants have daily evidence that this criminal traffic is going on; they see it in bold operation under their eyes, and they know the law of the State is, in hundreds of places, being violated with seeming impunity. Notwithstanding this general knowledge, there is no uprising of the people, no combination of good law-loving citizens against this wholesale violation of law. We have law on the side of righteousness, temperance and moral welfare —law against criminals who are bold and defiant in their iniquity; we have able, intelligent municipal

officers, men of high character, men who in all other important matters are proving their wisdom, public spirit and energy, but are showing themselves incapable and powerless to preserve the peace and honour of the city before the demands of this arrogant, flourishing and victorious liquor traffic." [1]

A fortnight later (September 29th, 1895) we find another Portland minister, the Rev. Rollin T. Hack, pastor of the Second Parish Congregational Church, calling attention to the matter in a public sermon. "What," he asks, "is the situation here in our city? It is one that shames you and me and every decent man and woman to whom home is sacred, and reputation, honour, and life are dear things. There are to-day probably more 'kitchens,' shops, and stores selling liquor than ever before. There are 121 persons or firms that have paid the U.S. special tax for 1895. There are 37 persons who paid last year who have not this year; how many will do so cannot be told, but probably the most of them. That would make about 150. Does that represent the number of places selling liquor? By no means. A conservative estimate has put the number at 200. But I am coming to the conviction (appalling though it be) that that number is only about half large enough. One man, who has a very extensive acquaintance with places where liquor is sold, said there were from 300 to 400. Another gentleman, who knows the life of these streets as I cannot, says there are 400 places. And I am forced to put the number at about 400. I have reached this conclusion because of testimony and the following facts: In the list of those who have paid the special tax I find five on India Street. Those of you who

[1] *Portland Express*, September 16th, 1895.

know India Street can tell what proportion that number is of those really selling. And so with many of the other streets in the city. Center Street, for example, is credited with five persons who have paid the tax, and yet there were counted between twenty and thirty places on Center Street that to-day are selling beer and 'hard stuff.' If the number of persons paying the United States tax on Center Street is only one-fifth or one-sixth of those selling liquor, how many have we in the city? . . . It is clearly evident that more young men and boys are drinking than in the past. The ranks of the lawless and miserable and criminal are being fast recruited. A reporter of one of our papers was walking down South Street one day last week, when he saw three boys and a girl near the old hose tower. They were taking frequent swigs from a can such as housewives usually send to the corner grocery for kerosine. An investigation revealed the fact that the growler[1] is frequently rushed from the saloons in that vicinity. Men, women, and children go into the saloons with all sorts of receptacles that will hold liquids. Pitchers seem to be the most popular method of conveyance, with dinner pails a good second. Milk cans are frequently used at parties, and tea caddies are not infrequently used. The bearers of these vessels are invariably children who are not adverse to taking sups from the cans in transit. No questions are asked of these little ones as long as they have the price, and not long ago the reporter was informed of a certain saloon in this town where a man was being kicked out of the place because he had ordered a drink that he could not pay

[1] A pitcher or other vessel in which beer is carried home from the place of sale.

for, and at the very same time this outcast's daughter came in with a pitcher under her shawl, and had it filled for the blood-stained dime that she had placed on the bar. . . . It is something worse than the violation of a prohibitory law, a law which many do not favour; it is something worse than the squandering of money—the waste and ruin of life, the destruction of homes that is going on. Our indifference and the allowed violation is something worse than all these, though these are bad enough. It means a generation educated in lawlessness, the breaking down of the safeguards that make life, home and society possible. In the words of Roosevelt, 'The worst possible lesson to teach any citizen is contempt for law.'"[1]

These outspoken utterances, widely reported as they were in the public press, appear to have roused some at least of the city officials to anger, and Mr. Hack especially was taken to task by the mayor for publishing "extravagant" statements. Liquor-selling, it was admitted, *was* carried on in Portland, but it was carried on in secret and hidden places and without the knowledge—so it was pleaded—of the sheriff and police. This rejoinder was, however, worse than useless, for Mr. Hack at once undertook a series of personal investigations, in the course of which he visited a large number of liquor-saloons, purchasing liquor in some and taking photographs of many. The results of the investigations were made public shortly afterwards (February 2nd, 1896), in an illustrated lecture which Mr. Hack delivered in his own church. The negatives of many of the slides used on that occasion are now in the possession of the present writers,

[1] *Portland Express*, October 2nd, 1895.

and examination shows that they represent in many cases identically the same places that are openly selling liquor in Portland at the present time. We subjoin a few extracts from the published report of the lecture :—

"'After being told by a certain judge that I didn't know anything about it,' said the pastor, 'I made up my mind that I would go into the places myself, and see for myself whether it was so difficult for the officers of the law to find these place where liquor is sold.' The speaker then dwelt upon the fact that he wished to satisfy himself in what manner and to what extent the prohibitory law was being broken in Portland. He said the great question was, how to lessen the evils of intemperance among us, and how to break the power of the saloon in Portland. . . . Then came the illustrated part of the lecture, which proved a startling surprise to the immense congregation. The pastor said that he had been told that he had no right proof what they were selling in these places, whether it was soda water or Sebago water. That he didn't know but what it was peppermint that they were selling, 'but,' he exclaimed, 'I have bought the stuff! I have evidence now! Look upon this first picture,' he continued, as he took the pointer and faced the screen. The first picture was a section of the westerly side of India Street, near the Grand Trunk Depôt. He did not mention any names, but said that he went in there, saw the bar and the bottles and the people calling for whisky and beer, and drinking. He sarcastically referred to this as a secret place—a place that neither all the police [nor] the liquor deputies could find, but he found it. . . . Picture number two was a section of 'sailor town,' between the Cus-

tom House and Market Street. He said he went into that place and bought liquor. He described the bar and the bottles, but did not mention any names in connection with it. Picture number three was a view of the block on the left-hand side of Middle Street, near Franklin. It showed a restaurant. He said the place had a bar and tables where people sat drinking. There were also stalls with curtains to screen the occupants. He and his companions asked for the drinks, and they were served to them in a stall. The pastor said that he often since wondered what the bar-tender thought when he went to the stall after their departure, only to find that the liquor had not been drunk. . . . Picture number four, he said, was that known as Keating's, which place he was informed had, in its time, caused much sorrow in this city. He described how one noon he stood at the Grand Trunk Depôt and counted men from the wharves entering the place at the rate of two a minute. The next picture showed a section of Pleasant Street and Gorham's Corner. He said that there was a bar room on each corner, and they went in one place and purchased liquors. He said that these places only closed at a certain hour in the evening. The next three pictures were saloons on Center Street, which street, he said, was chock full of saloons. The next pictures were those of the hotels, including five views of the West End. He described the bar at that place, and saw a young man buy a drink, and, after swallowing it, the young man said: 'Put that on the slate.' The bar-tender replied, 'I hardly think there's room.' The next pictures were devoted to the Falmouth, Swett's, and the Perry House. The police cannot find these places, the sheriff cannot find these

places, then how could a humble Congregational clergyman find them? These structures should have placed over their arched entrances the inscription, 'All Hope Abandon Ye Who Enter Here.' The next to the last picture displayed was that of Eagen's. The pastor alluded to the alleged assault on young Doyle in that place, and forcibly remarked that at last he had found a place that the police knew about. They closed it up for a week. The time has come for the people to stand together in the defence of their homes and their native land."[1]

But the evidence does not stop here. The same paper contains a verbatim report of a sermon delivered by yet another Portland minister at the same time. This sermon, also, was based upon personal investigations. We give a few extracts from the published report:—"The West End Congregational Church was crowded to the doors last evening with a congregation attracted by the published notice that the pastor, Rev. Leroy S. Bean, was to speak upon the liquor question, his subject being, 'An Evening with the Rum-Shops of Portland.' People from all parts of the city were present. . . . The usual preliminary service was held, after which Mr. Bean commenced his address or sermon. He read his remarks from manuscript for the reason that he did not wish to be misquoted. He disclaimed all desire for notoriety or sensationalism, but desired to speak facts, with a full knowledge of his responsibility for his remarks. . . . Mr. Bean read extracts from the *Christian Mirror* descriptive of the liquor business as it was carried on last November. He believed that the

[1] *Portland Daily Eastern Argus*, February 3rd, 1896.

respectable elderly and retired citizens who 'believed that the law was fairly well enforced' do a good deal of harm to the cause. Mr. Bean attacked the pleasant fiction that it is very hard to obtain evidence against rum-sellers. He said he himself and other members of the [Civic] League had been around the city and had openly bought liquor over regularly fitted bars in more or less prominent places. The Civic League has employed no spotters, the work of investigation has been carried on at the expense and trouble of its own members. 'We have done what no money could have tempted us to do, taken of our scant time, left the society of our friends of evenings to seek that of the law-breakers of this our town. We have stood at the bars of the hotels and saloons, have paid, not the funds of the League, but our own money, over the bar for liquor. We have ascertained that there is nothing difficult about the obtaining of evidence during the present open, unrestrained reign of rum. We have not done this work for the sake of making a few complaints and seizures in this city, but for the purpose of uncovering to the light of heaven, and to the public judgment, the present corrupt and unblushing character of the liquor traffic in this city. I wished, when it should come my turn to preach a temperance sermon, to stand here, in my own pulpit, before my own people, and tell them the exact truth about the liquor business in Portland. To tell them whether it was true that it was difficult to get liquor in Portland or not; whether it was sold secretly or openly, in evident fear of the officers or in conscious immunity from interference from sheriffs and police. But I wished also to have one with me who should see what I saw, who should

be able to speak for himself in this matter, a man in whom you all would place a confidence equal to that which I believe you repose in me. I therefore invited my Sunday School Superintendent to bear me company in this enterprise. And I shall now ask you to come with us on a short trip among a few of the rum-shops of Portland. And as we go forth on our mission I ask you to remember that our work is but a section of what has been done. I also ask you to remember that we have no ill-will against the places I am about to name, that we have reason to know that others are just as bad, and that we do not name these because they are sinners above all those who sell rum in Portland, but because they are places which we have visited, and because they probably fairly represent the conditions of the city.

"'Let us suppose that we have just come into Portland *viâ* the Grand Trunk R.R. Near the station we see a suspicious-looking place, which we are told is kept by one Pat Keating, No. 7, Commercial Street. There are three of us in company, for we have been joined by a gentleman prominent in one of the down-town churches, whom we will know this evening as Mr. A. It is Saturday evening, January 18. Mr. A. and the Superintendent call for liquor, which is promptly furnished, and for which each pays. No surprise is manifested by the bar-tender that strangers from the street should call for liquor; the crowd talking and drinking at the bar make way with ready good-will for the newcomers. All that was necessary to get in here was to push the door open and go in—no secret knocks, no pass-words, no questions asked. Pat is evidently in the business, and fairly well. Policemen frequently pass this door; they frequently stand on the corner

there by the G.T.R., where they must be able to witness the procession. One almost wonders if they are there to make an arrest if some one should come in and, having obtained his rum, fail to pay for the same. But let us pass to a liquor shop of a very different character; that is, if a liquor shop can be said to have character. Let us enter the bar-room of the Falmouth Hotel. No guard stands at the door to give notice of new arrivals and proclaim the name and official standing of visitors. Here are two bar-tenders. Evidently business is fairly good at the Falmouth. I call for one pint of brandy. With generous foresight the Falmouth has provided for just such an emergency. A bright, clean flask is produced, the brandy poured into it, and I pay one dollar and fifty cents. My brother calls for a half-pint of whisky. He furnishes the bottle himself, and the charge is thirty-five cents. Notice these young men behind the bar: they do not seem excited, they are in no haste, they move leisurely, and inspire you with something of their own calm confidence. No locks, no guards, no questions. Evidently the Falmouth is in the business.

"'One of our most reputable daily papers rebuked the Rev. Mr. Wright, of St. Lawrence Street, for taking too gloomy a view of the present situation in an address of his before the Civic League. It said, speaking of the change during the last twenty-five years, 'then almost, if not quite, every one of the hotels had an open bar, not concealed in the slightest degree. There is nothing of that kind to-day.' What does it mean by 'an open bar'? One outdoors on the sidewalk, with a big sign calling attention to its presence? If so, there is nothing of the kind to-day. But if it means one which is a regular part of the hotel equip-

ment, open to the general public, with public sales, then the newspaper is either wonderfully ignorant as to conditions in Portland, or guilty of what President Cleveland would call 'malicious mendacity.'

"'But let us pass up to Monument Square and enter the United States Hotel. The bar-room lies this way, through the office. See these people going in looking thirsty, those coming out looking as satisfied. Here is a bar with every appearance of permanency, like that at the Falmouth and other places yet to be visited. It was not put in yesterday. We are beginning to lose our expectation of seeing the valiant sheriff and his redoubtable deputies come bursting into the bar; we look about us leisurely; it is Saturday evening, January 25th. I purchase a half-pint of gin, for which I pay thirty-five cents; my Sunday School Superintendent calls for a half-pint of whisky, for which he pays the same. As we pass out, we meet more people coming in. Evidently business is brisk at the United States. Some good people are greatly horrified that any respectable person will enter such a place, and then, having bought liquor, make the fact public. The singular thing is that they are more scandalized by such a procedure than they are by the fact that the law is wilfully and habitually violated. They think it is inciting crime. Inciting to crime! What is this bar-room for? What these empty flasks and bottles? What this supply of liquors? They are in the business. There is no air of secrecy about this, no pledges of concealment. The selling is as open, as undisguised, as purely a matter of dollars and cents as any other business. . . . At the Perry House, Mr. A. and the Superintendent pass in, and on their coming out, both report having pur-

chased liquor, and the Superintendent has with him another half-pint of whisky.

"'We will now enter Swett's Hotel. At the bar stand five young men drinking. This is one of the marked features in nearly every place visited—the large percentage of young men who are drinking. This indicates, not that the old confirmed topers will have their liquor, but that the young men of our city are forming drinking habits, and are being debauched by the open rum-shops of Portland. This bar has all the appearance of being a fixture in this hotel. I purchase here one half-pint of gin, and my Sunday School Superintendent one half-pint of whisky, for which we pay forty cents each. Passing Swett's also over to the future attention of our guileless and unsuspecting officials, let us change our course somewhat, and pass down Center Street. Here rum-shops seem to abound. Amid such a richness of material it is difficult to make any choice. But we are helped to our choice by the opening of a saloon and the emergence into the street of two young men, one of them so drunk that he has to be supported by the main strength of the other. We should hardly expect that rum-shops would abound in such proximity to the public school, but we pass in. A drunken man leans against the wall at one side of the room, and leers at us out of his bleared eyes. Here I purchase a half-pint of whisky, for which I pay thirty cents. Evidently prices are lower on Center Street than at the United States, Swett's, Falmouth, etc.; but likely the quality is not as good. Coming out and proceeding to Fore Street, notice the rum-shops about you. Stand here and at the middle of Center, at its junction with Fore, look up Center toward Congress; then

turn and look along Fore. Take a good long look. These bright-buttoned policemen whom you salute as they pass on their beat, one almost wonders at their presence here. It is sad to think of the extreme care they must be obliged to exercise not to see some of these places. . . . But time is passing; let us enter Feeney's, right here on the corner of Center and Fore Streets. My money is getting low, and I tell my brother that he may pay here if he will. He accordingly buys one half-pint of whisky. He called for gin, but the bar-tender said they didn't keep gin —we could get that at the drug store—but they did have some 'good whisky.' My brother paid for this 'good whisky' the sum of twenty-five cents. Competition is brisk here and prices low. . . . In all these places there was no secrecy about the sale of liquor, no question asked as to what it was for. Men were coming and going continually, and I feel sure business was as brisk as at any grocery in town.' . . . Mr. Bean next read extracts from the press concerning John Doyle, who was fatally injured in Eagan's saloon last fall, giving an extended history of the place. He said that he had looked up the case of Eagan, and found out that on January 18th, the day when Jerry Reardon was convicted of the assault on Doyle, Mr. Bean and two others bought liquor there in the presence of thirty of as tough people as he ever saw. Mr. Bean asked whether it was thought that Eagan had a pull, or that the officers thought that 'public sentiment' would endorse such a radical measure as closing up what the press calls 'one of the toughest holes in Portland.' . . . 'We have recently,' continued the preacher, 'had a somewhat noted libel suit in this city, between one Plummer

[*i.e.*, the sheriff] and the *Evening Press.* With the merits of the case, as such, I have nothing to do, but the evidence and the arguments in the case make extraordinarily interesting reading and incidentally throw considerable light upon the enforcement of law in Portland. Mr. Heath [counsel for the defence] is reported as saying of the plaintiff in the case:—"And this gentleman who stood about your street corners, drawing $2 a day, Sundays included, when there were hundreds of rum-shops disgracing the city of Portland, with her hotels, with her drug stores, with her wholesale druggists, with gilded hells from one end of this city to the other, he makes one seizure a week against some unfortunate individual whose name ordinarily is Patrick or Michael." Now this was not the utterance of some clergyman within the sanctuary of his pulpit, but a reputable lawyer in open court, in the presence of the bench. . . . With all due respect I commend these words to the sheriff of Cumberland County and to the mayor and city marshal of Portland.'"[1]

It is unnecessary to multiply evidence. It is enough to point out that most of the saloons here referred to may be seen openly selling liquor in Portland at the present time.

	Estimated population, 1899.
Lewiston	24,000

But Portland is not singular in its deliberate and systematic violation of the prohibitory law. A similar condition of things exists—with one exception—in all the principal towns of the State. The one exception is Auburn (population, 13,000)—a city which, although

[1] *Portland Daily Eastern Argus*, February 3rd, 1896.

technically and administratively separate, is so closely connected with Lewiston as to form, for all practical purposes, part of that city, from which, indeed, it is only separated by a series of bridges which form parts of the main thoroughfares. So unreal geographically is the distinction that one of the present writers was not at first aware that the hotel at which he was staying was situate in Auburn, and not, as he had supposed, in Lewiston. Liquor is, by universal admission, so easily and regularly obtained from Lewiston that the case of Auburn need not be further considered here. It furnishes, however, a useful illustration of the way in which a policy of local prohibition may sometimes be successfully applied where there is an effective "safety-valve" in the shape of facilities for the purchase of liquor near at hand.[1]

Lewiston, the present population of which is about 24,000, is a busy manufacturing centre, and the second largest city in Maine. It has a large French element in its population, and this fact undoubtedly accounts for the low "dives" which abound in the city, and which the police admit to be their "worst trouble" in connection with the drink traffic. These "dives" are largely run by women, and are used as places of accommodation for immoral purposes. They also sell liquor freely on Sundays when the more regular saloons are required to close.

Apart from these places, however, the liquor traffic is carried on in Lewiston much as it is done in Portland. The saloons are as open to the street and are as much "accepted" by the officials as there, although

[1] It may be of interest to state that only four persons in Auburn took out Federal licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors in the year ending June 30th, 1899.

their appointments are not always so elaborate as in the wealthier city. Ordinarily a few cigars and some tobacco are placed in the windows of the saloon, while the bar proper is screened from view by a thin wooden partition furnished with a hanging curtain or swing-door. This door is frequently open, and both bar and customers may often be seen from the street. The bars are always of the ordinary American type, which differs—even in licence States—from an English bar, in that no beer engines are visible. A few of the saloons are also restaurants where ordinary meals can be obtained. One of the largest of these was visited in the course of the present investigations. It consisted of two compartments, separated from each other by a thin partition and furnished with small tables. The larger of the two was an ordinary café, with the exception that one side of it was divided off into small cubicle compartments each fitted with a small table for two persons, and furnished with a blind and curtains instead of a door. These places are common in the cities of Maine, and are unquestionably often used as places of "assignation." In this case our visit was paid during the quietest part of the day, and only one other customer was present. This was a woman, who was served with a glass of beer.

No attempt is made by the city officials to hide the existing state of things. The mayor, when interviewed, stated that it was impossible to enforce the law—public sentiment, he said, would not allow it; consequently the city government tries to "regulate" the traffic and keep it within decent bounds. The ex-mayor (an attorney, who has been three times mayor of the city) gave strong confirmatory testimony. He admitted quite frankly that the prohibitory law

was not enforced in Lewiston, and said that it could not be enforced in the present state of public opinion. All that he had attempted to do when mayor of the city (in 1898) was to close the low "dives" and to stop Sunday sales. On being further questioned, he said that the present condition of things was fairly normal. The traffic was perhaps a little more "open" now than in some earlier years, but there had always been liquor selling in Lewiston. The traffic was carried on, he added, under both political parties, the "colour" of the administration making no real difference in the attitude of the city government towards the traffic.

The city marshal (who is a total abstainer) was equally explicit. Speaking of prohibition in the towns generally, he said, "It is a perfect farce." In Lewiston, he added, he could get no effective support for enforcement, so that the efforts of the police were now restricted to "regulating" the traffic. They do their best to suppress "dives" and "kitchen-bars," but let the decent saloons run. The latter, however, are required to close their bars at 10 p.m. and to keep closed on Sundays. The saloon-keepers observe these regulations "fairly well," but the police find it impossible to suppress Sunday selling altogether.

The information obtained from the sheriff's department was to the same effect. The sheriff was not himself present when the inquiries were made, but one of his deputies frankly admitted that it was the "dives" that the special liquor deputies paid most attention to. The ordinary saloons are "visited" for revenue purposes chiefly. Many of the saloon-keepers, he said, could easily stand three fines a year. He admitted that the "fines" were a great source of public revenue, and "guessed" that the county could not get on with-

out them, and "wouldn't like to try anyway." They had indictments representing from six to eight thousand dollars ready for the September term of the Superior Court, but he had known the liquor "fines" to mount up to $12,000 in a single term. The present condition of things, however, was tolerably normal.

Number of Saloons in Lewiston.

It is more than usually difficult to calculate the number of liquor-sellers in Lewiston owing to the existence of the "dives," the proprietors of which do not as a rule pay the internal revenue tax. That there are many of these places in the city the police officials freely admit, but it is impossible to state even approximately the number.

The accompanying map (Plate XIII.) shows the location of ninety-five places at which liquor was being sold in the summer of 1899. It includes, it will be seen,

5	Hotels with Bars, "on."
54	Saloons, "on."
13	"Kitchen Bars," "on."
11	Beer Clubs, "on."
11	Drug Stores,[1] "off."
1	City Liquor Agency, "off."
95	

So far as the hotels, saloons and drug stores are concerned the map may be taken as fairly complete;

[1] The drug stores marked on the map do not include the legitimate drug stores in Lewiston, which, unlike those in other cities, have recently mutually agreed to refrain from selling liquor. They refer simply to what are called "bogus" drug stores where liquor is sold freely.

PLATE XIII.

Map showing the number and location of Liquor Saloons, etc.,

IN

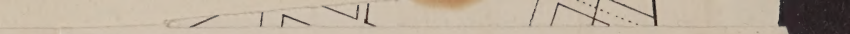
LEWISTON, MAINE.

Estimated Population (1899), 24,000.

KEY TO MAP.

□	City Liquor Agency ...	... "off" ...	1
●	Hotels	... "on" ...	5
•	Saloons	... "on" ...	54
○	Kitchen Bar Rooms ...	... "on" ...	13
+	Drug Stores Selling Liquor	"off" ...	11
⌐	Beer Clubs	... "on" ...	11
			95

NOTE.—This Map does not show the whole of the places where liquor is sold in Lewiston, but only those of which the present writers have definite knowledge. For the actual number of liquor saloons, etc., in Lewiston, see p. 191.



indeed, in respect of these, it has been certified as "absolutely correct," but in respect of "kitchen bars," beer clubs "dives," etc., it does not claim to be even approximately complete. Only eleven beer clubs, for example, are shown on the map, but we have it on the authority of the city marshal that twenty-five "drink clubs" existed in the city in August, 1899. The map, however, is conclusive so far as it goes, but it must not be taken to represent the whole of the places selling liquor in Lewiston.

As a matter of fact, 110 persons in Lewiston paid the Federal liquor tax for the sale of intoxicating liquors in the year ending June 30th, 1899, and these, as already explained, cannot be held to include more than a small proportion of those who sell liquor in "dives," "kitchen bars," and other irregular saloons. The city marshal, when questioned on the point, stated that his officers had taken a rough census of the liquor-sellers in Lewiston in the spring of 1899, and had found 150 places selling liquor in the city. The census, however, he added, was not exhaustive, and probably not all of those actually selling were counted. The ex-mayor, when appealed to, said that "there are fully 150," and implied that there were probably more. The city liquor agent, when questioned, said that there were "nearer 300 than 150 places selling." "The whole thing," he added, "is a great hypocrisy." He further complained that he himself could not sell much liquor "with all the competition going on outside." In estimates of this kind exaggeration is easy, but it is difficult for any one who investigates the problem on the spot to believe that there are less than 150 places selling liquor in Lewiston.

	Estimated population, 1899.
Bangor . . .	23,000

In Bangor—the third largest city in Maine—no attempt is made to enforce the law, nor, according to the testimony of the mayor of the city, has any such attempt been made for the last twenty years.[1] Successive city governments, obeying what they claim to be the mandate of the people, have throughout that period consistently defied the law of the State, and, by a method of informal "regulation," have openly sanctioned what is virtually a system of "free trade" in liquor in the city. The liquor-sellers are "fined" ($100) once a year for revenue purposes,[2] and are expected to conform to certain broad regulations (*i.e.*, close at 10 p.m. on week-days and remain closed on Sundays), but otherwise they are not disturbed. Any one—so the mayor stated—who chooses to conform to these regulations is free to open a liquor saloon in the city.

[1] In the course of his examination before the Royal Canadian Commission in 1893, the late General Neal Dow was asked: "Do you know anything about how the prohibitory law works in the city of Bangor?" And he replied: "I do not know anything good about Bangor."

"Is it a fact that the law is flagrantly violated?" "Yes, flagrantly violated."

"It has been given in evidence before the Commissioners that the local authorities of the city of Bangor have set the law at defiance and completely ignored it. Is that a fact?"—"That is a fact."

See *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V., p. 454.

[2] The Clerk of Courts informed us that the "fines" for liquor-selling in that county (principally from Bangor) had averaged $16,000 (£3,200) a year for the last ten years.

The saloons correspond very largely in character to those in Portland and Lewiston. There are no advertisements in the windows, but they are easily recognised, and open straight upon the street. Those entered in the course of the present investigations had bars of the ordinary American type, well-fitted, and furnished with a varied stock of liquors. There are bars also at all of the hotels in Bangor, to which any one from the street has free access. The bar trade at the hotel at which we stayed was evidently a considerable source of revenue to the proprietors.

Number of Liquor Saloons in Bangor.

The accompanying map (Plate XIV.) shows the location of 124 places in Bangor at which liquor was being sold at the time of the present investigation. The particulars are as under:—

95	Saloons, "on."
8	Hotels with bars, "on."
16	Drug Stores, "off."
1	City Liquor Agency, "off."
4	Bottling Factories, "on" and "off."
124	

The list, like those of Portland and Lewiston, is not exhaustive. It does not show the whole of the places at which liquor is sold in Bangor, but only those of which the present writers have actual knowledge.[1] No attempt was made to include "kitchen bars" or other "irregular" saloons which, owing to their

[1] The location of three additional saloons is known to the present writers, but as they lie outside the section of the city comprised within the accompanying map, they have been purposely omitted.

liability to prosecution by the police authorities, are carried on with some degree of secrecy. A more accurate estimate of the number of liquor-sellers in Bangor is supplied by the fact that 155 persons in the city took out Federal liquor licences in the year ending June 30th, 1899, and that the mayor and city marshal fixed the number of liquor-sellers in the city at 200 and 182 respectively. We may add that the names and addresses of the proprietors or managers of the saloons shown on the map are in the possession of the present writers.

	Estimated population (1899).
Biddeford	17,000

The fourth largest city in Maine is Biddeford—a busy manufacturing centre with a large French element in the population. There also what the city clerk called the "Bangor System" of regulating the liquor traffic has been in operation for several years past. Intermittent attempts have been made by private citizens to secure the suppression of the saloons, but these have never permanently succeeded. In one such attempt a number of "spotters" (*i.e.*, private detectives) were employed to watch the saloons, but the Grand Jury refused to accept their evidence. On another occasion (in 1898) a deputy-sheriff from another part of the county was brought in by the temperance party to "raid" a well-known saloon, and a large quantity of liquor was seized. The "libel" was, however, rejected by the court on a legal quibble, and the liquors ordered to be returned to the saloon-keeper, while the deputy who had served the warrant was promptly deposed by the sheriff. In August, 1898, a still bolder step was taken. A series

PLATE XIV.

Map showing the number and location of Liquor Saloons, etc.,

IN

BANGOR, MAINE.

Estimated Population (1899), 23,000.

NOTE.—This Map does not include the whole of the places at which liquor is sold in Bangor, but only those of which the present writers have definite knowledge. For the actual number of liquor saloons, etc., in Bangor, see pp. 193–4.

of grave charges made on oath before public notaries was sworn out against the city marshal by five influential citizens in Biddeford, and subsequently presented as a memorial to the Police Commissioners. Among the charges brought against the city marshal were the following:—

"That the said city marshal, Charles B. Harmon, has repeatedly, continually and notoriously violated his oath of office and the Statute law of the State of Maine by neglecting to enforce the statute prohibiting the unlawful sale of intoxicating liquors.

"That such neglect and the encouragement arising from its long continuance has become so well understood by the criminals and law-breakers, that the city is honeycombed with rum and beer saloons and kitchen bar-rooms, all to such an extent that our good city has become a disgrace to every law-abiding citizen, a menace to good government, a reflection on the church, a corruption of good morals and a dishonour to the State of Maine."[1]

No notice seems to have been taken of the memorial, and the city marshal was still in office when—a year later—we visited the city. On August 31st, 1899—a week prior to our visit—another "raid" was made on a few of the saloons (including one bottling factory) and more than a thousand gallons of beer, wine and spirits were seized, of which nearly one-half (475½ gallons) was seized at one establishment—a so-called "drug store" with a large bar in the rear of the shop. This raid, however, like its predecessors, had to be made over the heads of the city and county officials. It was privately organized by a few local prohibitionists, who procured the assistance of a

[1] *Biddeford Record*, August 19th, 1898.

deputy-sheriff from Lebanon, and so made the seizures. The raid accomplished one purpose—it took the liquor-sellers in Biddeford completely by surprise. It was, as the local paper expressed it, "a flash of lightning from a clear sky. Everything had been going along so smooth that they were all well stocked up, and not looking for anything more serious than the bluff raids of the local deputies. . . . They were serenely confident that in the whole county another deputy-sheriff could not be found who would invite the fate of Parker by seizing Biddeford rum."[1] No permanent result seems to have followed the raid, for when we visited the town a week later the saloons were still selling.[2]

The actual condition of things in Biddeford is well illustrated by the following statement which appeared in the columns of the *Biddeford Record* a few days prior to our visit:—

"A beer war which does not concern the sheriffs and has no direct connection with politics is on. One Biddeford saloon has been buying its own beer direct through the Frank Jones Company, and thus saving the profit of the Bottling Company, which handles most of the beer and ale sold locally. There are lots of different ales and beers brewed, but none of them hit the Biddeford taste like Jones.' Anybody can buy Jones' ale in five barrel lots as cheap as the Bottling Company, and that is what this saloon has been doing, and besides making a bigger profit on the retail trade, it has done a little something in wholesaling, and the

[1] *Biddeford Weekly Record*, September 1st, 1899.

[2] Later information (January 25th, 1900), shows that resort to the "fining" system had again been mutually agreed upon by the authorities and the liquor-sellers.

claim is that it has cut prices a dollar a barrel. The Bottling Company has 'made a holler,' and has finally succeeded in having this saloon shut off. It can't buy Jones' ale at any price—at least, not at present. It has had to shift over temporarily to another ale, bought in Boston, that is not nearly as pleasing to Biddeford's cultivated taste, and of course this means a falling off in patronage. It looks now as though this saloon would have to go without Jones' ale, or get it through the Bottling Company. . . . An agent of the Jones' Company has been here looking into the fuss, but it is said that he stands by the Bottling Company. Two or three other saloons which have bought their ale through this other one are feeling the boycott."[1] In the spring of 1899 one of the local clergy (the Rev. Philip H. Moore), following the example of ministers in other cities, called public attention to the scandal in a sermon entitled "The Fallacy and Weakness of Prohibition." In the course of his sermon he referred—we quote from the published report—to "the reputation Maine's prohibitory law had given the State abroad, where it was generally thought that the law was strictly enforced, and that the drink evil was comparatively unknown in Maine. He had come into this State very favourably prejudiced with reference to prohibition, but after a decade of residence here and travel in the various sections of the State, he could frankly state that he found the prohibitory law fallacious and weak. This conclusion was founded upon experience and observation, and his conviction was firm. He would admit that in some respects it might have been beneficial. In some small communities, where through vigorous

[1] *Biddeford Weekly Record*, September 1st 1899.

sentiment the law was enforced, this was the fact. It had held up an ideal condition which might have had a beneficial effect abroad, where the true conditions were not understood, but, weighing the prohibitory law after half a century of experience, it had not been even fairly successful." [1]

The Biddeford Daily Record, in commenting (in a leading article) on the sermon, said: "Every word of Mr. Moore's arraignments of the prohibitory law is true. He might have made it much stronger, and still kept within the borders of truth. . . . Prohibition has remained upon the Maine statute books for half a century, for the simple reason that it has never been enforced. One year of genuine enforcement, and it would be abolished as soon as the legislature could be got together. . . . 'Make the law respected while it is a law,' said Mr. Moore. There is the solution. Make the law respected, and everybody except the theorists who now sustain it will demand its repeal." [2]

Number of Liquor Saloons in Biddeford.

It is difficult to estimate the number of liquor-sellers in Biddeford, owing to the fact that, as in Lewiston, a large amount of liquor is sold in tenement bar-rooms in the French quarter of the town; but apart from these, it is certain that more than forty saloons (including hotels, restaurants, and "drug stores") were selling in the summer of 1899. The local press, in alluding to the matter in September, 1899, referred to "fifty or sixty saloons" that were

[1] *Biddeford Daily Record*, April 24th, 1899.
[2] *Ibid.*

running in the city, while the city clerk and others put the figures higher still.

It is wiser, however, to fall back upon the evidence of the internal revenue returns, which show that in the year ending June 30th, 1899, forty-three persons in Biddeford took out Federal licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors. These do not, of course, include the tenement bar-rooms, but they probably offer the most reliable estimate of the number of ordinary saloons, including "bogus" restaurants and drug stores.

	Estimated population (1899).
Augusta	13,000

The town next in order in point of population is Augusta, the capital of the State. The city, which covers a large area (38,400 acres), is situate on the Kennebec River, and fully deserves its reputation as one of the most beautiful cities in New England. It is largely composed of villa residences, the business part of the town being practically restricted to one long street. There is, however, a fairly large working-class population.

It does not need a very intimate acquaintance with the city to show that the liquor traffic is as active in Augusta, and as frankly accepted by the officials, as in other cities in Maine. The saloons and liquor "restaurants" meet the visitor as soon as he enters the business part of the town. The hotels also are fitted with bars, and sales are carried on freely. The enforcement of the law, owing to the fact that there are no special "liquor deputies" in the city, is left in the hands of the city marshal, who stated that he does not interfere with the liquor-dealers so long as

they conduct their business in an orderly manner. The liquor-sellers are, however, indicted once a year, and fined $150 and costs in lieu of a licence fee. This policy of "regulation," he affirmed, is in no sense governed by political considerations; neither party, he declared, had given him any hint or direction in the matter. It is simply a concession to what experience in Augusta has shown to be the demand of public opinion and the only practicable policy. Some years ago he had tried to enforce the law, and in four days had succeeded in "closing all the liquor places down." But the outcry, especially on the part of the store-keepers,[1] was so great that he gave up the effort, and enforcement "didn't last three weeks." Since then he has resolutely declined to do more than regulate the traffic, contenting himself with suppressing the disorderly places.

The mayor of the city gave similar information. He stated that he believed liquor to be sold at every hotel and drug store, as well as at all the so-called "lunch-rooms" and "restaurants" in the city. Sometimes temperance citizens made complaints, and urged him to compel the city marshal to enforce the law, but his reply was always that when the people of Augusta desired to have the law enforced it would be enforced, but not until then. That, he said, was the key to the present situation. Popular sentiment will not tolerate enforcement, and it was useless for the city government to attempt it. The prohibitory law, he added, was "a good restraining influence" in

[1] The store-keepers complained that the enforcement of the law injured their trades by keeping the country people out of the city. Liquor was being freely sold in Hallowell and Gardiner, two neighbouring cities, at the time.

the country districts, but in the cities "I unhesitatingly call it a farce."

But whatever the cause, the fact of non-enforcement is certain. Nor is it apparently a new fact, for the Royal Canadian Commissioners, who visited the city in 1893, state in their report that "At Augusta, the capital of the State, there is little attempt made to conceal the fact that liquor is sold, and some of the Commissioners had pointed out to them several places where it could be obtained." Morever, there is much evidence to show that the violation of the law is most flagrant when the State legislature is in session. Most of the legislators stay at the Augusta House, the bar of which, although always open, does its chief business at that time. This statement is based on evidence of the most positive and explicit character obtained in the course of the present investigations. It is fully supported—as readers of the earlier editions of this volume will know—by the testimony of several unimpeachable witnesses (including the late General Neal Dow) who were examined before the Royal Canadian Commission in 1893.[1]

Number of Liquor Saloons in Augusta.

The number of liquor-sellers in Augusta (excluding "kitchen bars") cannot be put at less than from 40 to 50. This was the estimate given by the city marshal, and that it is not exaggerated is clear both from the returns of the Internal Revenue Department and the records of the courts. The former show that 46 persons

[1] See earlier editions of this work, pp. 158–9. See also *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. v.

in Augusta took out Federal liquor licences in the year ending June 30th, 1899, while the latter give the names of 48 liquor-dealers who in 1898—the latest year for which returns are published—were "fined" for liquor selling, nearly the whole of them being "fined" for maintaining what is technically called a "liquor nuisance" (*i.e.*, a place where sales are regularly made). The numbers for the two previous years are almost identical, 44 persons being "indicted" in 1897, and 42 in 1896. The established character of the traffic is shown by the fact that the same persons are indicted and "fined" year after year.

The total amount received for liquor "fines" in Kennebec County (which includes the towns of Augusta, Gardiner, Hallowell, Waterville, etc.) in 1898 was $22,531,[1] of which $9,138 was collected in Augusta. The popular idea of the "fining" system was clearly indicated by a statement which appeared in one of the local papers at the time of our visit, in August, 1899. In announcing the completion and cost ($5,000) of important renovations in the interior of the County Court House at Augusta, which, it was claimed, had made the court room "one of the finest in New England," the paper said: "*Our county liquor license system furnished the money.*"[2]

	Estimated population (1899).
• Bath	12,000

The next largest city is Bath, a city whose population was less than 9,000 at the last census, but which has since grown rapidly.

[1] In 1897 the amount was $18,173, and in 1896 $16,583.

[2] *New Age* (Augusta), August 25th, 1899.

Here also the saloons run openly, the policy of the authorities being one of "regulation" and "fines." The saloons are required to close at 10 p.m. on week-days, and to remain closed on Sundays and such other days (*i.e.*, holidays) as the chief of police may demand. They are also prohibited from serving drunkards and minors. That the present condition of things is fairly normal was admitted by all the city and county officials who were interviewed in the course of the present investigations. The "fining" system, however, appears to have been made more systematic since 1898. The city clerk, when questioned, said: "Prohibition is a farce: we have got better bars here than ever." The clerk of courts stated that he had only known one saloon to be "closed up" in six years, and that was owing to a quarrel between the saloon-keeper and his bar-tender. Formerly, they had employed two special "liquor-deputies" to assist in "enforcing" the law, but the practice was discontinued in 1898, when it was thought that more satisfactory financial results could be obtained by leaving the administration in the hands of the city marshal. He said that the liquor-deputies cost the county about $1,200 a year, and that they "hardly brought in that amount in 'fines.'" The present policy was to fine the beer-sellers once a year and the dealers in "hard" liquors (*i.e.*, spirits) twice. He estimated that in this way the county would get from $6,000 to $7,000 a year from Bath alone. That, at least, was the amount which they expected to receive in 1899. Confirmatory evidence was given by the city marshal and by the judge of the municipal court. The latter estimated the number of liquor-sellers in Bath at "from 40 to 50," and these figures are supported by the internal

revenue returns, which show that in the year ending June 30th, 1899, 44 persons in Bath took out Federal liquor licences.

	Estimated population (1899).
Rockland	9,000

The only other town in Maine which at the last census had a population of more than 8,000 inhabitants is Rockland, the shire town of Knox County. The state of things here is sufficiently shown by the fact that in the year ending June 30th, 1899, no less than 33 persons, or one to every 270 of the population, took out Federal licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors.

	Estimated population (1899).
Waterville	10,000

Of the towns which at the last census had less than 8,000 inhabitants, the most important, probably, is Waterville, the population of which in 1890 was 7,107, but is now estimated at about 10,000. The town, although small, is a busy manufacturing centre, and contains several good mills. Here also the liquor traffic is openly conducted, and apparently has been so conducted for a number of years. Occasionally efforts have been made to suppress the saloons, but these have resulted in the failure that appears to overtake all such attempts in the cities of Maine. Of late years the traffic has become much more aggressive, as the following extract from the mayor's inaugural address to the city council on March 8th, 1897, will show:—

"Now there is an evil that exists in this city, as in all others in the State. It has been countenanced by both parties. It has been the real power in both parties alike. It has said who shall be elected and who shall not. I refer to the liquor power. It is the power that dictates caucuses and elections. . . . The dealers have been allowed all the licence they desired, and I regret that they have carried the business on as they have the past year. It has been grossly overdone—out of all reason. No one of any reason expects the sale of liquors to be entirely stopped. No one desires to trouble a well-conducted hotel. Of all the colossal farces of the nineteenth century, the greatest is the so-called enforcement of the Maine law. The officials do not want the sale of liquor stopped. The county does not want it stopped; it wants the revenue. The courts do not want it stopped. The lawyers do not want it stopped. But when the sellers carry it on in such a defiant and open manner as has been done in this city for the past year, the better part of the community demand a halt. To establish, in defiance of law, a bar costing nearly $1,000, to run it wide open day and night, to cart in broad daylight through Main Street two hayracks full of empty barrels at one time, with the dealer's name conspicuous in large letters—it is too barefaced."

The protest seems to have produced little practical result, for at the time of our visit to the city, more than two years later (August, 1899), the traffic was carried on openly and without disguise. The liquor-dealers are supposed to be "fined" twice a year,[1] and

[1] According to the court records the usual practice would seem to be to impose a single fine of $150 and costs. Of 25 liquor-dealers indicted in 1898 only 7 were fined twice.

to observe the usual regulations. They are not allowed to open before 6 a.m. on week-days, nor to remain open after 10 p.m. (Saturdays, 11 p.m.). They are also forbidden to open on Sundays, or to serve minors or drunkards. So long as they observe these regulations they are not disturbed.

The number of liquor saloons in the city is shown in the accompanying map (Plate XV.), which gives the actual location of those selling in the summer of 1899. It does not include "kitchen bars," of which there are very few in Waterville; nor does it include the whole of the clubs. Several of the latter—certified by the police as of "little consequence"—have been purposely omitted. The list, it will be seen, includes:—

4	Hotels with bars, "on."
11	Saloons, "on."
2	Restaurants (beer only), "on."
7	Drug stores, "off." [1]
4	Clubs, "on."
28	

The number of persons who took out Federal liquor licences during the year was 31.

The saloons visited had ordinary American bars, and were well fitted and furnished. In one case the bar-tender, in reply to a question, stated that business was "Very good, especially in the afternoons and evenings."

[1] In a few cases the drug stores sell for consumption "on" the premises also.

PLATE XV.

Map showing the number and location of Liquor Saloons, etc.,

IN

WATERVILLE, MAINE.

Estimated Population (1899), 10,000.

NOTE.—With the exception of a few clubs (other than those indicated), this Map shows all the places at which liquor was being sold in Waterville in the summer of 1899.

	Population (1890).
Gardiner	5,491

In Gardiner—another of the smaller towns visited—a precisely similar condition of things prevails. The liquor-dealers, of whom there are from sixteen to twenty,[1] are fined once or twice a year—according, so it would seem, to their supposed ability to pay—and for the rest are simply required to conform to the usual regulations. The system, in short, as the officials admit, is virtually one of licence.

Towns of from 3,500 to 8,000 inhabitants.

It is impossible within the limits of the present chapter to give detailed information of all the smaller towns in Maine. Nor is such a method necessary The following table will suffice to indicate the general situation. It gives the number of Federal liquor licences issued in the year ending June 30th, 1899, in the whole of the remaining towns whose population at the last census exceeded 3,500 but was less than 8,000.[2] The towns, it will be noticed, are ranged in order of population.

[1] This is the number given to the present writers by the city officials. The internal revenue returns show that 19 persons took out Federal liquor licences in 1899, while the court records show that 18 dealers were indicted and fined in 1898 for maintaining a "liquor nuisance." The number given above includes two hotels with bars and one drug store.

[2] Cape Elizabeth (which was divided in 1895) and Deering (now a part of Portland) are omitted. The former had three Federal liquor tax-payers in 1898-9, and the latter six.

Town.	Population (1890).	No. of Federal Liquor Licences (1899).
Calais	7,290	16
Westbrook	6,632	9
Saco	6,075	5
Brunswick	6,012	27
Old Town	5,312	29
Belfast	5,294	13
Skowhegan [1]	5,068	10
Eastport	4,908	22
Ellsworth	4,804	12
Camden (including Rockport)	4,621	9
Sanford	4,201	2
Brewer	4,193	6
Caribou	4,087	11
Houlton	4,015	16
Fort Fairfield	3,526	5
Fairfield	3,510	8
Waldoborough	3,505	4

Towns of less than 3,500 inhabitants.

Nor would it be true to suppose that even in smaller "towns" (*i.e.*, places with *less* than 3,500 inhabitants the liquor traffic has been universally abolished. The traffic in these smaller places is less openly conducted than in the cities, but it exists in many of them, and

[1] The following statement concerning Skowhegan appeared during the course of the present investigations:—"When the new year came in, only the hotels were allowed to run bars. Within the past month or so other places have been opened."—*Boston Herald*, August 13th, 1899.

in some cases with the deliberate connivance of the officials. In Hallowell, for example, a "city" with about 3,000 inhabitants,[1] the traffic is "regulated" in the same open and deliberate way as in Augusta. The liquor-dealers—of whom (exclusive of "kitchen bars") there have been eight or nine during the last three years[2]—are "fined" once a year (in one or two cases twice a year), but otherwise they are not disturbed. They are expected, however, to observe the usual regulations as to hours of closing, etc. The revenue from "liquor fines" amounted in 1898 (the latest year for which returns are published) to $1,519. The permanence of the traffic is illustrated by the recurrence of the same names year after year.

A still more striking illustration was afforded by Lisbon Falls, a village lying some ten miles S.E. from Auburn. The village forms part of the "town" (or township)[3] of Lisbon, and has a population of about 1,600. Although the traffic is not openly accepted or "regulated" by the officials, it is well known to exist, and we were informed by the resident magistrate—himself a prohibitionist—that he personally was convinced that at least seven places (of which he gave

[1] The population was 3,181 in 1890, and is said to have declined since then.

[2] The city marshal stated that only seven were selling (exclusive of "kitchen bars") in August, 1899; but the records show that there were at least eight in 1897 and 1898, and that nine persons took out Federal liquor licences in the year ending June 30th, 1899.

[3] The word "*town*" is often loosely employed in America to denote what is properly a township, *i.e.*, *a group of scattered villages*. It is necessary to keep this fact clearly in mind in considering the results of prohibition in what are called the "towns" of Maine.

the names) were selling. The internal revenue returns show that nine persons in Lisbon Falls took out Federal liquor licences in the year ending June 30th, 1899.

Success in Rural Districts.

In view of these facts the question inevitably arises: How are we to explain the claims constantly put forward, and widely accepted, of the success of prohibition in Maine? The explanation appears when we carefully analyse those claims. Many of them have undoubtedly been loosely and ambiguously worded, and have appeared to convey a meaning entirely different from that which it would seem they were intended to convey. But, speaking broadly, it will be found upon examination that what is claimed is not that prohibition has succeeded in the *towns* (using the word in the English sense) but *in the rural districts*. A reference to the extracts taken from the Governor's addresses to the legislature, which are given in the Appendix to this volume,[1] will show this at once.

It is to be remembered that Maine is essentially a *rural* and not a manufacturing State. Its population is widely scattered, no less than *two-thirds* of the people being found in towns of less than 3,500 inhabitants, and *one-fourth* (23 per cent.) in villages (or "towns") of less than 1,000 inhabitants.[2] Now, so far as a large

[1] See p. 707.

[2] "The northern portion of Maine, comprising 4,000 square miles, is practically without settlement. The only inhabitants of this region are the occupants of logging camps, who remain there only in the winter, and a handful of enterprising summer tourists. The country is a dense forest mainly level, but diver-

number of these smaller villages or scattered hamlets are concerned, it is indisputable that prohibition has been successful. The old and, in many cases, disreputable highway inns and taverns have been entirely suppressed, and enforcement of the law has become comparatively easy. It is not that the people are universally abstainers, but that the needs of the drinking part of the population are met either by the manufacture of cider or by the facilities which are almost always present for obtaining liquor from the towns.[1] That prohibition is not universally effectual even in the smaller places is, however, clear not only from official returns, but also from the testimony of

sified here and there by hills, which in a few instances rise to the dignity of mountains. . . . The climate is severe, and this, added to the poverty of the soil and the labour involved in clearing it for agriculture, has prevented its occupation, while rich farming lands can be obtained under liberal homestead laws in the west. Another, and slightly more remote cause has operated, to a considerable extent, in preventing the spread of settlement in this State. This is the decline in shipbuilding, especially of wooden vessels—a business in which this State was largely interested. This has not only checked the general prosperity of the State, but has injured the lumber business greatly. During recent years there has been a slight movement into this region. A line of settlement has extended up the eastern border of the State, and this is now spreading very gradually westward. It is safe to predict, however, that not until all that part of the prairie country which lies east of the limit of the arid region shall have been settled, will population move decidedly toward this section."—*United States Census Report*, 1890, p. xxviii.

[1] Judge Larrabee stated that "two-thirds" of the liquor sold in Gardiner was sold to persons living in the surrounding country districts. This statement was evidently a rough and hasty generalization, but it is certain that there, as in other cities, large quantities of liquor are sold to non-residents. See footnote, p. 200.

those who are warm supporters of the prohibitory law. The Rev. Wilbur F. Berry, Secretary of the Maine Christian Civic League, and a strong prohibitionist, writing to *Zion's Herald* on January 26th, 1898, said: "It is usually affirmed that the sale of liquor in Maine is confined to the larger centres of population, and that the smaller towns and rural sections are entirely free from the liquor traffic. An examination of the internal revenue list shows that the traffic in liquor is, to a certain extent, in the small centres and rural sections, though the bulk of the traffic is in the cities and large towns. As a rule those dwelling in the thinly settled portions of the State obtain such liquor as they use when they go to town, or through a friend, or through the usually accommodating stage-driver." In support of this statement Mr. Berry gave the names of a long list of towns, ranging in population from 2,000 upwards, in which liquor-sellers (*i.e.*, persons holding Federal liquor licences) existed in 1897. He further stated that he had discovered "75 other towns and plantations," varying in population from 200 to 2,000, in which there was one liquor-seller. He added: "Violations of our liquor law are stimulated by the seaside resorts and by the sportsmen who throng our woods. Old Orchard, with a population of less than 1,000, has 12 liquor-sellers; and Bar Harbour, with a population of less than 2,000, has 19. Norcross, a point of departure for sportsmen, with but two houses and a railroad station and a store, has two liquor-sellers."

That the situation in respect of these smaller places has not improved since 1897 is evident from the official returns of the Inland Revenue Department, which show that out of 192 "cities, towns, villages and

boroughs" having 1,000 inhabitants or more in 1890, only 79[1] were without a liquor-seller in the year ending June 30th, 1899. Of these 79 "no licence" places,

53	had	*less*	than	1,500	inhabitants.
21	,,	from 1,500	to	2,500	,,
3	,,	,, 2,500	,,	3,000	,,
2	,,	,, 3,000	,,	3,500	,,
79					

On the other hand, more than 70 places of *less than 1,000 inhabitants* had one or more liquor-sellers last year, including one of 41 inhabitants and another of 66 inhabitants. There were, however, more than 300 places of less than 1,000 inhabitants without a liquor licence.

Failure in the Towns.

As far back as 1874 the failure of the prohibitory system *in the towns and cities* had become apparent. In a report to the Foreign Office, published in July of that year, the British Consul at Portland, Maine, wrote: "A long residence of nearly fourteen years in this State has given me unusual opportunities for studying this question, and I have no hesitation in re-affirming that, *with the exception of some isolated*

[1] Poland (population in 1890, 2,472) and Deer Isle (population in 1890, 3,422) are here excluded, owing to alterations in their areas since 1890. A part of the former city was cut off in 1893 and incorporated as Mechanics Falls—a town which had four liquor tax-payers in 1898–9; and a part of Deer Isle was cut off in 1897 and separately incorporated as the town of Stonington, where there were three liquor tax-payers in 1898–9.

villages, the Maine Prohibition Law has been a failure in the larger towns and cities." It is noteworthy that in the most recent Consular report, issued nearly twenty-five years later, a similar verdict is given. Writing in September, 1898, Mr. Vice-Consul Keating says: "It is universally admitted that the Maine Liquor Law is certainly not enforced in the cities, but I think it may safely be said that *throughout the rural districts* the law has had a wonderfully good effect, and whenever the mass of the inhabitants desire its enforcement the law is on the statutes to support them." [1]

The same broad conclusion was reached by the Royal Canadian Commissioners who visited Maine in 1893. In summarizing their conclusions, they say:—

"In small communities, or what may be called villages and townships, the prohibitory law is unquestionably more effective in preventing the distribution of intoxicants. It is natural that such should be the case, for where the inhabitants are all known to each other, and the business of each is known to his neighbour, the carrying on of an illicit trade is obviously rendered difficult, especially if public sentiment is in favour of the law; but, nevertheless, it would probably be a very difficult matter to find any village with more than one thousand inhabitants where intoxicants could not be purchased by those who were bent on obtaining them."

The same conclusion is suggested by the evidence of the late General Neal Dow—the "Father" of the Maine prohibitory law. Speaking before the Royal Canadian Commission in 1893, he said:—

"You may well wonder why it is that ever since

[1] *Foreign Office Report* (*Miscellaneous Series*), No. 480, 1898.

1851 we have been at work trying to put down the grog shops in the State of Maine. We have succeeded to a very large extent, but we have not succeeded thoroughly. Somebody may say very properly: 'Well, in the rural districts you have done it, and why can you not do it in the city of Portland?' It is because the law, which is sufficient in its stringency to do all the work in the rural villages, is not sufficient to do it in Portland, and so we go to the legislature, and endeavour to obtain such amendments to the law as will operate in Portland."

He added: "The liquor traffic can never be put down so long as there is any profit remaining in it. It is carried on for profit, and not for the fun of the thing. If I could drive you around our streets, I could show you some very fine houses owned by rum-sellers who made their money out of rum."

"Have these rum-sellers amassed this property since the prohibitory law came into force?"—"Yes."

PROHIBITION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Population of State (1890).	No. of persons per square mile.	Proportion of Urban Population (*i.e.*, in towns of 8,000 and upwards).
376,530	40	28 per cent.

The prohibitory law in New Hampshire, passed in 1855, is very similar to that of Maine, with the important exception that in New Hampshire prohibition applies only to the *sale*, and not the *manufacture*, of intoxicating liquors. Prior to 1878 the retail sale of beer was permitted in the State, but the law has since been made absolute against malt liquors also.

Investigation quickly shows that the prohibitory

law is as completely ignored in New Hampshire as we have seen it to be in Maine. In the larger towns especially, little or no effort seems to be made to enforce the law; in some the liquor traffic is as frankly recognised and as openly conducted as in a licence city.

The following figures, which are taken from the last Annual Report of the Inland Revenue Department, give the number and character of the Federal liquor licences issued in the State of New Hampshire in the year ending June 30th, 1899:—

Wholesale liquor dealers (spirits) .	9
Retail „ „ „ .	1,331
Brewers	5
Wholesale dealers in malt liquors .	75
Retail „ „ „ .	185
	1,605

An average of 4 *retail* liquor licences for every 1,000 of the population.

The actual condition of things in the State will, however, be best disclosed by a rapid survey of the principal towns.

	Estimated population (1899).
Manchester	55,000

The largest city in the State is Manchester, where the prohibitory law is not only not enforced, but deliberately set aside in favour of what is actually, but not technically, a policy of high licence. The liquor traffic is not only permitted, but the regulations require that it shall be carried on as openly as in

Boston. No window screens or curtains are allowed, the saloon-keepers being required by the authorities to let their bars be plainly visible from the street.

Number of Saloons.

The accompanying map (Plate XVI.) shows the number and location of the principal saloons in Manchester. The particulars are as under:—

Saloons, "on"	52
Hotels with bars, "on" . . .	2
Retail drug stores, "off" . . .	33
Bottling establishments, "on" and "off"	2
	89

So far as the ordinary saloons are concerned the map is practically complete; but it does not include "kitchen bars" and other irregular places, the number of which can be estimated from the fact that 155 persons took out Federal liquor licences in the year ending June 30th, 1899.

The system adopted is to "fine" the saloon-keeper once a month.[1] In the case of beer saloons the fine is fixed at $50, but where spirits also are sold a monthly "fine" of $100 is levied. The moneys so received are paid into the city treasury.

[1] Although the fines are supposed to be levied monthly, in practice not more than 10 or 11 "fines" per year are exacted from the regular saloon-keepers, the average payment amounting to $1,000 (£200) a year.

General Regulations.

That the system is much more than a "fining" system is evident from the regulations which govern it. In the first place the traffic, as the accompanying map will show, is almost wholly confined to one section (*i.e.*, the business and working class section) of the city. Secondly, no new saloons are allowed to open. The only exception to this is where an old saloon has been pulled down for building or city improvement purposes. In such cases the dispossessed saloon-keeper is allowed to open elsewhere. The police do not, however, interfere with changes in the proprietorship of saloons. A saloon-keeper who wishes to retire from business is at perfect liberty to sell his business to another man, provided the latter carries it on at the same premises.

The following additional regulations are also required to be observed:—

1. All saloons must close at 10 p.m. on week-days.
2. No sales are allowed to take place on Sundays.
3. No saloon-keeper is allowed to admit women or children.
4. Saloons must have only one entrance.
5. All bars must be plainly visible from the street, no window screens, etc., being allowed.
6. Saloons must have no back or upstairs rooms.

The importance of the last regulation (6) was strongly emphasized by the city marshal, who stated that under the former condition of things (*i.e.*, prior to the adoption of the present system in 1894), a large proportion of the saloons in Manchester were furnished

PLATE XVI.

Map showing the number and location of Liquor Saloons, etc.,

IN

MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Estimated Population (1899), 55,000.

NOTE.—This Map does not show the whole of the places where liquor is sold in Manchester, but only those of which the present writers have definite knowledge. For the actual number of liquor saloons, etc., in Manchester, see p. 217.

with back and side rooms, which were largely used for immoral purposes.

Financial Results.

The present system has been in force for about five years, and seems to have been originally adopted—at least, in part—from a genuine desire to lessen the evils that had resulted from a widespread and systematic violation of the prohibitory law. Prior to 1894 the city seems to have been over-run with illicit liquor saloons, of which (including "kitchen bars") no fewer than 360 are officially said to have existed on January 1st, 1894. Of these, 150 were kept by women, and were largely frequented by women and girls. In 1893, however, the control of the police was taken out of the hands of the mayor and vested in a Board of Police Commissioners appointed by the Governor. The Commissioners entered upon their duties in January, 1894. During that year little seems to have been done beyond the imposition of a few extra "fines" and the suppression of some of the saloons, but in 1895 the Commissioners—aided by an exceptionally able and resolute city marshal — definitely adopted the present system.

That the system is a startling anomaly in a prohibition State need not here be urged, but its financial success is unquestionable. Since 1894 the "fines" from the liquor-sellers have averaged $56,000 (£11,200) a year, and have more than met the entire expenses of the Police Department, etc. The result, in contrast with the former system, can best be seen from the following figures :—

Year		Total amount of Liquor "Fines."
1892 1893	(Under former system) . . .	$8,304·25 $6,941·30
1894	(Police Commissioners took charge)	$13,031·73
1895	(Present system well established)	$62,008·88
1896	. . . . .	$58,634·39
1897	. . . . .	$47,815·01
1898	. . . . .	$55,387·74
1899	(First six months only) . .	$25,514·10

It needs no argument to show the appeal which such figures must make to the mind of the average rate-payer.

	Estimated population (1899).
Nashua	24,000

The second city in the State is Nashua, where a similar but less successful system is in force. The liquor-sellers are "fined" once a quarter, the "fines" being fixed at the same amount (*i.e.*, $50 for beer and $100 for spirits) as in Manchester. The system of "regulation" seems to have been started in 1893, but it was not definitely adopted in its present form until 1895, when the amount received by the city in liquor "fines" was nearly doubled (*i.e.*, from $7,685·85 to $14,346·31).

The system, however, is far less efficiently carried out in Nashua than in Manchester, and it is certain that only a small proportion of those actually selling liquor are regularly "fined."

The accompanying map (Plate XVII.) shows the location of 123 places where liquor was being sold in September, 1899. The particulars are as follow:—

PLATE XVII.

Map showing the number and location of Liquor Saloons, etc.,

IN

NASHUA, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Estimated Population (1899), 24,000.

NOTE.—This Map does not show the whole of the places where liquor is sold in Nashua, but only those of which the present writers have definite knowledge. For the actual number of liquor saloons, etc., in Nashua, see p. 221.

Saloons, "on"	90
Hotels with bars, "on"	4
"Kitchen bars," etc., "on" . . .	16
Retail drug stores, "off". . . .	13
	123

This list does not include all who are selling liquor in Nashua, as will be apparent from the fact that in the year ending June 30th, 1899, no less than 172 persons in the city took out Federal licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors, and that in the last report of the Police Commissioners 164 persons are returned as "keeping spirituous liquor for sale." It includes all, however, of which the present writers have actual knowledge.[1] That the saloons are very numerous is evident to the most casual observer. On the evening of our arrival in the town (September 8th, 1899), a bicycle parade was in progress, and the streets were thronged with spectators. A walk through the city revealed the fact that the saloons were exceedingly busy; some were crowded, and small groups of men were continually passing in and out. It is also evident from the police returns that considerable difficulty is experienced in securing the closing of the saloons on Sunday. The statistics of drunkenness will be found in the appendix.[2]

	Estimated population (1899).
Concord	18,500

In Concord, the capital of the State, and the third

[1] In this case also the names and addresses of the proprietors or managers of the places shown on the map are in the possession of the present writers.

[2] See p. 704.

largest city, the liquor traffic has, apparently, never been recognised by the authorities in the same open and undisguised manner as in Manchester and other cities. Until recently it has nevertheless to a large extent been officially "accepted." In 1899, however, a change in the city government was followed by a change of policy in relation to the liquor traffic. The new mayor—a strong prohibitionist—had formerly served as county solicitor, and had thereby gained considerable knowledge of the systematic violation of the prohibitory law in Concord. Immediately upon assuming office he gave notice to all the liquor-sellers in the city (including hotels and drug stores) of his intention to enforce the law, and instructed them to cease selling.

His intention so to act was formally announced in his inaugural address to the city council on January 24th, 1899, in the course of which he said: "I find that it has been customary for former mayors to make particular mention of the prohibitory law. It has been referred to in different ways, but I find no instance where an incoming mayor has recommended its enforcement. The subject seems to have been passed over lightly, and apparently with fear. I am at a loss to understand why officials, sworn to enforce the laws of the State and city, and whose duty it is to enforce the same, should permit the open and notorious violation of this law. . . . Police officers, who are ready and willing to enforce all other criminal statutes, neglect the enforcement of this statute. The number of arrests for drunkenness has increased steadily for the last ten years. In the year just closed, the number of arrests for that cause exceeds the number for any previous year. . . . I shall require the city

marshal, and the police officers under him, to prosecute all violations of this law as faithfully and impartially as they prosecute the violations of any other criminal statute." The result of his action, so far as we were able to observe it, had been to stop the *open* sale of liquor, and especially to stop the sale of beer; but it is absolutely certain that at the time of our visit (September, 1899) a considerable sale of spirits was still going on. Both the police and the city officials admitted this, and the fact was also notorious in the neighbouring towns. The hotel at which we stayed had a regularly appointed bar downstairs at which all kinds of liquor were sold, and the same condition of things obtained in the other hotels. It was also stated by a leading city official that many of the so-called "lunch" rooms, etc., where sales had formerly been made, were still supplying liquor, and from the number of men who were seen constantly passing in and out of some of the places referred to this was not unlikely. The police officials, when questioned, stated that the effect of the mayor's action had been to stop the sale of beer, but that it had not stopped the sale of spirits. These being much more portable were easily sold, and the sales could not be prevented. A further result had been an increase in the number of "kitchen bars" and in the amount of "pocket peddling." [1]

The inland revenue returns show that 36 persons in Concord took out Federal liquor licences in the year ending June 30th, 1899. The police statistics are given in the Appendix.[2]

[1] "Pocket peddling" is a form of sale, common in times of enforcement, where a supply of spirits is carried about on the person and retailed at the corners of streets, or in lanes and in alleys, to whomsoever may be willing to purchase.

[2] See p. 705.

	Population (1890).
Dover	12,790

The fourth largest city is Dover, and here also the traffic is "regulated" by fine. The extent of the traffic can be gathered from the fact that in the year ending June 30th, 1899, no fewer than 120 persons in the city—or 1 to about 115 persons of the population—took out Federal licences for the sale of intoxicating liquor. As in other towns, the chief effort of the police is directed towards securing the suppression of Sunday sales.

	Estimated population (1899).
Portsmouth	12,000

In Portsmouth—a busy shipping and brewing centre—absolutely no attempt is made to enforce the prohibitory law. On entering the town, the visitor is everywhere met by the signs and advertisements of the liquor saloons, while (as in Manchester) liquor advertisements regularly appear in the local newspapers. Bottles of liquor are also freely displayed in the saloon windows. The traffic, in short, is as open as in any licence town.

There are, according to the city marshal, 83 places in the city at which liquor is freely sold.[1] No fines are imposed, except in cases of disorderly management, the effort of the authorities being restricted to effective regulation and control. The saloons, which are allowed to open at 5.30 a.m., are required to close

[1] This figure closely approximates to the returns of the Inland Revenue Department, which show that in the year ending June 30th, 1899, ninety-four persons in Portsmouth took out Federal liquor licences.

at 11 p.m. on week-days, and to remain closed all day on Sundays. So long as they observe these regulations the saloons are allowed to sell freely. No new saloons, however, are permitted to open.

Towns of from 3,500 to 8,000 inhabitants.

The foregoing instances deal with all the towns in New Hampshire, which, at the last census, had a population of 8,000 and upwards. If we carry our analysis further still, the evidence continues to point to a widespread violation of the prohibitory law. The following is a list of towns which, in 1890, had a population of from 3,500 to 8,000, together with the number of Federal liquor licences in each:—

Town.	Population (1890).	No. of Federal Liquor Licences (1899).
Keene	7,446	28
Rochester[1]	7,396	50
Somersworth	6,207	55
Laconia	6,143	31
Claremont	5,565	24
Exeter	4,284	12
Franklin	4,085	15
Lebanon	3,763	18
Berlin	3,729	45

Towns of 1,000 to 3,500 inhabitants.

The condition of things in the smaller towns is summarised in the statement that out of 88 towns

[1] In 1899 no appropriation for the support of the police force was made in Rochester, reliance being put upon the "fines" levied upon the local liquor-dealers.—See *Boston Herald*, August 13th, 1899.

which, at the last census, had from 1,000 to 3,500 inhabitants, only *seven* were without a liquor-seller in the year ending June 30th, 1899. Of these, the largest had a population of 1,383. The number of licences in the 81 towns in which they were issued ranged from one, in the case of nine towns, to from ten to twenty-four in the case of eighteen towns.

Finally, 59 places of *less than* 1,000 inhabitants had one or more liquor-sellers in the same year.

PROHIBITION IN VERMONT.

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per square mile.	Proportion of Urban Population (*i.e.*, in towns of 8,000 inhabitants).
332,422	34	8 per cent.

Prohibition sentiment in Vermont—a distinctively rural State—is unquestionably stronger than in either Maine or New Hampshire, and throughout a large portion of the State the law is well enforced. In the so-called "cities," however, all of which are small (the largest having a population of about 18,000 in 1899), the law has for years been systematically violated. The condition of things in a few of the cities was better at the time of our visit than it had been just previously, but in all of them the enforcement of the law has for years been intermittent and imperfect.[1]

[1] The increase in the number of commitments to the House of Correction led to the appointment in 1894 of a special joint committee of the legislature. In their report to the General Assembly under date November 21st, 1894, the committee say:—"The question of intoxicating liquor, both as regards its sale or how otherwise it may be furnished, and the indulgence of appetite therein, is a most intricate one. Here we are, face to face with the moral and physical weaknesses of our imperfect humanity. Yet, in the interest of this same common humanity,

	Estimated population (1899).
Burlington	18,000

The chief city is Burlington, which was visited in the summer of 1899. The city is picturesquely situated on the eastern side of Lake Champlain, and contains a large number of villa residences, many of them belonging to New York families. At the time of our visit, liquor was being freely sold at the hotels and drug stores in Burlington, as well as in a number of so-called "kitchen-saloons." "Pocket peddling" was also said to be very prevalent, the sheriff admitting that it was practically impossible to suppress it. All but one of the hotels had bars, easily accessible from the street, and open to all-comers, while many of

its safety and well-being, we must look resolutely at the facts. We charge:—

First.	The indifference of the people: hence the *non* or only partial enforcement of the laws against selling and furnishing.
Second.	The imperfection of the law: hence the evasions and non-convictions.
Third.	That hotels and drug stores in many localities defy the law, even, in some instances, to the extent of open bars, and many more evade it.
Fourth.	That kitchen and pocket bar-rooms are rife, and are a fruitful source of evil.
Fifth.	That some town agencies, under cover of the law, sell for revenue.
Sixth.	That express companies, above the law, carry destruction to many a door in the homes of the State.

"What can be done under these circumstances? We would increase the penalties for selling and furnishing unlawfully, and so change the laws bearing upon the subject, that evasions from its action would be impossible; and we would confine town agencies to their legitimate business under the law."

the "drug stores" also sold for consumption on the premises. A noticeable feature of the hotel bar-rooms was the large proportion of young men who frequented them. The bars were of the ordinary type, and well furnished with all kinds of liquor. That at the hotel at which we stayed was open on Sunday also, to the outside public as well as to guests staying at the hotel.

The returns of the Inland Revenue Department show that ninety persons in Burlington took out Federal licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors in the year ending June 30th, 1899.

	Population, 1890.
Rutland	11,760

The second largest city in the State is Rutland, the mayor of which stated that up to a few months previously thirty bars had been selling liquor in the city. The new prosecuting attorney had, however, largely, if not wholly, suppressed these since his assumption of office, but "pocket peddling" was still very prevalent. That form of liquor-selling, he added, could not be stamped out in the cities under a prohibitory *régime*. The cities, he continued, if left to themselves, would unquestionably vote for "licence," but under the existing political situation they were coerced by the country districts, the sentiment in which was overwhelmingly in favour of prohibition. Similar testimony was given in other cities.

The Inland Revenue returns show that thirty-five persons in Rutland took out Federal licences for the sale of liquor in the year ending June 30th, 1899.

Towns of from 3,500 to 8,000 inhabitants.

The following figures give particulars of the Federal liquor licences issued in the towns of from 3,500 to 8,000 inhabitants in the year ending June 30th, 1899:—

Town.	Population (1890).	No. of Federal Liquor Licences (1898-9).
St. Albans	7,771	30
Brattleboro'	6,862	15
Barre	6,812	50
St. Johnsbury	6,567	49
Bennington	6,391	38
Colchester	5,143	1
Rockingham	4,579	2
Montpelier	4,160	23
Hartford	3,740	3
West Rutland	3,680	—

In no case, however, was the traffic so openly and flagrantly conducted at the time of our visit as in the towns of Maine and New Hampshire. That the sentiment of the "cities" would endorse prohibition if they were free to decide the matter for themselves is, nevertheless, exceedingly doubtful. But the opportunity to reject it is not likely to be afforded them, owing to the fact that an overwhelming proportion of the population of the State live in the agricultural districts, where sentiment favourable to the law is strong.[1]

The returns show that 808 persons in the State took

[1] The constitution of the State gives equal representation to all "towns" irrespective of their size, so that a "town" of, say 100 inhabitants would have the same amount of representation in the State legislature as Burlington, the largest city.

out Federal licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors in the year ending June 30th, 1899—an average of one to every 410 of the population. Of these, one was a wholesale dealer in spirits, 555 were retail dealers in spirits, 25 wholesale dealers in malt liquors, and 227 retail dealers in malt liquors.

PROHIBITION IN KANSAS.

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per square mile.	Proportion of Urban Population (*i.e.*, in towns of 8,000 and upwards).
1,427,096	17	12 per cent.

We have not space to do more than mention the remaining prohibition States. In Kansas—a prosperous central State with an almost exclusively agricultural population [1]—a closely similar condition of things exists.

	Population (1890).
Kansas City	38,316

The principal city of the State (Kansas City) immediately adjoins the licence city of Kansas City, Missouri, and liquor is therefore easily obtainable.[2] In addition to this a system of monthly "fines" seems for years to have been in force in this and in other towns.[3] The actual condition of things here and

[1] At the last census (1890) only 2 per cent. of the population were engaged in manufactures.

[2] The distinction between the two "cities" is hardly more than nominal. Kansas City is situate on the line between Kansas and Missouri, and the principal part of the city is in the State of Missouri. The two parts of the city are, however, technically and administratively distinct. The population of Kansas City, Missouri, was 132,716 in 1890.

[3] See earlier editions of this volume, pp. 196–199.

elsewhere is clearly described by Mr. Joshua L. Baily, President of the National Temperance Society of America, in a series of articles, based upon personal investigations, which he contributed to the *American Friend* in January and February, 1900. Speaking of Kansas City, which, as we have shown, is situate on the line dividing the two States of Kansas and Missouri, Mr. Baily says:—"Although I found little evidence that the sale of liquors was prohibited on one side of the State line any more than on the other, I did not on that account conclude . . . that prohibition was a failure in Kansas. A city divided in twain, and where it is lawful to do on one side of a street what it is unlawful to do on the other side, presents embarrassing conditions that cannot fairly be put in evidence in the present investigation."

	Population (1890).
Topeka	31,007

The second largest city is Topeka, the capital of the State, and here a much more determined effort would seem to have been made to enforce the prohibition law than in the other cities of the State.[1] This is probably partly due to the existence in the city of a "Committee of Two Hundred" citizens who constitute what is virtually a Law Enforcement League. Out of this number, each member of which subscribes

[1] A Special Committee of the State Legislature, appointed in 1891 to inquire into the working of the prohibitory law, reported as follows concerning Topeka:—

"The authorities of Topeka have made a more determined effort than any city of its class. They are expending $15,000 per annum of the taxpayers' money in excess of all the revenue of the police department of the city, and yet the 'joints,' drunkenness and crime have not been banished."

to what is called a "sustaining fund," an executive committee is appointed which is charged with the duty of aiding the public authorities in the enforcement of the law.

Referring to his visit to Topeka in the autumn of 1899, Mr. Baily says:—"In Topeka, although there are many hotels, there are no bars at any of them, and no liquors are sold or served to the guests. At one of the hotels, however, a clerk told me that if any guest requested it, they would send out and get him anything he wanted, and send it to his room; but, he added, 'such service is rarely asked.' On the testimony of some of the best-informed and most reliable citizens, I learned that an illicit traffic is carried on in many places familiarly known as 'joints'; that there is a good degree of vigilance on the part of the police in discovering and suppressing these places; that they are frequently raided and fined; but that as further punishment is seldom inflicted, it is not uncommon for the same parties to start up again and take the risk of another discovery and fine."

	Population (1890).
Wichita	23,853

The third largest city in Kansas is Wichita. "Here," says Mr. Baily, "the conditions are in many respects the very opposite of what I found in Topeka. Here every hotel has a bar, most of them open to the street, and liquors appear to be sold without any attempt at concealment. In the hall of a hotel at which I stopped there was a sign with a finger pointing 'To the bar.' In all the business parts of the city there are saloons with doors and windows open

to the street, and men to be seen standing before the bars inside. More than twenty such places I counted in a short walk, and was assured that there were beyond thirty places, beside at least ten drug stores, where liquors were freely sold; and this in addition to the hotels, which were quite numerous. In this particular, Wichita is a 'wide-open city.' Perhaps there are none more so in the United States.

"The proprietor of one of the hotels with whom I conversed admitted that nothing more than a mock effort was made at any time to interfere with the sale of liquors or to enforce the law. At stated intervals (usually once a month) a city officer went round and collected from each hotel or saloon such sum as might be agreed upon, averaging about $50 per month, from each, and so long as this sum was paid they were exempt from molestation. The money collected went into the city treasury, and it nearly sufficed to pay the maintenance of the police and fire departments."

	Population (1890).
Leavenworth . . .	19,768

In Leavenworth, the fourth largest city in the State, "the conditions," says Mr. Baily, "were much the same as I found in Wichita. All the hotels have wide-open bars, and there are many saloons beside. The sale of liquor is practically unrestrained, and drunkenness is said to abound. The authorities collect money from the sellers at stated intervals, and these payments relieve them from any further penalty. The good citizens of Leavenworth,—and there are many,—appear to be discouraged, disgusted, and disheartened; meantime the open saloon is daily bearing its prolific fruitage of depravity and degradation." [1]

[1] *The American Friend*, February 1st, 1900. The only other

Success in the Rural Districts.

But while the prohibitory law is thus openly violated in the "cities" of Kansas, there is much evidence to show that it is largely successful in the *rural districts*, and these include by far the largest proportion of the population of the State. At the last census (1890) only 165,879 persons (a number less than the population of Leicester), lived in towns of 8,000 inhabitants and upwards, while *three-fourths* of the entire population of the State lived in townships or villages of *less than 1,000 inhabitants.* Its few "cities," however, furnish the same evidence of the failure of prohibition in urban communities as is supplied by other prohibition States.

Mr. Baily sums up the condition of things in the State generally in the following words:—

"The evidence is conclusive that although the prohibition law is respected and enforced in a large proportion of the rural sections of the State, and in some of the towns, it is entirely disregarded in some other towns; and in the principal cities, with, perhaps, the exception of Topeka, it is openly violated, and this in spite of the fact generally claimed, that the preponderating public sentiment is in favour of the law." [1]

"city" to which Mr. Baily makes reference is Lawrence, the population of which was 9,997 at the last census. "Here the prohibitory law," says Mr. Baily, "is well observed as to the outward appearance, there being no open saloons; but one of the oldest citizens of the State, a resident of Lawrence, said to me, 'The law is enforced in a general way, but there is much liquor sold clandestinely, and any one who is determined to get it has little difficulty in finding it.'"

[1] *The American Friend*, February 8th, 1900.

This conclusion is practically identical with that reached by the Royal Canadian Commission a few years previously. Summing up the results of their investigations in Kansas in 1893, the Commissioners say :—

"It is conceded that drinking has been reduced *in the country districts*, but evidence, abundant and conclusive, was submitted to this Commission to establish the utter failure of the law in the cities."[1]

The general condition of things in Kansas is indicated by the fact that in the year ending June 30th, 1899, no fewer than 2,930 persons in the State took out Federal licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors. The particulars are as under :—

Rectifiers	3
Wholesale liquor dealers (spirits) .	15
Retail „ „ „ .	2,581
Brewers	2
Wholesale dealers in malt liquors .	75
Retail „ „ „ .	254
	2,930

[1] A similar conclusion was reached by a Special Committee of the Kansas Legislature in 1891. Summing up the reports obtained from the chief "cities," the committee declared :— "Your Committee has heard no testimony that induces them to believe that the prohibitory law has been enforced in any city in the State, through the agency of the Metropolitan police or any other machinery of the law."

PROHIBITION IN NORTH DAKOTA.

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per square mile.	Proportion of Urban Population (*i.e.*, in towns of 8,000 and upwards.)
182,719	4	*Nil.*

The State of North Dakota is so thinly populated that it need hardly be considered. In 1890 it had not a single "city" with a population exceeding 6,000, and only two above 2,500. That liquor-selling is frequent is, however, evident from the official returns, which show that in the year ending June 30th, 1899, no fewer than 557 persons took out Federal licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors. The particulars are as under:—

Rectifiers	2
Wholesale liquor dealers (spirits) .	1
Retail „ „ „ .	460
Wholesale dealers in malt liquors .	15
Retail „ „ „ .	79
	557

THE CAUSES OF FAILURE.

If we turn from an examination of the working results of State prohibition to a consideration of the causes that have produced those results, we are met at once by certain indisputable facts. The first of these is the unquestionable influence which party politics play in preventing a continuous and rigorous enforcement of the law. This influence is everywhere so obvious, and has so often been suggested by the foregoing evidence, that it need not be more than referred

to here. It is bound, however, to be reckoned with in any attempt to estimate the causes of the failure of prohibition in the New England States. But it is plainly possible to give it undue emphasis, and this many of the advocates of prohibition in America have certainly done. It is clear that party expediency in America, as elsewhere, is not in itself a primary fact, but one affected, and ultimately controlled, by the currents of popular opinion. Sheriffs and city governments, for example, however ardently they might desire to conciliate the liquor-sellers and so subserve their own political interests, could not possibly do so over a long period of years if the popular sentiment in favour of prohibition were as strong as it is often represented to be. It is because public opinion in the towns and cities of the States, so far from being united in favour of the law, is greatly divided on the question, that enforcement of the law has been so intermittent and defective.

It is to be remembered that the experiment of prohibition, so far as Maine, at least, is concerned, has been attempted under conditions which have been quite exceptionally favourable. In the first place, the temperance sentiment of the community, prior to the enactment of the law, was unusually strong and widespread; and, secondly, the law has been almost continuously on the statute book for more than fifty years, and has had throughout the advantage of exceptional administrative arrangements, and the support of a legislature more than usually susceptible to the pressure of Temperance opinion. If, therefore, in the face of these advantages, the law, so far as the towns and cities are concerned, has been so persistently violated, the explanation can only lie in the fact that popular

sentiment, although said to be in favour of the law, is actively opposed to its enforcement.

Against this it is, of course, urged that, whenever the question has been submitted to a popular vote, the decision has been overwhelmingly in favour of the law, and that this was notably the case in 1884, when the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution was carried by a majority of nearly 47,000 votes out of a total poll of 94,594 votes.[1]

The plea at first sight is a strong one, but the figures are, nevertheless, far from convincing. Apart, for instance, from the fact that the total number of the votes cast in favour of the amendment was less than one-half of the *political* vote cast at the same election,[2] it is unquestionable that the vote in favour of prohibition has always been largely governed by party political exigencies—the question of prohibition having, from stress of political circumstances, become a mere "football" in the strife of evenly balanced parties.[3] As the Hon. A. D. Andrews, Judge of the Municipal Court of Augusta, and himself a prohibitionist, said: "Our prohibitory law is run on politics. In some counties you will find the violators of the law against every prosecutor of the law, and in other counties you will find the violators of the law always voting for the prosecutor of the law."

[1] The actual figures were as follow:—

For the Amendment . . .	70,783
Against the Amendment . .	23,811
Majority "For" .	46,972

[2] General Neal Dow, *Evidence of the Canadian Commission*, vol. v., p. 475. The total *political* vote cast at the same election was 142, 107.

[3] See Appendix, p. 707.

Mr. E. L. Fanshawe, writing on this point, says :— "The prohibition party, though comparatively small, is extremely active, and wields an influence disproportionate to its numerical strength, inasmuch as the great political parties are equally enough divided to render the support of the prohibitionists a matter of great importance to the maintenance of the existing Republican majority. Thus the prohibition movement has received much support from motives of political expediency, but I was assured that a large number of Republicans are in their own mind strongly opposed to it. The party managers, however, tell them that in the interest of the party they must vote for it, and they vote accordingly. Prohibition is favoured by some who are not total abstainers, but who are influenced by a sense of the social evils resulting from the retail liquor trade. The farmers, however, are the backbone of the movement."[1]

That there is a real and sharply drawn distinction in the popular mind between the law and its enforcement cannot be doubted. The evidence on the point is convincing, and it is impossible, in the face of it, to regard the votes recorded in favour of prohibition as an accurate representation of public opinion on the question. That the vote of 1884 did represent a large body of honest conviction, especially in the rural districts, is unquestionable; but it is equally unquestionable that in the larger towns and cities of the State the support accorded to the proposal was more nominal than sincere, and actuated to a very considerable extent by motives of political expediency.

Finally, it is clear that, apart altogether from the

[1] *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, pp. 116–117.

political complexion of the vote taken in 1884, public sentiment in the towns and cities of the State is too evenly divided on the question to make adequate enforcement of the law possible. Thus, in Portland, to take a single instance, 5,035 persons, forming 68 per cent. of the registered voters of the city, voted in 1884 on the issue of the Prohibitory Amendment to the Constitution. Of these, 2,948, representing 40 per cent. of the registered voters of the city, voted in favour of the amendment, and 2,087 voted against it.[1] A majority of 861 considered by itself, and apart from the question of abstentions, is undoubtedly a satisfactory one, and under ordinary circumstances, and with an ordinary issue, would certainly prove effective. But in this case the issue is by no means an ordinary one. On the contrary, it is one where reform is admittedly hedged about by exceptional and serious difficulties, involving, in addition to the ordinary prejudices and predispositions which all reforms encounter, certain unreasoning considerations of personal liberty, and, above all, deep-rooted habits of personal indulgence and sordid motives of gain. A successful attempt to surmount and conquer these must be overwhelmingly supported by public opinion, and this, as the preceding figures and evidence show, is certainly not the case either in Portland or in any other of the large towns in Maine.[2] It is, therefore, hardly matter for wonder

[1] In Bangor, where the law has been flagrantly disregarded, only 37 per cent. of the registered voters of the city voted in support of the amendment, despite the fact that the nominal majority in favour of the amendment was 572.

[2] The following figures, which have been furnished to the present writers by the Secretary of the Executive Department of the State of Maine, give particulars of the vote on the Con-

that the administration of the law has been intermittent and defective, and that every attempt at rigorous enforcement has ended in speedy failure.

Effect in Degrading the Traffic.

It is, however, sometimes urged that even if the prohibitory law has not succeeded in suppressing the sale of liquor, it has at least driven the traffic into holes and corners and out-of-the-way places, and made it a disreputable and criminal traffic. The plea has some force in respect of certain districts, but that it does not apply to the towns (using the word in the English sense) of the prohibition States is clear beyond dispute. The illustrations which have been given in the preceding pages, and which are typical of a large number of saloons visited in the course of the present investigations, put the fact beyond the reach of doubt. It is strange that the plea should be used, inasmuch as temperance sentiment in America (as also in this country) insists strongly upon the wisdom of abolishing all screens and curtains from the windows of saloons, so that the bars may be open to full view from the street. It is noteworthy in this connection that among the recommendations in Lord Peel's report,

stitutional Amendment in 1884 in the six largest "cities" in Maine:—

City.	Population, 1890.	For.	Against.
Portland	36,425	2,948	2,087
Lewiston	21,701	1,120	1,485
Bangor	19,103	1,718	1,146
Biddeford	14,443	961	904
Auburn	11,250	1,225	264
Augusta	10,527	926	534

is one requiring that "Licensed houses should be as open as possible to supervision both from the outside and the inside. They should not be placed in connection with back courts or yards." A similar recommendation was contained in the report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons as far back as 1834.

The "Relative" Character of the Failure.

Nor does there appear to be greater force in the further plea that the failure of the prohibitory law is after all only relative, and analogous to the partial failure of all laws. No law, it is said, does, as a matter of fact, entirely abolish crime; even the most stringent penal laws, it is argued, fail entirely to abolish either murders or thefts. The argument is, however, unconvincing, inasmuch as it ignores the distinction between the partial violation of a law and the virtual abrogation of that law by the substitution (in practice) of a different system. The position of things in the towns of Maine and other States is not that prohibition is imperfectly enforced, but that after a long period of experiment the authorities have deliberately *superseded prohibition* by a definite (albeit irregular) system of licence.

Civic Government in America and in the United Kingdom.

It may, however, be further pleaded, and to some extent justly, that there is greater respect for law in England than is commonly found in the cities of the United States, and, therefore, less likelihood of syste-

matic evasion such as has here been described. But it is important to point out that the evasion of law has taken place, not in Chicago or New York, but in the small and otherwise orderly cities of quiet New England States where the enforcement of ordinary law is not found to be unusually difficult. It is necessary to keep this clearly in mind when considering the breakdown of prohibition in the "cities" of Maine and other prohibition States. Politics unquestionably play a much greater part in the government of American cities generally than is the case in England, but it would be a serious mistake to infer from this that the ideal of law in a city like Portland is therefore lower than it is in the case of an English city of the same size. As a matter of fact, the political government of the city seems in no way to affect the enforcement of ordinary criminal laws in Portland, although it does undoubtedly affect the enforcement of the prohibition law. What is the explanation of this? The explanation is simply that in the case of ordinary crime public opinion is united in favour of enforcement of the laws, and there is therefore no body of hostile opinion to which the politicians of either party can appeal. In the case of the prohibition law, however, public opinion is largely divided, and there is always a considerable body of opinion hostile to the law to which the politician can appeal.

It is true that there is less risk of open and systematic corruption in our English cities than in the principal American towns; but it is morally certain that in the present state of public opinion on the question, the danger—which already threatens us[1]—

[1] See previous chapter.

would become very real. In considering this contingency, it has always to be remembered that so far our public services have never been brought into serious conflict with the liquor interest. The struggle in England has never become acute. What, therefore, would happen in a struggle involving the very existence of the drink traffic can only be imperfectly conjectured; but experience is not wanting to show that with a divided public opinion the result would be disastrous to the purity of our civic life. As the Mayor of Boston, Mass., speaking from practical experience of prohibition in that important city, admirably expressed it: "In a business involving such immense pecuniary interests as does the liquor traffic, and in which public sympathy is so largely on the side of the dealers, it is obvious that the inducements and opportunities which exist for evading or averting the operation of a prohibitory law which threatens their commercial ruin, must give rise to influences of a character to tempt the virtue and try the fidelity of police officers, and possessing a power too mighty to be persistently resisted by the average moral force of humanity."[1]

It has further to be remembered that even our present licensing laws do not secure satisfactory enforcement, and that fact must surely suggest the much greater difficulty that would attend the effort to enforce a drastic prohibition law. The evidence of non-enforcement in the one case, where the restrictions are comparatively light, certainly does not encourage faith in the practical possibilities of an alternative system which vetoes the traffic altogether.

[1] Inaugural address, January 4th, 1874. See *British Consular Report* (*Maine*), 1874.

Injury to Temperance and Morals.

On the other hand, there can be little doubt that the failure of the prohibitory law has produced in many minds an unwise distrust of the efficacy of law, and of the power of well-considered public arrangements to influence national habit.

So strong, indeed, is this feeling in Maine, that in 1896, the Rev. S. F. Pearson, President of the Gospel Temperance Mission in Portland, and an ardent prohibitionist, started a movement which had for its aim the revival of the old "Washingtonian" Society[1] in Maine. Speaking at Westbrook on December 13th, 1896, he said:—"It [*i.e.*, the early Washingtonian movement] was started by six labouring men, all hard drinkers, and the first week gave them their first great convert, John B. Gough. The work went on. Victory followed victory. The drinking habits of the nation changed; 1,500,000 signed the pledge. The temperance orders grew out of the movement. Then there was the thought, 'The progress of the work is too slow. We must prohibit the sale of liquor. The law must deal with it.' We got the law. The flag of prohibition was flung out from the watch-tower of the constitution, and the system was made a part of the organic law of the State, and then we said, 'We are safe now,—the law will protect us. We shall not need to go to the lodge or the temperance meeting again. We hardly need even pray now.' What has been done? With the law have we been able to abolish the saloons? No. Drunkenness is on the

[1] The "Washingtonian" movement was a "moral suasion" movement which achieved remarkable success in the years 1840–1842. The Order of the "Sons of Temperance," which arose in 1842, was an offspring of the movement.

increase, more especially among young men. We are utterly powerless to take the saloon away from the drinking man. . . . There is no temperance sentiment in Maine to-day. Give the question to the people, and unless the rural vote saved the law, Maine would be a licence State. With 846 licensed liquor-sellers after fifty years of the law, what else have we the right to call Maine?"[1]

Another temperance advocate (Captain Blake), who was prominently associated with Mr. Pearson in founding the new Society, speaking in Portland a week later (December 20th, 1896), said:—"For forty years here in Maine the army of temperance has been fighting the entrenched enemy. That army has been met by the power of the saloons; by the power of the men who are behind the saloons; by the power of politicians, and they have been doomed to failure. It has been one long failure. We have never been able to close the saloons in Maine. We have never been able to keep rum out of Maine. We have never seen the moment when here in Maine we could say, 'The victory is ours.' It has been one long fight, and nothing but defeat."[2]

The Reaction against State Prohibition.

In view of all the facts, it is hardly matter for surprise that a lurking distrust of State prohibition as a practicable scheme of politics is steadily asserting itself even in quarters that once were favourable to the system, and that recent elections give evidence of a growing reaction against the law in several of the prohibition States. That there is such a reaction no

[1] *Portland Argus*, December 14th, 1896.
[2] *Portland Argus*, December 21st, 1896.

one who has followed the history of the experiment at all closely can doubt,[1] and it was repeatedly emphasized by those friendly to the prohibitory law in the course of the present investigations. Nor is it possible to explain it on any other ground than that of the manifest failure of the prohibitory system to achieve the results that were previously claimed in its behalf. The evidence is conclusive that in no single State has the law been satisfactorily enforced in the urban centres. On the contrary, its successes have always been achieved in sparsely populated rural districts where the problem to be dealt with is notoriously simpler and easier of solution. Under any circumstances this failure of the system in the towns and cities would be important, but its importance is increased by the fact that in America, as elsewhere, the drift of population is increasingly towards the cities.[2]

It is, moreover, morally certain that for generations to come this growth of urban districts will continue, and that, led on the one hand by a gregarious instinct which persists through all ages and civilizations, and driven on the other by the force of economic circumstances, an ever-increasing proportion of the people will gravitate towards the urban districts, and America will tend to become, what England within her narrower limits has already become—a network of towns and cities, whose borders expand continually under the pressure of an irresistible growth. A method of reform, therefore, that is applicable only to

[1] See Appendix, p. 713.

[2] The number of cities having a population of 8,000 and upwards increased from 6 in 1790 to 286 in 1880, and to 448 in 1890.

sparsely populated rural districts, and is inapplicable to towns and cities, can have but a restricted and diminishing sphere of influence.

This consideration is especially important in view of proposals that are sometimes made for the application of a similar law to England,[1] where the distribution of population presents very much greater difficulties.

The most densely populated prohibition State (*i.e.*, New Hampshire) is populated at the rate of 40 persons to the square mile, whereas the *least* densely populated English county (*i.e.*, Westmorland) is populated at the rate of 84[2] persons to the square mile. Lancashire, on the other hand, is populated at the rate of 1,938[2] persons to the square mile, and Middlesex at the rate of 2,061,[2] while London reaches the almost incredible density of 35,998 persons to the square mile. The average density for the whole of England and Wales is 497 persons per square mile.

Further, in the whole of the five prohibition States

[1] It is important to note that the proposal in favour of *national* prohibition is not supported to any considerable extent by the influential leaders of the Temperance movement in England, who for the most part freely recognise, what is clear to all students of social and political thought, that public opinion is too hostile to so sweeping a proposal to give it even a remote prospect of success. The immediate policy of the leading Temperance organizations in this country tends rather in the direction of a measure of permissive prohibition based upon the principle of local option.

[2] These figures refer to *administrative* counties, while the figures shown in the diagram (Plate XVIII.) refer to what are technically known as "ancient counties." The difference is chiefly important in the case of Middlesex, which in the one case *ex*cludes and in the other case *in*cludes the administrative county of London.

PLATE XVIII.

DIAGRAM

Showing the average Density of Population per square mile in (A) the Prohibition States, and (B) England and Wales.

A 1890		B 1891	
North Dakota 4 persons to the square mile		1	Westmorland etc. (see note) Averaging 79 persons to the square mile
Kansas 17 persons to the square mile		2	Cumberland etc. (see note) Averaging 171 persons to the square mile
Maine 20 persons to the square mile		3	Suffolk etc. (see note) Averaging 250 persons to the square mile
Vermont 34 persons to the square mile		4	Hampshire etc. (see note) Averaging 411 persons to the square mile
New Hampshire 40 persons to the square mile		5	Yorkshire etc. (see note) Averaging 527 persons to the square mile
		6	Glamorganshire etc. (see note) Averaging 817 persons to the square mile
		7	Durham 1005 persons to the square mile
		8	Lancashire (2080) & Surrey (2284) Averaging 2138 persons to the square mile
		9	Middlesex 11,490 persons to the square mile

NOTES.

(The undermentioned counties are arranged in order of increasing density.)

Square No. 1 represents Radnor, Montgomery, Merioneth, Brecknock, Westmorland, and Cardigan.

Square No. 2 represents Rutland, Hereford, Huntingdon, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Shropshire, Cumberland, Denbigh, Lincoln, Anglesey, Wilts, and Dorset.

Square No. 3 represents Carnarvon, Cambridge, Norfolk, Cornwall, Devon, Oxford, Suffolk, Buckingham, Northumberland, Somerset, Flint, and Northampton.

Square No. 4 represents Berkshire, Bedford, Hertford, Sussex, Hampshire, Leicester, and Monmouth.

Square No. 5 represents Essex, Derby, Nottingham, Yorkshire, and Worcester.

Square No. 6 represents Cheshire, Kent, Glamorgan, Warwick, and Stafford.

there was not, at the last census, a single city containing 50,000 or more inhabitants.

In England and Wales, on the other hand, there were, in 1891, no fewer than sixty-two towns and cities containing upwards of 50,000 inhabitants. Of these :—

14	contained	50,000	and under	60,000	inhabitants.
7	,,	60,000	,,	70,000	,,
7	,,	70,000	,,	80,000	,,
6	,,	80,000	,,	90,000	,,
4	,,	90,000	,,	100,000	,,
13	,,	100,000	,,	200,000	,,
5	,,	200,000	,,	300,000	,,
2	,,	300,000	,,	400,000	,,
1	,,	400,000	,,	500,000	,,
2	,,	500,000	,,	600,000	,,

while one contained over 4,000,000 inhabitants. Or, to put it in another way. Taking the whole of the five prohibition States, not a single person lived in towns containing 50,000 or more inhabitants. In England and Wales, on the other hand, no fewer than 11,872,684 persons, or 41 *per cent.* of the total population, lived in such towns.[1] It is therefore impossible to suppose that a system which has failed in the towns and cities of such sparsely populated States could meet the conditions of the more numerous and densely crowded urban districts of England.

[1] For example :—

Persons.			Inhabitants.		
2,618,710 or 9 %	of the total population lived in towns of over		50,000	and under	100,000
1,771,884 ,, 6 %	,,	,,	100,000	,,	200,000
1,056,763 ,, 3½ %	,,	,,	200,000	,,	300,000
691,748 ,, 2½ %	,,	,,	300,000	,,	400,000
478,113 ,, 1½ %	,,	,,	400,000	,,	500,000
1,023,348 ,, 3½ %	,,	,,	500,000	,,	600,000
4,232,118 ,,15 %	,,	a city of over	4,000,000		

CHAPTER IV

Local Option

A STUDY of temperance legislation in the United States suggests a further question. The history of licensing experiments there shows that while the system of State prohibition has steadily lost its hold, the principle of local option has received wide recognition and sanction. It becomes necessary, therefore, to inquire what are the results and practical possibilities of the alternative system?

Local option, in varying forms, is already in successful operation in the *rural districts* of an overwhelming majority of the American States, including some (*e.g.*, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Michigan) that have tried and abandoned State prohibition, as well as in the rural districts of Canada, Sweden, and Norway.

Local Option in the United States.

The United States furnish us with the most extensive historical data by which to judge the results and

possibilities of the system. There the principle of local option, as already indicated, has won wide acceptance. The recognition given to the principle is, however, often far from complete. In some cases incorporated towns and cities are expressly excluded from its operation, while in others local veto can be applied only indirectly through discretionary powers vested in the city councils and other popularly elected local authorities. In other cases (*e.g.*, Maryland, where a separate Act has to be passed for every locality that desires to adopt the system) the practical application of the system is seriously hindered by cumbrous methods of procedure. But in a large number of cases the method of applying the principle is both simple and direct. Thus, of the forty-six States in the Union, seventeen have complete local option in the English sense, *i.e.*, by direct popular vote applicable to *all* localities; while in six other States the same principle is recognised, but in a limited form, the power of direct popular veto being restricted to special localities or to the rural districts.[1]

The following statement, which is based upon an examination of the most recent laws, shows the full extent to which the principle of local option has been accepted in America, as well as the method by which it is applied. The details of the statement will be found illustrated in the accompanying map (Plate XIX.):—

[1] The phrase "Local Option" is here used in its ordinary English sense as implying a *right* of popular veto. It does not, of course, imply an actual *exercise* of the right. As a matter of fact, some form of licence exists in all the local option States, the right of veto being exercised only in certain localities.

Class.		No. of States.
I.	Local Option by direct popular vote applicable to *all* localities	17
II.	Local Option by direct popular vote applicable to *special localities or rural districts only*	6
III	*Indirect* Local Option, *i.e.*, through discretionary powers vested in city councils and other popularly elected local governing bodies[1]	9
IV.	Right of veto by "remonstrance" and by provisions requiring consent of legal voters, property holders, etc.[2]	5

In addition to the above States there are four Territories,[3] in three of which (Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma) the local governing authorities of certain districts have discretionary powers of veto. In no Territory, however, is there a power of direct popular vote.

This wide acceptance of the principle of local option in America is unquestionably significant, and it becomes the more noteworthy in view of the reaction against State prohibition which, as we have seen, has

[1] This is not essentially different from the powers already possessed in Scotland. In some cases (*e.g.*, Washington and Utah) the discretionary power of veto is confined to certain specified localities.

[2] In the case of Oregon the provision applies to *rural districts* only, and in the case of the District of Columbia to individual licences only.

[3] A Territory is a division of the national domain of the United States that, by Act of Congress, has been organized under a separate Government in the expectation that it, or some part of it, will ultimately be admitted into the Union as a State. The territories are very thinly peopled.

PLATE XIX.

Map showing the extent to which the *right* of local option exists in the United States, and the way in which it can be exercised.

NOTE.—The States left uncoloured are either Prohibition States or High Licence States where local option does not exist.

steadily asserted itself in recent years. That local option has justified itself in the particular areas to which it has been applied is, broadly speaking, incontestable. It has stimulated temperance sentiment and quickened progressive effort until it has secured the total suppression of the liquor saloon over wide areas; while its influence has been almost wholly free from those demoralizing effects which have followed the attempt to impose compulsory prohibition upon the cities of the Prohibition States. Up to the limit of its actual achievement, therefore, the experiment of local option in America is to be regarded as a decided success.

The practical question, however, from the point of view of the present inquiry, is: What is the measure of this achievement? Has prohibition by local option succeeded in solving the problem of intemperance where State prohibition has admittedly failed to solve it, *i.e.*, in the *towns*?

A careful study of the evidence leaves little doubt as to the answer. Local prohibition has succeeded precisely where State prohibition has succeeded, namely, *in rural and thinly peopled districts* and in certain small towns. Except for certain suburban districts, where there is an effective "safety-valve" in the shape of neighbouring facilities for the purchase of drink, it is broadly true to say that local veto in America has only been found operative *outside the larger towns and cities.*

It is to be regretted that in the discussion of this subject hitherto, no serious or systematic attempt has been made to ascertain the particular areas to which local veto has been applied in America, and much misconception has consequently arisen in this country as

to the character and extent of the experiment. That considerable portions of particular States, representing in their *aggregate* populations a large proportion of the total population of such States, have been under local veto has been well known; but the size and character of the *separate localities*, and their value as evidence for similar experiments in this country have not been sufficiently considered. But this, obviously, is a question of first importance from the standpoint of the English student.

The present writers have sought by careful investigation to ascertain the actual results of local option in the whole of the States that have adopted the system. The inquiry has been more than usually difficult from the fact that detailed information has only hitherto been accessible for a few of the Local Option States, and the data necessary for the present investigation have therefore had to be specially compiled. The information included in the following summary is necessarily incomplete, but it accurately represents the broad facts of the situation as it existed in the period covered by the inquiry (*i.e.*, from the summer of 1899 to March, 1900), and it is certain that fuller information, if such could be procured, would in no way affect the conclusions that are suggested by the following particulars. As it stands, the statement gives a summary of information which has not hitherto been accessible to the student of the question, and which is not to be found elsewhere.

GROUP I.

Local Option by direct popular vote, applicable to *all* localities (urban and rural) alike.

We select first the seventeen States in which full local option, as it is understood in England, exists. That is, States in which *all* localities, whether urban or rural, have the *right* of direct popular veto. The method of the option is not uniform. In some cases the county, and not the town or city, is made the unit, whereas in other cases a separate precinct or a ward of a city may decide the issue for itself without regard to the "licence" or "no licence" sentiment of the surrounding district. In certain States again (*e.g.*, Massachusetts), a recurrent vote on the question at stated intervals is expressly enjoined by statute, while in others it is left to the initiative of a specified proportion of the qualified voters. In every one of the seventeen States, however, the acceptance of the principle of popular veto is explicit and complete.

1. ARKANSAS

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,128,179	21

Distribution of the Population at the last census (1890).[1]

90 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.

4	„	„	1,000 to 5,000	„
2	„	„	5,000 „ 10,000	„
1	„	„	10,000 „ 25,000	„
2	„	„	25,000 „ 50,000	„

[1] The statistics showing the distribution of population in this and other States have been specially compiled from the

This State is under high licence and local option. The law provides for elections in each county on the question of "licence" or "no licence." Municipal corporations have also "power to license, regulate, tax, or suppress tippling-houses and dramshops." There is a further provision that the County Court may, upon petition by a majority of the adult inhabitants residing within three miles of a church or school, make an order prohibiting the sale of liquor within three miles thereof. In addition, there are many special Acts prohibiting the sale of liquors in particular localities.

According to the State Auditor there are at the present time 26 "no licence" counties and 49 "licence" counties in Arkansas. Many of the latter are, however, largely "dry" by township law, so that there is probably good ground for the estimate that at present nearly one-half of the State is under local prohibition.

But an analysis of the "no licence" areas shows that they are purely rural and thinly populated districts, and include no town of even moderate size.

official census returns. The proportion said to be living in "towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants" has been determined by deducting the number returned as living in "cities, towns, villages, and boroughs having 1,000 inhabitants or more in 1890" from the total population of the State. In a few cases the census enumerators have failed to give a separate return for towns, villages, or boroughs included in a minor civil division, and some of these may possibly have 1,000 or more inhabitants, but these cases are so few as not to affect the broad result. The word "town" as applied to places with *less* than 1,000 inhabitants is used throughout this chapter in a popular and non-technical sense as denoting an aggregation of population.

Thus, in the whole of the 26 "no licence" counties there were at the last census (1890) only *ten* "towns"[1] with a population of 1,000 or more inhabitants.

Of these:—

5	had	1,000	and under	1,500	inhabitants.
4	„	1,500	„	2,500	„
1	„	2,900			„
10					

It is clear, therefore, that in Arkansas the experiment of prohibition is a purely *rural* experiment. It could hardly be otherwise in view of the fact that at the last census only *ten* per cent. of the entire population of the State lived in "towns" having 1,000 or more inhabitants.

2. CONNECTICUT

(Local Option and Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
746,258	150

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

8½ per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.

29	„	„	„	1,000 to 5,000	„
16	„	„	„	5,000 „ 10,000	„
18½	„	„	„	10,000 „ 25,000	„
10	„	„	„	25,000 „ 50,000	„
18	„	„	2 towns of	53,000 and 81,000	respectively.

The "Maine Law" (State Prohibition) was enacted in Connecticut in 1854, but was gradually amended until, in 1872, it was finally repealed, and succeeded

[1] *I.e.*, places officially returned as "cities, towns, villages, and boroughs." So throughout.

by the present system of local option and licence. In 1882, a prohibition amendment was proposed for submission to the people, and a similar proposal was made in 1887. It was not until 1889, however, that the amendment was actually submitted, when it was rejected by a majority of 27,595, the numbers being:— *For* prohibition, 22,379; *Against*, 49,974. Under the existing law, licences are granted by the Boards of County Commissioners of the several counties, who are themselves elected by the Legislature. Local option by direct vote (which is taken at any annual town meeting upon the petition of not less than twenty-five legal voters) prevails throughout the State. Annual licence fee for sale of spirituous liquor, $450 in towns of *over* 3,000 inhabitants, and $250 in towns of 3,000 inhabitants or less.[1] Licence fee for sale of ale, cider, lager beer, and Rhine wine only, $200. Grocers' licences ("off") not less than $250. The law requires the appointment of town agents for the sale of liquors for sacramental, medicinal, chemical, and mechanical uses only, in "no licence" towns; one such agent being appointed in a town of not more than 5,000 inhabitants, and an additional agent for each additional 5,000 inhabitants, "and for any fraction exceeding one-half."

At the present time 90 of the 168 towns in the State are under "no licence." These "no licence" towns are (to quote the Secretary of State) "mostly the smaller ones," and the Secretary of the Connecti-

[1] County Commissioners may make exceptions to above specified fees in case of keepers of well-established and reputable hotels in places of less than 3,500 inhabitants, but no fee may be less than $150. The above fees do not apply to druggists.

cut Temperance Union states (September 20th, 1899): "We have no *city* that stands dry."

The size of the "no licence" towns in Connecticut is shown in the following statement, which gives the populations at the last census (1890):—

37	had	*less* than	1,000		inhabitants.
20	,,	1,000 and under	1,500		,,
14	,,	1,500	,,	2,000	,,
15	,,	2,000	,,	3,500	,,
1	,,	4,582			,,
2	,,	5,500			,,
1	,,	7,184			,,
90					

3. FLORIDA

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
391,422	7

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

77	per cent.	lived in towns of	*less* than	1,000 inhabitants.	
10	,,	,,	,,	1,000 to 5,000	,,
1	,,	,,	,,	5,000 ,, 10,000	,,
12	,,	,,	,,	10,000 ,, 25,000	,,

The Constitution of the State provides for elections in each county upon the question of "no licence." Elections may be held not oftener than once in every two years, upon the application of one-fourth of the registered voters of any county.

A majority of the votes cast in any county or in any election district is sufficient to secure prohibition. Makers of domestic wines selling in quantities of not less than one quart do not require to take out a licence.

A section of an Act passed in June, 1899, forbids the sale of liquors (except domestic wines) within four miles of a school or church *in the rural districts.* This provision does not apply to towns and cities, nor to licences issued prior to June, 1899.

A communication sent by the Governor of the State to the Chairman of the Royal Canadian Commission in 1892 stated that there were then 8 counties in which the sale of liquor was prohibited; 11 in which, although not prohibited, no licences were issued; and 26 in which licences were granted. The Governor added that "the high licence in some of the sparsely settled counties operates as a prohibition." Later information (February, 1900) forwarded by the State President of the Florida Women's Christian Temperance Union, gives a list of prohibition towns the largest of which had less than 3,000 inhabitants at the last census.

It will be noticed that less than *one-fourth* of the entire population of the State are returned as living in "cities, towns, villages, and boroughs" of 1,000 or more inhabitants.

4. GEORGIA

(Local Option, High Licence, and Dispensary System)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,837,353	31

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

83	per cent.	lived in towns of	*less*	than 1,000	inhabitants.
5	,,	,,	,,	1,000 to 5,000	,,
2	,,	,,	,,	5,000 to 10,000	,,
2	,,	,,	,,	10,000 to 25,000	,,
4	,,	,,	,,	25,000 to 50,000	,,
4	,,	,,	,,	over 50,000	,,

Local prohibition has been brought about in Georgia in three distinct ways:—(1) By the operation of a general local option law (enacted in 1885), under which a direct vote may be taken in any *county* on the application of one-tenth of the qualified voters; such elections not to be held more frequently than once in two years; (2) by special prohibitory or optional legislation affecting particular areas; and (3) by special corporation Acts conferring powers of local self-government upon individual municipalities.

The amount of local legislation on the Statute Book can be gathered from the fact that 160 local Acts dealing with the liquor traffic were passed between 1885 and 1893.

Out of 137 counties in the State no fewer than 100 are said to be under prohibition. The "no licence" counties do not, however, include a single important town.

Taking a list of 22 principal prohibition towns in Georgia at the present time, we find that—

9	had	less	than	1,000	inhabitants	in	1890.
6	,,	1,000	and under	2,000	,,	,,	
5	,,	3,000	,,	3,500	,,	,,	
1	,,	5,500			,,	,,	
1	,,	6,398			,,	,,	
22							

Prohibition does not apply to dealers or producers of wines manufactured from grapes or berries purchased by them or grown on lands owned, leased, or rented by them. The alternatives to local veto in Georgia are High Licence and the Dispensary System (see chapter

VII.), the latter of which originated in the town of Athens in August, 1891, and was afterwards adopted in South Carolina.

5. KENTUCKY

(Local Option and Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,858,635	46

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

78	per cent.	lived in towns of	*less* than	1,000	inhabitants.
6	,,	,,	1,000 to	5,000	,,
3	,,	,,	5,000 to	10,000	,,
3	,,	,,	10,000 to	25,000	,,
2	,,	,,	25,000 to	50,000	,,
8	,,	,,	a town of	161,000	,,

The law of this State provides for a direct vote to be taken in any county, city, town, district or precinct upon application, by written petition, of a number of legal voters equal to twenty-five per cent. of the votes cast at the last preceding general election. Elections are not to be held oftener than every three years. The law does not apply to manufacturers or wholesale dealers selling, in good faith and in the usual course of trade, by wholesale in quantities of not less than five gallons, not to be drunk on the premises. Prior to the establishment of the new State Constitution (providing for local option) in 1891, the Legislature had power to pass special local laws, limiting and, in some cases, prohibiting the liquor traffic; and many such laws were passed affecting only certain localities. No fewer than sixty special liquor Acts were passed in 1890 alone, some of them prohibiting the sale of liquor in a particular county or town, or within one, two, or three miles of a particular church or school; others provid-

ing for the taking of a local option vote; others giving licensing powers to certain municipalities; and, in one case at least, fixing a high licence fee. In some instances the sale by retail, or in quantities less than a fixed amount, such as ten gallons, is alone forbidden.

The Governor of the State, writing on May 14th, 1892, said: "An accurate list of the counties coming within the provision of such [*i.e.*, prohibition] laws cannot be obtained without great trouble, but it is estimated that in about one-third [of] the area of the State no whisky is sold, except surreptitiously and in violation of the law."[1]

In 1897, Dr. Rucker, of Georgetown, Kentucky, undertook an inquiry as to the relative extent of "licence" and "no licence" territory in Kentucky, but met, as he himself declares, "with not very satisfactory results." Forty-one counties made no report; twenty-two were under licence; thirty were reported as "under local option," and twenty-six as "partly under local option." "Of the last, the territory under local option was to that under licence as three to two."

The rural character of the experiment of prohibition in Kentucky is, however, shown by the fact that in the whole of the counties mentioned as under "local option" there were only nine towns which in 1890 had more than 1,000 inhabitants, of which four had less than 1,500 inhabitants. The largest (excluding Paducah, which is a licence city) is Winchester (population, 4,519). Less than *one-fourth* of the entire population of the State are returned as living in "towns" having 1,000 or more inhabitants.

[1] *Report of the Royal Canadian Commission* (1895), p. 857.

6. LOUISIANA

(Local Option and Licence) [1]

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,118,587	25

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

72	per cent.	lived in towns of	*less* than	1,000	inhabitants.
4	,,	,,	,,	1,000 to 5,000	,,
2	,,	,,	,,	10,000 to 25,000	,,
22	,,	a town (New Orleans)		242,000	,,

The local authorities (*i.e.*, the police juries in parishes and municipal authorities in towns and cities) have exclusive power to grant or withhold licences within their respective areas as a majority of the legal voters of any city, ward of a parish, or town may determine by ballot. The law provides that "the said ballot shall be taken whenever deemed necessary" by the local licensing authorities. The discretionary power is thus left with the local authority and not with the voters, who cannot of their own initiative demand such a vote, but can have it only when ordered by the parochial or municipal authorities. The end can, however, usually be attained by petition of property-holders or legal voters addressed to such authorities. Prohibition in Louisiana is only in force in sparsely populated districts. Out of fourteen "parishes" (corresponding to what are called "counties" elsewhere) in which the sale of liquor is said [2] to

[1] The law provides that: "For every business of bar-room, cabaret, coffee-house, café, beer saloon, liquor exchange, drinking saloon, grog-shop, beer-house, beer-garden, or other place where anything to be drunk on the premises is sold, directly or indirectly," the licence fee shall be based "on the gross annual receipts." The fees range from $1,500, where the gross annual receipts are $50,000 or more down to a minimum of $100.

[2] Secretary of State, in a letter received in September, 1899.

be prohibited, there are only *three* towns the population of which exceeded 1,000 at the last census. Of these, the *largest* had a population of 1,510.

It will be noticed that, excluding the licence city of New Orleans, *only six per cent.* of the entire population of the State are returned as living in "cities, towns, villages, and boroughs" having 1,000 or more inhabitants.

7. MASSACHUSETTS

(Local Option and High Licence)

See p. 303

8. MICHIGAN

(Local Option and High Licence) [1]

Population (1890).					No. of Persons per Square Mile.
2,093,889					35
Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).					
59	per cent.	lived in towns of	*less*	than 1,000	inhabitants.
11	„	„	„	1,000 to 5,000	„
6	„	„	„	5,000 to 10,000	„
8	„	„	„	10,000 to 25,000	„
3	„	„	„	25,000 to 50,000	„
3	„	„		a town of 60,000	„
10	„	„	Detroit, which had	205,000	„

The law provides for elections upon the question of prohibiting the liquor traffic to be held not oftener than every two years in any *county*. Such elections to be ordered by the county board of supervisors upon the filing of a written application signed by not less than one-fourth of the qualified electors of the county.

[1] The licence fee for retailing spirituous or fermented liquors is $500.

Village councils may pass ordinances to suppress saloons.

In 1887 a prohibitory amendment to the constitution was submitted to the people, and was defeated by a majority of 5,645.[1] The vote showed conclusively that agricultural counties favoured prohibition, while the "cities" and lumbering districts were opposed to it. The State is said to be divided into "licence" and "prohibition" communities on this basis.[2]

The State Superintendent of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League, writing under date of October 5th, 1899, says: "Ours is a Local Option State. We have but one county (Vanburen) under local option [*i.e.*, prohibition]. We have a number of towns which avail themselves of municipal option and refuse to license saloons. The towns are very few, however, that do so. They may be without licence this year, and next the saloon element is on top."

Vanburen, which is said to be the only county under "local option," had only *four* towns with 1,000 or more inhabitants in 1890, of which the largest had 1,924 inhabitants.

9. MISSISSIPPI

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,289,600	28

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

91 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.

5	„	„	1,000 to 5,000	„
1	„	„	6,000 to 7,000	„
3	„	„	10,000 to 13,000	„

[1] The numbers were: *For* the amendment, 178,636; *Against*, 184,281.

[2] *Report of the Royal Canadian Commission* (1895), p. 403.

The law provides for a direct vote to be taken in *counties* upon the written application of one-third of the qualified electors. Such elections must not be held oftener than every two years. The mayor and aldermen of every city, town and village have also power to enact ordinances to prohibit and suppress saloons, club-rooms, etc. An applicant for a licence must produce a petition "signed by a majority (exclusive of those who may sign a counter-petition) of the qualified voters" of a district or town. No licence may, however, be granted in any supervisor's district, city, town, or village, in which a majority of the qualified voters have petitioned the authorities not to grant such a licence. This prohibition is absolute for twelve months after such petition is presented. Fines of not less than $20, nor more than $150 are ordered to be imposed in cases where the interior of the saloon is hidden from public view by any screen or other device; or where the business of a dramshop is carried on elsewhere than in the front part of the building.

The fees for a licence "to sell by retail in any quantity" are fixed at "not less than $1,200 if in a city, $900 if in a town, or $600 if in a village."

The Secretary of State, in a letter dated September, 1899, says: "The sale of liquor is prohibited in nearly every town in the State. Those selling are:—Vicksburg, Warren County; Nachez, Adams County; Aberdeen, Monroe County; Fayette, Harriston and Rodney, Jefferson County; Canton, Madison County; Greenville, Washington County; and one or two of the larger towns on the Gulf Coast, or southern part of the State. Mississippi is, in fact, a dry state."

It is noteworthy that these exceptions include *all* the towns of even moderate size in Mississippi. The

absence of large towns is a conspicuous feature of the State, there being only ten with a population exceeding 3,000 at the last census.

10. MISSOURI

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1890).				No. of Persons per Square Mile.
2,679,184				39

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

63 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.

8	„	„	„ 1,000 to 5,000	„
3	„	„	„ 5,000 to 10,000	„
2	„	„	„ 10,000 to 25,000	„
2	„	„	St. Joseph, population 52,300	
5	„	„	Kansas City, population 132,700	
17	„	„	St. Louis, population 451,770	

Boards of Trustees of *villages* have power to "license, regulate and prohibit dramshops and tippling-houses." Elsewhere the regulation and control of the traffic is entrusted to the local municipal authorities, except in the case of cities of 200,000 inhabitants, where the matter is in the hands of a special Excise Commissioner appointed by the Governor of the State. Licences are issued for six months only.

A local option law, passed in 1887, provides for elections to be held in counties and cities of 2,500 inhabitants on the petition of one-tenth of the qualified electors. Whatever the result, no further election upon the question can be held for a period of four years.

The Secretary of the Missouri Women's Christian Temperance Union (November 15th, 1899) says:—"I regret that I cannot give the information you desire about the number of local option [*i.e.* prohi-

bition] counties in Missouri. I am sure there are not many; the law has been set at nought in very many counties on account of some small technicality. Harrison County has not had a saloon for more than thirty years."

There is, however, only *one* town (Bethany, population 1,105) in Harrison County which had a population of 1,000 in 1890.

Madison County is also said [1] to be without saloons. Here again, however, the populations are very small, the largest "town" in the county having a population of 917 at the last census.

11. MONTANA

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
132,159	0·91

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

62 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.
19 „ „ „ 1,000 to 5,000 „
19 „ „ „ 10,000 to 14,000 „

The law of 1895 provides that, upon the petition of one-third of the qualified voters of any county, an election shall be held therein to determine whether liquors shall be sold within the limits of said county. Such elections cannot be held oftener than once in two years.

This provision, however, appears to be inoperative, for the Assistant Attorney-General of the State, in a letter to the present writers, dated February 23rd, 1900, says: "In this State liquor licences are issued

[1] *The American Issue*, December, 1899.

without submitting the question to a vote of the people."

According to information received from the Secretary of State (September 23rd, 1899) there are no "cities" in Montana in which the sale of liquors is prohibited.

The State is very thinly peopled. The census returns show that there were only five towns with a population of 3,000 and upwards in 1890, and only *two* with a population exceeding 4,000.

12. NORTH CAROLINA

(Local Option, Licence, and the Dispensary System)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,617,947	33

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

90 per cent.	lived in towns of	*less* than	1,000 inhabitants.	
6	„	„	1,000 to 5,000	„
1	„	„	5,000 to 10,000	„
3	„	„	10,000 to 20,000	„

The local option law of this State provides for a direct popular vote to be taken on the first Monday in May in any year upon petition of one-fourth of the qualified voters of any county, town or township in their respective counties. There is also prohibition by special local Acts. The alternatives to prohibition are ordinary licence or the dispensary system (see chapter VII., p. 427). Wines made from fruit raised in the State may be sold in sealed bottles for "off" consumption in any quantity. According to the latest official returns there are thirty-six "no licence" counties in the State, but they are all sparsely populated districts, as will be seen from the fact that they

contain only *ten* towns[1] which in 1890 had 1,000 or more inhabitants.

Of these, five had 1,000 and under 1,500 inhabitants; one, 1,700 inhabitants; one, 1,900; two, 2,000; and one, 4,000 inhabitants. Nine-tenths of the total population of the State lived in towns of less than 1,000 inhabitants in 1890.

13. RHODE ISLAND

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1895).[2]	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
384,758	308

Distribution of Population at the last census (1895).[2]

1	per cent. lived in towns of *less* than	1,000 inhabitants.
11	„ „ „	1,000 to 5,000 „
12	„ „ „	5,000 to 10,000 „
29	„ „ „	10,000 to 25,000 „
9	„ „ Pawtucket,	population 32,577
38	„ „ Providence,	„ 145,472

Few States in the Union have had a more varied experience of stringent licensing regulations than Rhode Island. In 1852, a law enjoining *State* prohibition was passed, which continued on the Statutes until 1863, when it was repealed in favour of a general licence law. Eleven years later (*i.e.*, in 1874) a second prohibitory law was passed, but this was repealed in the following year, and a system of high licence with local option substituted. In 1886, a prohibitory amendment to the constitution was adopted by a majority of 5,883, but repealed three years later by a majority of 18,359 votes in a total poll of 38,271.

[1] "Cities, towns, villages, and boroughs."

[2] State census.

Since 1889 the State has been under a system of local option and high licence.

The repeal of the Constitutional Amendment in 1889 was due to the defective enforcement which the prohibitory law had received. The non-enforcement of the law was thus referred to by Governor Davis in his message to the Assembly in 1888: "The chief of the State police has been diligent in his office, and the law he was especially appointed to administer has been enforced as far as punitive influence within his control can effect it. That the law is not more efficient—and it is sadly inefficient—is for want of a sufficient public sentiment to enforce it. It is a thankless task to attempt to enforce a law which has not the hearty moral support of the community to sustain it. Laws may represent public opinion, but their enforcement is dependent almost wholly upon the public will, as contra-distinguished from public opinion; and without a will the way will not be found." His successor, Governor Tait, in reporting to the Legislature in the following year, when the law had been in force two and a half years, said: "The operation of the law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors is, as yet, very far from satisfactory."[1]

The present law has, however, been much more successful, and since its passage has, according to a State Governor, "been subject to remarkably little criticism." Provision is made for a popular vote to be taken at any election of general officers on a requisi-

[1] A British Consular Report, in discussing the law in 1888, said: "The enforcement of this system is most arduous, and there is no doubt but that violation and defiance of this prohibition law is carried on to a great extent with impunity."—*Foreign Office Report* (Miscellaneous Series), No. 78, 1888.

tion of fifteen per cent. (in cities, ten per cent.) of the number of voters taking part in the last two general elections. The licensing authorities are the local councils in towns, and Boards of Commissioners appointed by the Mayor in the cities. Notice of application for a licence must be given, and remonstrants must be allowed the opportunity of being heard. A licence must not be granted where the owners or occupants of the greater part of the land within two hundred feet of the place for which a licence is sought, file an objection.

No liquor may be sold to a woman for consumption on the premises, nor may liquor be sold to a minor. For selling to a woman for consumption on the premises, or to a minor, or allowing a woman or a minor to loiter on premises where liquor is sold, the husband of the woman, or the parent or guardian of the minor, may recover $100 in an action of debt for each offence.

According to the official *State Manual* for 1898–9, there are sixteen "no licence" towns and cities (out of a total of thirty-eight) in Rhode Island.

Of these:—

4	had *less*	than	1,000	inhabitants in 1895.[1]	
6	,,	1,000 and under	2,000	,,	
3	,,	2,000 ,,	3,000	,,	
1	,,	4,417		,,	
1	,,	5,163		,,	
1	,,	7,636		,,	
16					

[1] The year of the last *State* census.

14. SOUTH DAKOTA

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
328,808	4

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

86 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.
10 „ „ „ 1,000 to 4,000 „
3 „ „ a town of 10,177 „

South Dakota is another of the States that have tried State prohibition and repealed it in favour of local option and high licence. The present system was established in 1896. In 1898 a Constitutional Amendment establishing the Dispensary System was adopted, but no law giving effect to the vote has so far (March, 1900) been passed.[1]

The present law provides that the question of granting liquor licences may be decided by popular vote at the annual municipal election held in any township, town, or city upon petition of twenty-five legal voters. There are also provisions requiring a "free and unobstructed view" of the interior of the saloon from the main street; the abolition of all screens, partitions, etc., and the prohibition of sales to minors.

The State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League writes (October 6th, 1899): "Among our 'no licence' towns are Vermillion, population 2,500; Canton, 2,000; Dell Rapids, 500; Madison, 3,000; Brookings, 2,000; White, 800; Artesion, 600; and perhaps 100 other towns and villages. There are no saloons in country places, so we have probably 800 to 1,000 precincts in which saloons are not located."

[1] See p. 431.

The rural character of the State is, however, seen in the fact that at the last census there was only *one* town with a population exceeding 3,700.

15. TEXAS

(Local Option and Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
2,235,523	8

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

79	per cent.	lived in towns of *less* than	1,000	inhabitants.
8	„	„	1,000 to 5,000	„
3	„	„	5,000 to 10,000	„
4	„	„	10,000 to 25,000	„
6	„	„	25,000 to 40,000	„

Under the law of this State provision is made for elections to be held on the question of "licence" or "no licence" in any city, county, town or district. The elections to be held whenever deemed expedient by the County Commissioners or whenever demanded by two hundred voters in a county, or fifty voters in any precinct, town or city. Two years must elapse between any two elections in the same county, but failure to carry prohibition in a *county* election does not interfere with an election immediately thereafter in a subdivision of the county.

One-half of the populated area of Texas is said to be under prohibition. More than one-fifth (*i.e.*, fifty-five out of two hundred and fifty) of the organized counties of the State are wholly so by local option.

The prohibition areas are, however, exceedingly thinly populated. A list containing "some [*i.e.*, eleven] of the prohibition towns," furnished by the State President of the Texas W.C.T.U. (January 20th, 1900) shows six that had a population of 1,000 at the

last census, of which the *largest* (Oak Cliff) had a population of 2,470. Further, of five prohibition counties mentioned, only *one* had a "town" of 1,000 inhabitants, and this county had but one such town.

16. VIRGINIA

(Local Option and Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,655,980	41

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

81	per cent.	lived in towns of *less* than	1,000	inhabitants.
5	„	„ „	1,000 to 5,000	„
1	„	„ „	5,000 to 10,000	„
6	„	„ „	10,000 to 25,000	„
2	„	„ Norfolk, population	34,871.	
5	„	„ Richmond „	81,388.	

The law in Virginia provides for a direct popular vote in counties, magisterial districts and cities, not oftener than once in two years, upon the application of one-fourth of the persons voting at the last preceding November election. In addition to this local option law, numerous special local Acts have been passed prohibiting the sale of liquor in various localities. The licence fee for an "ordinary" (*i.e.*, a place where liquor can be sold by retail for "on" or "off" consumption) is $100 in the country or in towns of less than 2,000 inhabitants; and $200 elsewhere. In addition to this licence fee a further charge, based on the annual rent, or rental value of the house and furniture used for the purpose of an "ordinary," is imposed. Eight per cent. is charged on the first $1,000 of such annual rent or value; five per cent. on the rent or value in excess of $1,000 and under $2,000, and three per cent. on the rent or value above $2,000. Many

counties and towns have the right to levy *local* taxes in addition to the foregoing.

Prohibition exists in a large number of the rural districts. Out of 429 magisterial districts in the State, 211 have no saloons. In 111 of these "no licence" districts the saloon has been voted out under the local option law. The "no licence" towns are, however, exceedingly small, the two largest being Leesburg, population (1890) 1,650; and Front Royal, population (1890) 868.

17. WISCONSIN

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,686,880	31

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

60 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.
11 „ „ „ 1,000 to 5,000 „
6 „ „ „ 5,000 „ 10,000 „
9 „ „ „ 10,000 „ 25,000 „
2 „ „ Lacrosse, population 25,090.
12 „ „ Milwaukee, „ 204,468.

The law in this State provides for a direct popular vote in any town, village or city. Provision is also made for holding special elections in towns, villages and cities not oftener than once in three years, to determine the amounts that shall be paid for licences (*i.e.*, over and above the minimum fixed by statute). In towns where the licence fee is heretofore fixed at $100, the electors may increase the same to $250, or $400, as they may determine; and in places where it is otherwise fixed at $200, they may increase it to either $350 or $500. There is no official list of "no licence" towns in Wisconsin, but according to information received by the present writers there is, with one exception, no town with a population exceeding

2,000 under prohibition. The single exception is a town of 3,000 inhabitants, which adopted "no licence" in 1899.

Conclusion.

It will thus be seen that so far as the principal group of local option States is concerned (*i.e.*, those in which the principle of local option may be applied to *all* localities, urban as well as rural), the experiment of prohibition is essentially a *rural* experiment. The success of the experiment within the limits in which it has been applied is, however, beyond question, and the results are of a character to justify confidence in a similar experiment applied to like districts in this country. At the same time, the experience of the foregoing States would seem to indicate that the true sphere of prohibition lies in rural and sparsely populated districts rather than in important urban centres.

GROUP II

Local Option by Direct Popular Vote applicable to *Special Localities or Rural Districts only*

We turn next to the second group of States, namely, the six in which a direct popular vote is admitted but restricted to certain localities or to rural districts.

1. ALABAMA

(Local Option, Licence, and Dispensary System)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,513,017	29

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

88 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.
5 „ „ „ 1,000 to 5,000 „
2 „ „ „ 5,000 „ 10,000 „
5 „ „ 3 towns of 20,000 „ 31,000 „

There is no general local option law in this State, but a number of special local Acts have been passed, each of which prohibits the sale of liquor in a large number of localities. Numerous other Acts either prohibit the sale of liquor in single localities or provide for elections on the question of prohibition in such localities.

Up to 1890, prohibition laws had been enacted in two whole counties, and in parts of thirty-six. In ten of the latter, prohibition extended to all portions of the county except incorporated towns and "cities."

At the present time prohibition prevails over a large portion of the State, but is confined to the rural districts.[1] The larger towns all have licence. The State is, however, almost exclusively rural.

2. ILLINOIS

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile
3,826,351	68

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

49	per cent.	lived in towns of *less* than	1,000	inhabitants.
11	„	„	1,000 to 5,000	„
2	„	„	5,000 to 10,000	„
7	„	„	10,000 to 25,000	„
2	„	„	25,000 to 50,000	„
29	„	„	Chicago, population 1,099,850.	

[1] One-third (*i.e.*, twenty-two out of sixty-six) of the counties are said to be under "no licence," and seventeen have the dispensary system. Mr. J. O. Patton, Grand Secretary of the Alabama Order of Good Templars, writing in March, 1900, says "We will have an election this year, and efforts will be made to extend the Dispensary Law over other counties not now embraced by this law."

The power of direct popular vote in this State is confined to the rural districts. The law gives local authorities of incorporated cities and villages power to "license, regulate and prohibit the liquor traffic." The law also enables each county board, as regards so much of the county as is not included in an incorporated place, to grant licences on a petition from a majority of the voters of the district. The law is thus one of local option exercised in the towns by the municipalities and in the rural districts by popular vote. In the latter case, the option is one to be exercised affirmatively, licences not being issuable until the decision of the majority has been given in favour of their issue. The ordinary licence fee is from $50 to $300, and in Chicago, $500. In some of the country towns, however, the fee is more than $500.

There are more than one hundred and forty "no licence" towns in the State, but they are exceedingly small. Of one hundred and thirty-six, concerning which particulars are in the possession of the present writers, only twenty-four have a population of one thousand or more at the present time. The two *largest* have 3,000 and 5,000 inhabitants respectively. This list does not include Pullman and Evanston, which are suburbs of Chicago, and the former of which is referred to elsewhere.[1] In these cases the "safety valve" in immediately adjoining licence districts removes them from the category of ordinary "no licence" towns.

[1] See footnote, p. 322.

3. MARYLAND

(Local Option and Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,042,390.	106

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

49	per cent.	lived in towns of *less* than	1,000	inhabitants.	
6	,,	,, ,,	1,000 to 5,000	,,	
1	,,	,, ,,	5,000 ,, 10,000	,,	
2	,,	,, ,,	10,000 ,, 25,000	,,	
41	,,	,, Baltimore, population 434,439.			

The licence laws of this State are very imperfect. The different counties in the State have their own separate enactments. Local option laws exist in ten (out of twenty-three) counties. Some of the local Acts are simply Acts for taxing and regulating the traffic; others, again, enjoin complete prohibition; while others provide that the issue shall be submitted to a popular vote. The Secretary of State, in a letter dated February 14th, 1900, says: "A direct vote is sometimes taken in the larger cities, but [is] very seldom successful against the selling of liquor." It will be noted that forty-one per cent. of the total population of the State live in a single licence city; while forty-nine per cent. live in "towns" of less than one thousand inhabitants. The prohibition towns in the ten local option counties are all extremely small, there being only fourteen which had one thousand or more inhabitants in 1890, and only *four* which had a population of two thousand or more. The *largest* (Dorchester) had a population of 4,192.

4. MINNESOTA

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,301,826.	16

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

61	per cent.	lived in towns of *less* than	1,000 inhabitants.
8	„	„ „ 1,000 to 5,000	„
3	„	„ „ 5,000 to 10,000	„
2	„	„ „ 10,000 to 25,000	„
3	„	„ Duluth, population	33,115.
10	„	„ St. Paul „	133,156.
13	„	„ Minneapolis „	164,738.

This State is under high licence and local option. The right of popular vote is, however, restricted to the *rural districts*, where it may be granted on the petition of ten or more legal voters. The city councils of cities of not less than 1,000 inhabitants have power to license and regulate the traffic within their own areas. Elsewhere licences are granted by the County Commissioners.

Of forty-six towns which were known to be under "no licence" in October, 1899, only *eight* have a population of 1,000 and upwards, and not one exceeds 2,000.[1] For further information concerning Minnesota, see chapter V., pp. 392–397.

[1] The list was furnished by the State Superintendent of the Minnesota Anti-Saloon League, and although incomplete, includes all the "no licence" towns known to the officials.

5. NEW YORK

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
5,997,853.	126

Distribution of Population at the census (1890).

33	per cent.	lived in towns of	*less* than	1,000	inhabitants.
5	„	„	1,000 to	5,000	„
4	„	„	5,000 to	10,000	„
6	„	„	10,000 to	25,000	„
3	„	„	25,000 to	50,000	„
4	„	3 cities of	50,000 to	100,000	„
45	„	4 cities over		100,000	„

Full powers of popular veto are granted in this State in all localities *outside of cities*. The provisions of the law are fully described elsewhere,[1] and it will suffice at this point to summarise the results of the local option clause.

The official returns show that in 1899 there were no less than two hundred and sixty-three "no licence" towns in the State. Of these:—

54	had	*less*	than	1,000	inhabitants	in 1890.
133	„	1,000	and under	2,000	„	„
61	„	2,000	„	3,000	„	„
9	„	3,000	„	4,000	„	„
5	„	4,000	„	5,000	„	„
1	(Geneva)	had		8,000	„	„
263						

It will thus be seen that in the State of New York also, prohibition is practically confined to small and sparsely populated districts.

[1] See chapter V., pp. 381–385.

6. OHIO

(Local Option and Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
3,672,316	90

Distribution of Population at the last census.

54 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.

10	„	„	1,000 to 5,000	„
6	„	„	5,000 to 10,000	„
5	„	„	10,000 to 25,000	„
3	„	„	25,000 to 50,000	„
22	„	„	over 50,000	„

The liquor laws of this State afford a curious illustration of an anomaly created by extreme legislation. The State Constitution (adopted in 1851) provides that "no licence in the traffic of intoxicating liquors shall hereafter be granted in this State; but the General Assembly may, by law, provide against the evils resulting therefrom." In 1882, and again in 1883, attempts were made to evade the Constitution by Acts designed to regulate the traffic. In each case, however, the proposed law was declared unconstitutional. In 1886 the so-called "Dow" law was passed. This also was a law to tax the traffic, but was so drawn as to avoid the grounds upon which the previous Acts were held to be invalid. This law (which is the one in force at the present time) fixes the licence tax at $250. The law is so framed that the payment required is not in the form of a licence fee, nor is the payment made a condition precedent to the opening of saloons; but it is a tax imposed on those who are actually engaged in the liquor traffic, on the principle that, as the trade causes results which entail expense on the State, those engaged in the trade should be taxed to meet that expense.

Power to prohibit the liquor traffic is given to municipal corporations, and local option is also given to *rural districts* (*i.e.*, townships outside of municipal corporations) under which a direct vote may be taken on the petition of one-fourth of the electors.

There are said to be 260 "no licence" places in Ohio, ranging in population from 500 upwards. According to the Assistant State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League (October 13th, 1899) "there are perhaps one half dozen towns of 3,000 each, and the rest of the 'no licence' territory is made up of towns of perhaps 1,000 on the average. The total population of our 'no licence' towns is somewhere about 300,000." The prohibitory provisions of the law do not apply to the manufacture and sale of cider, nor to the sale of wine manufactured from the pure juice of the grape cultivated in the State.

GROUP III.

Indirect Popular Control, *i.e.*, where control of the traffic is in the hands of municipal councils, etc.

In the third group (comprising nine States) the sanction given to the principle of local option is merely indirect, consisting only in discretionary powers vested in municipal councils and other popularly elected local governing bodies. In no case is there any recognition of the right of direct popular vote. The powers granted are indeed not essentially different from those which already exist in Scotland. Experience, however, shows that in America they are often used to register the will of a particular locality in which the question of "licence" or "no licence"

has been made an issue in the election of municipal officers.

1. CALIFORNIA

(Discretionary Powers and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,208,130	8

Distribution of Population at the last census.

46	per cent.	lived in towns of	*less* than 1,000	inhabitants.
11	„	„	1,000 to 5,000	„
2	„	„	5,000 to 10,000	„
6	„	„	10,000 to 25,000	„
10	„	„	3 towns of 25,000 to 50,000	„
25	„	„	San Francisco, population 298,997.	

In this State the common councils of cities and boards of trustees elsewhere have power to license or prohibit the traffic. In the smaller towns the licensing arrangements are often made an issue at municipal elections. High Licence prevails in all the principal centres, but prohibition exists in two counties and several small towns and districts.

In December, 1899, the official organ of the Anti-Saloon League of California published a list of "fifty-six places in the State, small and large," that prohibit the saloon. The list, which includes seven Insane Asylums and two Old Soldiers' Homes, is given as follows:—"Two counties, nine State institutions, eleven places by a clause in their deeds, twenty-two by ordinance, nine by sanitary district, and three by an annual campaign."

Of thirteen "towns and cities" in the State which are returned as under prohibition in 1899, seven had *less* than 1,000 inhabitants in 1890; two, 1,000 and under 2,000 inhabitants; and four, from 3,000 to 5,000

inhabitants. The four largest are Pomona, Riverside, Pasadena and Berkeley, all of which have recently adopted prohibition.[1]

The Town Clerk of Berkeley, the largest prohibition town (population, 1890, 5,101), in a letter to the present writers, dated February 23rd, 1900, says: "Since last October (1899) prohibition prevails by ordinance of the Board of Trustees within the limits of the town. The law has not stopped absolutely the sale of liquor, for it goes on illicitly, but under cover of secrecy, and there are no open saloons."

The City Clerk of Pasadena, the second largest prohibition city (population, 1890, 4,882), in a letter (February 24th, 1900) enclosing the ordinance now in force in the town, says: "The effect of these regulations is the entire abolition of the open saloon and the practical control of the sale of liquor as a beverage." The ordinance, however, allows the sale of "vinous or malt liquors at any hotel, restaurant, or boarding-house, when sold with, and as a part of, a regular meal, costing not less than twenty cents [10*d.*] exclusive of the vinous or malt liquors, and sold and consumed between the hours of 11.30 a.m. and 1.30 p.m., or between the hours of 5.30 p.m. and 7.30 p.m.

The President of the Board of Trustees of Riverside (population, 1890, 4,683), in a letter dated February 21st, 1900, says: "The City of Riverside is a prohibition town; that is, the City Trustees, in whom the power lies, refused to grant a saloon licence. So far

[1] In the case of the first three, earlier experiments made a few years ago led to a return to a modified system of licence. See *Report of the Royal Canadian Commission* (1895), pp. 390-394. Also *British Foreign Office Report* (Miscellaneous Series), No. 324 (1894).

as saloons and other places of like nature it prohibits, but we cannot stop the illegal selling by the drug stores and restaurants, for the reason that California laws do not permit of evidence in court, except that which is very hard to get." Wine and beer may be sold with meals in hotels containing forty rooms.

California is a large wine-producing State. According to the official census reports (1890) there is an established home demand for California wine to the amount of 1,000,000 gallons a month.

2. COLORADO

(Discretionary Powers and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
412,198	4

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

48 per cent.	lived in towns of	*less* than	1,000	inhabitants.
11 „	„ „	1,000 to	5,000	„
4 „	„ „	5,000 to	10,000	„
11 „	„ „	10,000 to	25,000	„
26 „	„ Denver, population 106,713.			

In this State city councils and town boards of trustees have discretionary power to license, regulate, or prohibit the liquor traffic.

The fee for a retail licence must be not less than $600 in cities; $500 in incorporated towns, and $300 elsewhere. In 1892 an ordinance was passed under which applicants for a new licence are called upon to accompany their applications by a petition from a majority of the owners of frontage property in the same block. No licence can be granted for premises within five hundred feet of a public school. The same ordinance provides that liquor shall not be supplied to females, nor may females be permitted to be in saloons

or dram shops for the purpose of drinking, or be employed in the liquor business.

Few of the towns appear to have adopted prohibition. The following is a complete list of the "no licence" towns in Colorado, as supplied by the State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League in April, 1900. The population is in each case that of the last census (1890):—

Town.	Population.
Colorado Springs	11,140
Canon City	2,825
Greeley	2,395
Fort Collins	2,011
Longmont	1,543
Monte Vista	780
Loveland	698
Sterling	540
Evans	306
Berthoud	228
Windsor	173
Ordway	148
Fort Lupton	113

In two of the above cities (*i.e.*, Colorado Springs, the largest "no licence" city, and Greeley) saloons are prohibited by deeds from the original proprietors.[1] The former (Colorado Springs) is a well-known health resort, which has been carefully kept as a residential and educational centre. The mayor of the city states (April, 1900) that "the drug-stores of the city are

[1] All deeds to property contain a reversionary clause, providing that in case liquor is manufactured or sold on the premises the property shall revert to the former owner.

licensed to sell by the quart, and on physicians' prescriptions only." Hotels and restaurants also are allowed to serve wines and other liquors at meals. Colorado City, a small manufacturing centre, lies two miles to the north-west, and there saloons are licensed. Greeley is purely an agricultural town.

3. DELAWARE

(Discretionary Powers and High Licence).

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
168,493	71

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

51 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.
12 „ „ „ 1,000 to 4,000 „
37 „ Wilmington, population 61,431 „

Licences are granted by the Court of General Sessions. Applicants for a licence must be recommended by twelve respectable citizens (in Wilmington twenty-four), one-half of whom must be freeholders. A general prohibitory law, similar to that in Maine, was passed in 1855, but repealed two years later.

Outside of the City of Wilmington the State is almost exclusively rural. There were but *five* towns with 2,000 or more inhabitants in 1890, and only *two* with a population exceeding 3,100.

The Secretary of State, in a letter dated September 28th, 1899, says :—"There are no towns and cities in this State in which the sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited."

4. NEBRASKA

(Discretionary Powers and High Licence).

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,058,910	14

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

67	per cent.	lived in towns of *less* than	1,000	inhabitants.
7	,, ,,	,,	1,000 to 5,000	,,
4	,, ,,	,,	5,000 to 10,000	,,
4	,, ,,	,,	10,000 to 25,000	,,
5	,, ,,	a town of	55,000	,,
13	,, ,,	Omaha, population 140,452.		

Nebraska is another of the States that have tried and abandoned State prohibition. A general prohibition law was passed in 1855, but repealed three years later. The present law, known as the "Slocumb" law, was passed in 1881, and practically inaugurated the system known as High Licence. It fixes the licence fee at not less than $500 for saloons in small towns, and not less than $1,000 where the population exceeds 10,000, together with a bond for $5,000.

The law further provides "That in granting any licence the petition therefor shall be sufficient if signed by thirty of the resident freeholders, or if there are less than sixty, a majority of the freeholders of the ward or village where the sale of such liquors is to take place."

The licensing authority varies according to the size of the city. In cities of the metropolitan class (*i.e.*, 80,000 inhabitants or more) licences are issued by Excise Boards, appointed by the Governor;[1] in cities

[1] The Secretary of State, writing in February, 1900, stated that this rule was then being contested in the Courts. The

of the first class (*i.e.*, more than 25,000, and less than 80,000 inhabitants) by popularly elected Excise Commissioners; and by the corporate authorities in all other towns. The Secretary of State, in a letter dated February 17th, 1900, referring to the Excise Boards for cities of the first class, stated that the work of these Boards "in regard to restrictions, or being what is called liberal, or, to use a slang phrase of the State, 'wide open,' depends upon the class of Board elected. This is frequently fought out at the election." Referring, in the same letter, to the condition of things in the smaller towns (*i.e.*, towns of *less* than 25,000 inhabitants), he says: "The liquor option features of the Slocumb law are frequently contested in the spring elections, and there will be two classes of mayors and two classes of council-men put up, and the city election will frequently depend on what is called the 'wet' and 'dry' candidates. Should the prohibition members gain their point there will be no licence granted whatever in that city, and this is true in a majority of the *small towns* of Nebraska, and is also true of several of the towns of 2,500 or 3,000 inhabitants. There never is a direct vote whether liquor licences shall be or shall not be issued; it depends upon the character of the council-men elected."

It will be noticed that, at the last census, only *one-third* of the population of the State lived in "cities, towns, villages, or boroughs" having 1,000 or more inhabitants.

law requires that in such cities control shall be vested exclusively in the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners, who shall receive $400 annually as compensation for such services.

5. NEW JERSEY

(Discretionary Powers and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,444,933	194

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

35	per cent.	lived in towns of *less* than	1,000	inhabitants
8	,, ,,	,,	1,000 to 5,000	,,
5	,, ,,	,,	5,000 to 10,000	,,
9	,, ,,	,,	10,000 to 25,000	,,
6	,, ,,	,,	25,000 to 50,000	,,
13	,, ,,	3 towns of	50,000 to 80,000	,,
11	,, ,,	Jersey City, population	163,003.	
13	,, ,,	Newark ,,	181,830.	

Complete discretionary power in regard to licences is vested in city councils and other local authorities. An Act of 1892 provides that the governing bodies of all towns and cities, except cities of the first class, may establish Boards of Excise Commissioners, who shall have "sole power" to grant licences within such areas. Licence fees are appropriated to the use of the localities.

A local option law, giving the electors of counties the right of direct vote, was passed in 1888, but repealed a year later.

There are said to be "a few towns of less than 1,000 inhabitants, and a few villages" under prohibition. There are also a few "no licence" towns with more than 1,000 inhabitants, *viz.*, Vineland (population, 4,126); Asbury Park (population, 3,761); and Ocean Grove (population, 2,754).[1]

[1] Two other towns (Millville and Bridgeton) are also said to have been under "no licence" in 1899, but later information (March 22nd, 1900) states that the election "fight in the former (Millville) is close, and is becoming doubtful. Bridgeton is probably going licence this year."

6. UTAH

(Discretionary Powers in Cities Only, and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
207,905	3

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

53 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.
16 „ „ „ 1,000 to 5,000 „
2 „ „ „ 5,000 to 10,000 „
7 „ „ „ 10,000 to 25,000 „
22 „ „ Salt Lake City, population 44,843.

Under the law of this State, County Commissioners in the counties (*i.e.*, districts outside the limits of incorporated cities), and municipal councils in the cities, have power to license, regulate, and tax the liquor traffic. The power of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor is confined to the latter.

There appears to be very little actual prohibition in the State. The President of the Utah Women's Christian Temperance Union, in a letter dated January 21st, 1900, says:—"I regret to report [that] there is only one town in Utah that I know of where the saloon does not exist, and that is Springville (population 3,168)."

7. WASHINGTON

(Discretionary Powers and High Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
349,390	5

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

56 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.
15 „ „ „ 1,000 to 5,000 „
6 „ „ Spokane, population 19,922.
11 „ „ Tacoma „ 36,006.
12 „ „ Seattle „ 42,837.

The Board of County Commissioners has exclusive power to license or prohibit the sale of liquor in the rural districts (*i.e.*, outside the limits of incorporated cities, towns, or villages), while in incorporated places the power is vested in the mayor and council. The licence fee for all localities alike must be not less than $300 nor more than $1,000. A general Local Option law, applicable to election precincts upon petition of 15 voters, was enacted in 1885, but subsequently annulled as unconstitutional.

There appears to be little actual prohibition in the State. A gentleman who has visited every town of any importance stated (March, 1900) that he "knew of but one town of any size in the State which did not have a saloon," and that was Garfield, in eastern Washington. This town had but 317 inhabitants in 1890. The only other "no licence" area, of which particulars are procurable, is the village of Sumner, which is said to have "two or three hundred" inhabitants.

The sparseness of the population of the State will be seen from the figures given above.

8. WEST VIRGINIA

(Discretionary Powers and Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
762,794	31

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

87	per cent.	lived in towns of	*less* than 1,000	inhabitants.
4	„	„	1,000 to 5,000	„
3	„	„	5,000 to 10,000	„
1	„	„	Huntingdon, population	10,108.
4	„	„	Wheeling, „	34,522.

The licensing of the sale of liquors in this State is

in the hands of the County Courts of the several counties, except in a few cases, where it is entrusted by special charter to the council of the city. The County Commissioners, who are popularly elected, serve for a term of four years. They are prohibited by law from granting a licence within any incorporated village, town, or city without the consent of the council thereof. The fee for a retail licence is $350.

There are no "cities" in which the sale of liquor is prohibited, but "a few towns [of] under 3,000" inhabitants are said to have "no licence." It will be seen that only *one-tenth* of the total population of the State lived in "cities, towns, villages, and boroughs" having 1,000 or more inhabitants in 1890.

9. WYOMING

(Discretionary Powers and Licence)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
60,705	0·62

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

51 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.
19 „ „ „ 1,000 to 5,000 „
11 „ „ Laramie, population 6,388.
19 „ „ Cheyenne, population 11,690.

The local municipal councils in Wyoming have the power by ordinance to license, restrain, or prohibit the liquor traffic. Five cities and one town have this right by special charter. The Secretary of State, in a letter dated September 23rd, 1899, says: "I do not know of any cities or towns in this State in which the sale of intoxicating liquor is prohibited." The population of the State, it will be seen, is exceedingly small, and there were only *two* towns of even moderate size (*i.e.*, above 3,500) in 1890.

GROUP IV.

Power of Remonstrance, Petition, etc.

The only other method by which the principle of local option is, directly or indirectly, sanctioned in America, is that which, in five States, gives the right of "remonstrance" to a specified number of the voters or property holders of a "block," ward, town, or other district; or which provides that applicants for a licence shall secure the written consent of a specified number of qualified electors, residents, etc. This option, it is needless to say, is rarely exercised (except in respect of individual licences) in important towns, but it has the effect of securing the complete prohibition of saloons in certain small places and in some rural districts.

1. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(High Licence and Petition of "Consent")

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
230,392	3,840

The District of Columbia, although here classed as a State, consists of one city (Washington) which is administered by three Commissioners appointed by the President of the United States. The former county and municipal organisations were abandoned in 1874, and the District has since been governed as a unit.

The present licence law constitutes the three Commissioners of the District an excise board for the consideration and disposal of all applications for a licence, such disposal to be final. The licence fee is fixed at $400 per annum. An application for a licence must be

supported by the written permission of the majority of the residents and persons owning real estate on the side of the square on which the proposed bar-room is to be placed. If the place is at a corner, then the majority on both streets must signify their consent. No licensed place may exist within four hundred feet of any schoolhouse or place of public worship.

There were 513 liquor saloons (*i.e.*, "bars") in Washington in 1899, or one to every 560 of the estimated population.

2. INDIANA

(High Licence and Remonstrance)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
2,192,404	60

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

68	per cent.	lived in towns of	*less* than	1,000	inhabitants.
10	„	„	1,000 to	5,000	„
6	„	„	5,000 to	10,000	„
6	„	„	10,000 to	25,000	„
3	„	„	30,000 to	35,000	„
2	„	Evansville, population		50,756.	
5	„	Indianapolis, population		105,436.	

Applications for licences in this State must be made to the County Commissioners. The law requires that "no devices for amusement or music of any kind or character, or partitions of any kind" shall be permitted in liquor saloons. The whole of the interior of the saloon must be open to full view from the street. No liquor must be sold to persons under the age of twenty-one, whether for "on" or "off" consumption, nor may such minors be allowed upon the premises. Full discretion as to the granting of licences is left to the

County Commissioners, except that an application for an "on" licence cannot be sanctioned which has been objected to in writing by a majority of the legal voters of a township or ward of a city. Further, under the Amendment Act of 1895, incorporated cities may exclude the sale of intoxicating liquors from the suburban or residence portion of their areas, and confine the places where such sales may be made to the business portion of the city.

There appears to be little attempt at prohibition in Indiana. The Secretary of the State branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union writes (January 17th, 1900):—"I do not know of any towns in the State of Indiana where the sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited. Our laws are all the other way."

3. IOWA

("Mulct" Law and "Consent")

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,911,896	34

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

72 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.

12	„	„	„	1,000 to 5,000	„
3	„	„	„	5,000 to 10,000	„
6	„	„	„	10,000 to 25,000	„
5	„	„	„	25,000 to 40,000	„
2	„	„	Des Moines, population 50,093.		

The State of Iowa is nominally a Prohibition State, but in 1894 a so-called "Mulct" law was passed, which taxes the traffic and establishes what is practically a system of local option and licence. The first section of

the "Mulct" Act imposes a tax of $600 per annum upon any real property and the owner thereof within which or whereon intoxicating liquors are sold, or kept with the intention of being sold. In subsequent sections it is provided that, in any city of 5,000 or more inhabitants, the tax specified may be paid quarterly in advance, and, after a written statement of consent, signed by a majority of the voters resident in the said city who voted at the last general election, shall have been filed with the county auditor, the quarterly payment then made is to be a bar to proceedings under the statute prohibiting such business. It is further provided that the City Council must also, by resolution, sanction such sales; and the written consent of all freeholders owning property within fifty feet of the premises where liquor is to be sold must also be secured. No such business to be conducted within 300 feet of a school or church. In order to bring smaller places within the provisions of the Act, it is provided that a written statement of consent, signed by sixty-five per cent. of the legal voters of a county (outside the limits of a city of 5,000 or more inhabitants) who voted at the last general election, shall be sufficient to sanction the traffic. Under the operation of the "Mulct" law, liquor saloons have been sanctioned in about one-half (*i.e.*, forty-eight out of ninety-nine) of the counties of the State; and there are one or two other counties in which (according to the State President of the W.C.T.U.) liquor "is sold openly without legal sanction."

In the counties under prohibition there are, according to the last census returns, 63 towns with more than 1,000 inhabitants. Of these,—

37 had 1,000 and under 2,000 inhabitants.
13 „ 2,000 „ 3,000 „
9 „ 3,000 „ 4,000 „
2 „ 4,000 „ 4,500 „
1 „ 6,558 inhabitants.
1 „ 6,674 „

63

4. OREGON

(High Licence and "Consent")

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
313,767	3

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

70 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.
8 „ „ „ 1,000 to 5,000 „
4 „ „ „ 5,000 to 10,000 „
3 „ „ a town of 10,000 „
15 „ „ Portland, population 46,385.

Under the law of this State the requirement of "consent" is confined to the rural districts, where an applicant for a licence must obtain the signatures of a majority of the legal voters in his precinct. In incorporated towns and cities the municipal authorities exercise complete control. There appears to be little prohibition in Oregon. The Secretary of the W.C.T.U., in a letter dated November 16th, 1899, says: "I regret to say there are very few [places under prohibition], and they are small villages. The following have prohibition ordinances:—Halsey, Shedd, Newberg (the largest), Moro, and, I think, Dayton."

The *largest* of these places had a population, at the last census, of 514.

5. SOUTH CAROLINA

(Dispensary System and Local Veto)

Population (1890).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,151,149.	38

Distribution of Population at the last census (1890).

87 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.
6 „ „ „ 1,000 to 5,000 „
1 „ „ „ 5,000 to 10,000 „
1 „ „ Columbia, population 15,353
5 „ „ Charleston „ 54,955

In South Carolina the choice of the people, as is elsewhere shown,[1] is restricted to two alternatives, namely:—(*a*) the Dispensary System or (*b*) local prohibition. Under the option thus allowed, a considerable proportion of the rural population has adopted prohibition. The returns show however that in 1899 there were only nine "no licence" towns which had a population of 1,000 or more at the last census, and the *largest* of these had a population of 2,744.

For further particulars of this State see chapter VII.

TERRITORIES

Local Option proper does not exist in any of the four Territories in the Union. In three of them (Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma) the local authorities have power "to license, regulate, or prohibit" the sale of liquor; but the right of veto would seem to be rarely exercised. In Arizona, for example, there is only one town (Glendale, population less than 1,000) under prohibition. In New Mexico, also, there is only one "no licence" town, viz., Alamo-Gordo

[1] See pp. 412 and 421.

(population 518), while in Oklahoma there does not appear to be a single prohibition town.[1]

The remaining territory (Alaska) was under prohibition until March, 1899, when it adopted High Licence.

It thus becomes clear, upon appeal to the facts, that the experience of the whole of the States in which the principle of local option has been directly or remotely recognised, confirms the conclusion presented by the experience of the prohibition States, namely, that prohibition finds its successful sphere in rural and sparsely-peopled districts, and not, except under special circumstances, in towns. These rural areas are however so extensive, and represent in the *aggregate* so large a proportion of the total population of the States in which they are found, that any experiment that is successful in them forms a considerable contribution to the solution of the general problem as it exists in the United States.

MASSACHUSETTS

(Local Option and High Licence)

Population (1895).[2]	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
2,500,183	301

Distribution of Population at the last census (1895).[2]

2 per cent. lived in towns of *less* than 1,000 inhabitants.	
16 " " " 1,000 to 5,000	"
13 " " " 5,000 to 10,000	"
12 " " " 10,000 to 25,000	"
12 " " " 25,000 to 50,000	"
25 " " 9 towns of 50,000 to 100,000	"
20 " " Boston, population 496,920.	

[1] The President of the Oklahoma W.C.T.U., in a letter dated January 23rd, 1900, says: "We have no prohibition town to my knowledge."

[2] State census.

The State of Massachusetts, which has still to be considered, appears at first sight to present a striking exception to the rule stated above, but even here, as we proceed to show, the same broad conclusion applies, the apparent exceptions being fully accounted for by the presence of a new factor (*i.e.*, what in this volume is called a "safety-valve,") in the shape of adjoining licence areas.

The history of temperance legislation in Massachusetts has many features of general interest to the student, as well as some of special significance to the practical reformer. In the year 1852 a prohibitory law, which was practically a copy of the original Maine law, was passed by the State legislature. In 1855 a new prohibitory law was enacted, changing the penalties imposed by the law of 1852, and elaborating that Act. This law was repealed in 1868, and restored in 1869. In 1865 a State police force was created for the purpose of suppressing liquor shops, gambling places, and houses of ill-fame. In 1870 an amendment to the prohibitory law was made, authorizing any one to manufacture and sell ale, porter, strong beer, and lager beer. In 1873 this amendment was repealed. In the fall election of 1874 the popular vote appears to have been against the prohibitory law and the maintenance of the special constabulary force, and both were abandoned, and a licence system was again resorted to.

This final abandonment of State prohibition in Massachusetts, foreshadowed as it had been by the proceedings and legislation of the immediately preceding years, is chiefly of interest to the English student for the grounds upon which it was based. Experience

had shown that while the law was capable of enforcement in the rural districts and small towns, it was everywhere disregarded or evaded in the larger urban centres, and this had led to a condition of things that was fraught with serious menace to true progress.

In 1867 a special joint-committee of the Senate and House of Representatives had been appointed to inquire into the working of prohibition, and a majority of the committee had, in their report, strongly condemned the prohibitory law. They declared that, "Upon careful inquiry into the present condition of things throughout the State, it would probably appear that in the small towns there is hardly any liquor sold, but that in all the large cities and towns it can be had without difficulty; that in most of them the sales are open, and that whenever, by peculiarly vigorous efforts, the open places are closed, large numbers of secret places are established, and the cases of drunkenness largely increased."

Seven years later (*i.e.*, in 1874) the mayor of Boston, in the course of his inaugural address to the city council, stated that "The great problem how to remedy or diminish the immense evils that flow from the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors is still unsolved. All experiments to this end have failed. For many years we have had on trial a system of legislation prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, and we have had, in pursuance of it, constant prosecutions, seizures, fines, and imprisonments, but up to this hour no appreciable decrease in the sale and consumption of the prohibited commodities. No different result could, I think, have been reasonably anticipated, considering that the prohibitory legislation is manifestly opposed to public sentiment in the larger cities and towns of

Massachusetts. It is disapproved, not only by those whose appetite or pecuniary interest is their supreme law, but by a great number of sober, thoughtful, philanthropic citizens, who have at heart the highest moral welfare of the community, and who believe that such legislation is impracticable in its nature, unsound in principle, and, therefore, worse than ineffectual. This legislation may be enforced, perhaps, in some of the rural districts with a sparse population, where it is in accordance with public sentiment; but it fails, and must fail, in the large cities, on which it is imposed, as it were, from outside by the representatives of the small towns." [1]

It will thus be seen that the experience of Massachusetts in regard to *State* prohibition has been precisely similar to that of Maine and other prohibition States.[2]

In 1881, the licence system was supplemented by a local option enactment, which provides that the aldermen and selectmen of cities and towns shall insert in the warrant for the annual municipal election or town meeting an article providing for a vote upon the question, "Shall licences be granted for the sale of intoxicating liquors in this city (or town)?" The vote is to be by separate ballot, and the ballot must be "yes" or "no." Every male citizen who is twenty-one years of age and who is duly registered may vote. A bare majority of the votes cast decides the question

[1] *Extract from the Inaugural Address of the Mayor of Boston* (*Mass.*), January 4th, 1874.

[2] In 1889, an Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, was submitted to the people, but was rejected by a majority of 45,820 votes, the figures being:—For the Amendment, 85,242; Against, 131,062.

either way.[1] This arrangement of an *annual* vote may have certain advantages in stimulating public opinion on the question, but that it has very distinct disadvantages in provoking repeated changes of policy in many towns is certain. The history of local option in many towns and cities in the State is chiefly noteworthy for the fluctuations of policy which it reveals, and this precariousness and absence of continuity is a serious detraction from the practical value of the experiment. In some cases it makes the experiment almost useless for comparative purposes.

In 1888, a statutory limit was fixed to the number of licences which may be granted in a particular town. It was enacted that the number of places licensed for the sale of liquor shall not exceed one for each *one thousand* of the population, as ascertained by the last preceding national or State census, except that in the City of Boston one place may be licensed for each *five hundred* of the population.[2] A later law (passed in May, 1899) limits the possible number of licences to be granted in Boston to a maximum of one thousand, irrespective of all future growth in population. The actual number of licences issued in Boston in 1899 was nine hundred and ninety-three.[3]

[1] The vote does not apply to licences of the sixth class (*i.e.*, druggists). *Cities* vote in December, and *towns* in the spring, but the vote in each case becomes operative on May 1st.

[2] In towns having an increased population during summer months, an enumeration of the population may be made by the Bureau of Statistics of Labour in June, and the selectmen may grant one special liquor licence for each *five hundred* of the temporary resident population, such extra licences to be in force from July 1st to October 1st next following. This does not apply in towns of over 5,000 permanent residents.

[3] The revenue derived from liquor licences in Boston amounts to $1,500,000 annually.

By a further section of the Act passed in 1888, a system of High Licence was adopted. Licences are divided into six classes, and the fees are as follow:—

First Class: To sell liquor of any kind, to be drunk *on* the premises, not *less* than $1,000.[1]

Second Class: To sell malt liquors, cider, and light wines, "on," not less than $250.

Third Class: To sell malt liquors and cider, "on," not less than $250.

Fourth Class: To sell liquors of any kind, for "off" consumption, not less than $300.

Fifth Class: To sell malt liquors, cider, and light wines, "off," not less than $150.

Sixth Class: To druggists and apothecaries to sell liquors of any kind for medicinal, mechanical, and chemical purposes only, $1.

One-fourth of the revenue from licence fees is paid to the State, and the balance is retained by the city or town.

The principal conditions attached to licences are:—

(1) No sales to be made between 11 p.m. and 6 a.m., nor on Sundays (except to guests in hotels).

(2) Saloons to be closed on election days[2] and public holidays.

(3) Sales must not be made to minors, nor to a person known to have been intoxicated within six months; nor to any one known to

[1] As a matter of fact, a licence fee of $1,800 is often charged.

[2] Does not apply in case of duly registered guests of an inn (or hotel).

have been supported by public charity within twelve months.

(4) No person under the age of eighteen is to be employed in the sale of liquor.

(5) Sales must not be made to persons who use intoxicating liquor to excess, after written notice from husband, wife, parent, child, guardian, or employer of such persons.

(6) All saloons must be open to full view from the street; no screens or other obstructions are allowed.

(7) No licences of the first, second, or third classes to be issued in any place on the same street within four hundred feet of a public school.

(8) If owners of property within twenty-five feet of premises for which a licence is sought object, the licence cannot be granted.

The licensing authority is in *towns* the Board of Selectmen; in *cities* (except in Boston and Fall River) a Board of Licensing Commissioners appointed by the Mayor. In Boston and Fall River the power is entrusted to the Police Commissioners, who are appointed by the Governor of the State.

Extent of Local Prohibition in Massachusetts.

(*a*) "Towns" (*i.e.*, Townships).

The chief point of interest in the present inquiry is, however, the extent to which the local option provisions of the law have been used to prohibit the traffic, and here we are met by useful and striking facts. In Massachusetts the counties are divided for administrative purposes into "towns" and "cities."

The former are properly "townships" (*i.e.*, groups of villages), governed by a Board of Selectmen; while the latter are municipal incorporations governed by a mayor and council.

Now of the three hundred and twenty towns, or townships, in Massachusetts (representing thirty-five per cent. of the total population of the State) no fewer than two hundred and fifty-nine are under "no licence."[1] This number includes nine which voted "licence" but in which no licences were issued by the Board of Selectmen. These "no licence" towns are, however, for the most part extremely small; *two-thirds* (sixty-three per cent.) of the total number having less than two thousand inhabitants in 1895.[2]

The actual size of the towns is shown in the following table:—

89	have *less* than	.	1,000	inhabitants.	
75	,,	1,000 and under	2,000	,,	
31	,,	2,000	,,	3,000	,,
33	,,	3,000	,,	5,000	,,
21	,,	5,000	,,	8,000	,,
6	,,	8,000	,,	10,000	,,
3	,,	10,000	,,	12,000	,,
1	has	16,164			,,
259					

The sparseness of population in these "towns" is really much greater than is suggested above, for, as we have already indicated, although technically styled towns, they are strictly "townships," covering often a large area and including several separate villages.

[1] As represented by the vote taken in March, 1899.

[2] The date of the last State census.

Thus, of the ten largest "no licence" towns included in the above list, one has two villages; two have four villages; three have six villages; one has eight villages; two have nine villages; and the other is a suburb of Boston. In respect of area, also, the figures are suggestive. The three smallest cover five, seven, and eight square miles respectively; four others from thirteen to twenty square miles; and the remaining three from twenty-five to thirty square miles.

Another fact also quickly appears, and that is, that there is frequently (and in the case of the larger "no licence" towns, generally) a "safety-valve" present in the shape of a neigbouring licence area. This fact is of considerable importance in America, and especially in Massachusetts, where facilities for rapid transit are a conspicuous feature of the social system. In addition to well-developed railway communication, the towns and cities of the State are everywhere connected by an elaborate service of electric cars, which bring what in England would be esteemed widely-separated communities into rapid communication with each other. This is shown in the map which is given elsewhere (see Plate XX., p. 316*a*), where the lines of the electric car systems are plainly indicated, and the full extent of the inter-connection of separate towns is made clear. The cheapness of the system is as remarkable as its efficiency, the usual fare being five cents (2½*d.*)—a sum which carries one in some cases for a distance of ten miles. The effect of this is, of course, most marked in the neighbourhood of the principal cities, and Boston especially has thus become the natural distributing centre for a large belt of smaller towns within a radius of ten or twelve miles. But the effect is not limited to the environs of a few cities;

it is to be seen everywhere, and it impresses itself upon the mind of an English visitor with irresistible force. Full allowance must, of course, be made for this in estimating the success of "no licence" in particular areas, and, as a matter of fact, its influence is everywhere freely acknowledged by the leaders of the "no licence" movement in Massachusetts. At the same time there is obviously a very considerable difference between a "safety-valve" of the kind here indicated and an ordinary licence system. In the one case the would-be customer is put to personal trouble to obtain his liquor, while in the other the saloon is brought to his door. The practical difference, so far as a large number of confirmed drinkers are concerned, is probably not great, but at least the system of "no licence" with a "safety-valve" considerably reduces the amount of "social" and casual drinking, and, above all, protects the young.

The influence of the "safety-valve," so far as it affects the question of local prohibition in Massachusetts, can be judged from the following particulars, which show the facilities which exist for obtaining liquor in the vicinity of the ten largest "no licence" *towns* (*i.e.*, townships).

Danvers. Population (1895) 8,181; area 14 square miles; contains 6 villages. It adjoins the licence city of Salem, with which it is connected by electric cars. (See map, p. 316*a*.)

Attleborough. Population (1895) 8,288; area 28 square miles; contains 9 villages. Is situate on the border of Rhode Island and adjoins the licence city of Pawtucket (popula-

tion 32,577), with which it has direct communication by electric cars.

Wakefield. Population (1895) 8,304; area 7·6 square miles; contains 6 villages. Is situate four miles from the licence city of Woburn, six miles from the licence city of Lynn, and ten miles from Boston, with all of which cities it has direct communication by electric cars. These distances are, of course, *centre* distances; the actual distances separating the borders of the respecting towns being very much less. (See map, p. 316*a*.)

Leominster. Population (1895) 9,211; area 29 square miles; contains 4 villages. It adjoins the licence city of Fitchburg, with which it is directly connected by electric cars. The township is situated too far west to be included in the map given on p. 316*a*.

Framingham.[1] Population (1895) 9,512; area 25 square miles; contains 6 villages. On its north-west border it adjoins the licence city of Marlborough, and on its eastern border the licence town of Natick. It is also closely adjacent to the licence towns of Holliston and Hopkinton. It has direct communication by electric cars with all of these towns.

Amesbury.[1] Population (1895) 9,986; area 13 square miles. Is situate on the borders of New

[1] The towns of Framingham and Amesbury are too far distant from Boston to be included in the map given on p. 316*a*.

Hampshire, and adjoins the licence city of Newburyport and the licence town of Salisbury, with both of which it has direct communication by electric cars. Changed from "licence" to "no licence" in 1899.

Peabody. Population (1895) 10,507; area 17 square miles; contains 8 villages. It immediately adjoins the licence cities of Salem and Lynn, with both of which it is connected by electric cars. (See map, p. 316*a*.)

Weymouth. Population (1895) 11,291; area 19 square miles; contains 9 villages. Is situate twelve miles south-east of the centre of Boston, and within four or five miles of the licence town of Canton.[1] It has direct communication by electric cars.

Hyde Park. Population (1895) 11,826; area 4·6 square miles; contains 4 villages. Is a suburb of Boston, which it adjoins on the north and north-west, and with which it is connected by electric cars. It also adjoins the licence town of Canton[1] on the south. (See map, p. 316*a*.)

Brookline. Population (1895) 16,164; area 7 square miles. Is a wealthy residential suburb of Boston, and practically a part of that city, although administratively separate.

[1] Canton changed to "no licence" in May, 1900. During the last five years it has voted twice for "licence," and three times for "no licence."

It is connected by electric cars. Is said to be the wealthiest town of its size in the Union. (See map, p. 316*a*.)

The status of the towns is, however, constantly changing according to fluctuations in the annual vote. Thus, in 1897, 17 towns changed to "licence" and 18 to "no licence"; in 1898, 24 changed to "licence" and 13 to "no licence"; while in 1899, 24 changed to "licence" and 11 to "no licence."

(*b*) Cities.

If we turn to the "cities" of Massachusetts the same alternations of policy are discernible, but in a lesser degree. Of the twelve cities under "no licence" in 1900,[1] ten have been under "no licence" for five or more successive years.

There are thirty-three cities ("licence" and "no licence") in the State, with an aggregate population (in 1895) of 1,647,732, or 65 per cent. of the total population of the State. Twelve of these cities, with an aggregate population of 360,215, are under "no licence," and twenty-one, with an aggregate population of 1,287,517, are under "licence." Or, to put it in another way, *one-fifth* (22 per cent.) of the total city population of Massachusetts is under "no licence," and *four-fifths* (78 per cent.) are under "licence."

The existence of these "no licence" cities in Massachusetts, in view of the impracticability of prohibition in urban centres elsewhere in the States, is at first surprising; but investigation quickly shows that, as in the case of the towns already noticed, it is due to the existence of an effective "safety-valve" in the shape of adjacent licence areas. Eight of the twelve "no

[1] As represented by the vote taken in December, 1899.

licence" cities are simply suburbs (or what the people themselves call "bedrooms") of Boston, and although administratively separate, are for all practical purposes parts of the State capital. Of the remaining four "no licence" cities, one (Quincy) is also practically a suburb of Boston, for although officially returned as eight miles distant (*i.e.*, from centre to centre), the borders of the two cities actually touch. (See map, p. 316*a*.) Quincy is directly connected with Boston by electric street cars, and by a quick railway service. Another of the more distant "no licence" cities (Beverley) is only two miles from the licence city of Salem, with which it has direct communication by electric street cars; while the remaining two (Brockton [1] and Taunton [2]) are also in direct communication with licence areas, although in these two cases the distances are somewhat greater.[3]

[1] The population of Brockton in 1895 was 33,165. The city contains six villages, and covers an area of twenty square miles. It is situate four miles south of the town of Canton, which was under "licence" in 1899, but changed to "no licence" in May, 1900, and twenty miles south of the centre of Boston, with which it is connected by electric street cars.

[2] Taunton, which changed from "licence" to "no licence" in 1900, has a population of 27,115. The city contains eleven villages, and covers an area of forty-six square miles. It is about seven miles distant from the licence city of Fall River, with which it has direct connection by electric street cars.

[3] The following extract from a letter, dated February 8th, 1900, which refers to the two cities last named (Brockton and Taunton), is of interest in this connection. It was forwarded to the present writers by a temperance official in Massachusetts:—"We understand that a strong effort is being made to carry this town [Raynham] for licence next March. The Taunton liquor men are offering large sums of money, $2,000 and 3,000, for a licence for a saloon just over the Taunton line in our town. [Taunton has voted "no licence," and Raynham

PLATE XX.

Map showing the position of "licence" and "no licence" towns and cities in the vicinity of Boston, Massachusetts.

NOTE.—The Map represents the vote of the *towns* in March, 1899, and the vote of the *cities* in December, 1899. The population given is that of the last State census (1895). Where no statistics of population are given the town has *less* than 8,000 inhabitants.

Now it can hardly be doubted that this "safety-valve" of adjacent licence areas is a considerable factor in the success of "no licence" in these suburban areas. This, indeed, is universally admitted by the civic officials and by the leaders of the "no licence" movement in the State. On the occasion of his visit to Boston in September, 1899, one of the present writers was invited to attend the monthly meeting of the Directors of the Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society (the society that organizes the annual "no licence" campaign in the State), when the question of the "safety-valve" afforded by Boston was publicly discussed. Representatives from all the principal "no licence" cities were present, and the opinion was freely expressed that, but for the facilities afforded by Boston, "no licence" would be impossible in the surrounding areas. The chairman stated that the residents in these areas were largely persons occupied in Boston during the day, where they could get all the liquor they required, but who preferred to keep the saloon away from their own homes. Speaking of his own suburb (Malden), he said that "no licence"

joins Taunton.] Our taxes last year were very high, over $20 per $1,000, and the possibility of lightening them by liquor revenue will be a strong temptation for some to vote for licence who have hitherto voted the other way. The electric lines from Taunton to Brockton pass through this town, and should a saloon be located in Raynham there would be heavy patronage from those two cities. Again, E. Taunton and S. Raynham are only divided by the Taunton river, and if Raynham gave a licence to the E. Taunton saloon-keeper, he could move his saloon a stone's throw and continue his deadly work as heretofore. The Taunton no-licence committee are especially interested, because if Raynham goes licence their work will be seriously injured." Later information (April, 1900) showed that in the end Raynham voted "no licence."

would be impossible there but for the proximity of Boston. Similar testimony was given by other speakers concerning Cambridge, Medford, and other suburbs. The *Boston Transcript*, in reporting the discussion, said: "It was the general sentiment that, were it not possible to procure liquor in Boston, these cities would vote 'yes' on the licence question."[1]

The actual position was made very clear by the vote which was taken on the issue of State prohibition in 1889. In that year a proposed Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the State, was submitted to the people, and rejected by a majority of nearly 46,000 votes.[2] The vote was taken at a special election when no other issue was before the electors. Out of 350 towns and cities which voted on the question, only 145, or considerably less than one-half, voted in favour of the Prohibitory Amendment, although *in the same year* (*i.e.*, 1888–9) no less than 275 towns and cities, or more than three-fourths of the whole, had voted in favour of "no licence."

Of the twelve "no licence" cities now under discussion (ten of which had voted for "no licence" in that year) *eight* gave a majority *against* the Prohibitory Amendment. The most striking cases were those of Quincy and Cambridge, two of the most determinedly "no licence" areas in Massachusetts. The former, which had given a majority in favour of "no licence" of 936, gave a majority of 578 *against* the

[1] *Boston Transcript*, September 13th, 1899. It is noteworthy that out of 26,157 arrests for drunkenness in Boston in 1898 (the latest year for which returns are available), no fewer than 11,615, or 44 per cent., were "non-residents."

[2] See footnote, p. 306.

Prohibitory Amendment; while Cambridge, which had given a majority of 664 in favour of "no licence," gave a majority of 2,638 *against* the Prohibitory Amendment!

The matter becomes obvious when we examine the circumstances of each "no licence" area separately. This cannot be accomplished in detail within the limits of the present chapter, but the essential facts concerning the most important of the "no licence" cities can be briefly summarised.

	Population (1895).
Cambridge	81,643

We select, first, the city of Cambridge, which is the largest "no licence" city in America. The city has been under "no licence" since 1886, and is said to furnish "one of the most striking and instructive illustrations of the operations of a prohibitory policy adopted by popular veto." The city is closely adjacent to Boston, from which it is only separated by the river Charles. It is connected with Boston by several bridges traversed by electric and other tramways. The interests of the suburb are identical with those of the capital, and large numbers of its inhabitants are employed there. "There is little doubt," says Mr. Fanshawe,[1] "that both in this and in other cities and towns in the immediate neighbourhood of Boston the vote for 'no licence' is supported by many who are not prohibitionists, but are influenced by reasons of local convenience and the facilities afforded by the adjoining city. . . . A large number of the arrests for drunkenness are made at the Cambridge ends of

[1] *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, p. 206.

the bridges as the revellers return from Boston." One of the present writers visited Cambridge in the autumn of 1899. The city (which is the seat of Harvard University) is largely residential, but in the eastern part of the city there is a large working-class population. It is noteworthy that Ward 3, a working-class district and the poorest ward in the city, persistently votes for "licence," but is always outvoted by the other and wealthier wards.[1]

The consensus of opinion in Cambridge is strongly in favour of "no licence," and the broad results of the experiment there unquestionably seem to justify it. In the poorer parts of the city a certain amount of illegal sale (*e.g.* "kitchen bars," etc.) takes place, and there is also some infringement of the law in connection with the druggists' licences.[2] These, however, are comparatively small blemishes in what is otherwise a successful experiment in local prohibition.

[1] The vote in this Ward at the last election (December, 1899), was as follows:—*For* licence, 1,108; *Against*, 400. Majority for licence, 708.

[2] These druggists' licences are not subject to a "no licence" vote, but are issued on payment of $1 to all registered pharmacists who hold a certificate of fitness from the State Board of Pharmacy, and where the issue of such licences has not been forbidden by the local licensing authority. There are forty-eight druggists holding such licences in Cambridge. Sales of liquor can only be made for medicinal, mechanical, or chemical purposes, and upon the certificate of the purchaser, and every sale must be recorded in a book kept by the druggist for the purpose. The regulations of the law are, however, frequently disregarded in practice, and there is no doubt that in Cambridge, as also in other "no licence" towns, liquor is sold by druggists for ordinary beverage purposes. This was clearly stated by Captain Pullen, an ardent supporter of "no licence," who is in charge of the third police district in Cambridge. He further stated that there is no "open" liquor selling in Cam-

The proximity of Boston is, of course, the central fact in the situation, and it is so obviously the determining fact that the case of Cambridge does not call for further comment.

The following table gives the arrests for drunkenness in Cambridge for the last twenty years. It includes the eight years immediately preceding the adoption of "no licence" and the twelve years since :—

	Years.	Average number of arrests for drunkenness per 1,000 of the population.
"Licence"	1879[1]–1881	9·5
	1882–1886[2]	12·4
"No Licence"	1887–1891	11·3
	1892–1896	22·8
	1897	21·8
	1898	19·5

No explanation is forthcoming of the great increase in drunkenness in the last seven years.

	Population (1895).
Somerville	52,200

The next largest "no licence" area in Massachusetts is Somerville, which adjoins both Cambridge and Boston, and is, for all practical purposes, a part of the

bridge, but liquor is sold secretly in a few "kitchen bars." The law is always strongly enforced against them when they are caught selling. He added that the chief difficulty they have to encounter in Cambridge arises from the large number of packages of liquor which are delivered by express agents and others from Boston, who persistently (although illegally) canvas for orders in Cambridge.

[1] Returns not available prior to 1879.

[2] Includes 1882 and 1884–6 only. Returns are not available for 1883.

latter city. Only the initiated, indeed, could tell where the area of the one city ends and that of the other begins. The chief of the police when interviewed said that there was no "open" sale of liquor in Somerville as in the cities of Maine, but they were troubled to some extent with "kitchen barrooms" and "pocket peddling." The police make from twenty to thirty prosecutions a year. He expressed strong approval of the general results of "no licence" in Somerville, but stated that the policy was successful because of the proximity of Boston. This was confirmed on another occasion by the Secretary to the Commissioners of State Prisons, who lives in Somerville.

	Population (1895).
Chelsea	31,264

Chelsea is another suburb of Boston where a similar condition of things exists. The chief of the police stated that they had no difficulty in enforcing "no licence" in Chelsea, for the latter was merely a "bedroom" for Boston.

Similar testimony was given concerning Malden (population 29,708), Newton (population 27,590), Everett (population 18,573), Medford (population 14,474), and other suburban areas, where proximity to Boston is freely assigned as a reason for the success with which a "no licence" policy can be carried out. The general impression created by the experience of these areas is distinctly favourable, and full of encouragement to those who look hopefully to the application of a like policy to similar areas in Great Britain.[1]

[1] The town of Pullman, Illinois (population, 1893, 12,000), is another instance of successful local prohibition where similar

LOCAL OPTION IN CANADA

Population (1898).[1]	No. of Persons per Square Mile.[2]
5,248,315	1·4

Distribution of Population at the last census (1891).

71% lived in rural districts other than villages, towns, etc.
4 „ villages, towns, etc., of 1,500[3] to 3,000 inhabitants.
3 „ „ „ „ 3,000 to 5,000 „
4 „ „ „ „ 5,000 to 10,000 „
3 „ „ „ „ 10,000 to 20,000 „
5 „ „ „ „ 20,000 to 50,000 „
1 „ Quebec, population 63,000
4 „ Toronto, population 181,000
5 „ Montreal, population 216,000

The Dominion of Canada, although very thinly peopled,[4] deserves more than passing notice.

facilities exist. The town is situate on the shores of Lake Calumet, and forms part of the thirty-fourth ward of the city of Chicago. It was built early in the eighties by the Pullman Car Company, who from the beginning have forbidden all traffic in liquor within the area under their control. That this ordinance has worked with advantage to the town there is ample evidence to show. At the same time, it does not deprive the inhabitants of easy access to liquor, since—according to the statement of the British Consul at Chicago—"by walking across the street they are in the town of Kensington, and can there buy all they want." The case is therefore in every way analogous to those already considered.

[1] Official estimate.

[2] The dominion of Canada extends 3,500 miles from east to west and 1,400 miles north to south, and covers a total area of 3,653,946 square miles.

[3] This is the official limit separating *rural* from *urban* populations in Canada.

[4] It had less than *two* (1·4) persons per square mile in 1898, as against 332 persons per square mile in the United Kingdom, and 540 in England and Wales in the same year.

The consumption of alcoholic beverages is, with one exception, smaller in Canada than in any other country for which statistical data are available, and it continues to decline.[1] The one exception is Norway, where the consumption of alcohol per head of the population is exactly equal to that of Canada.[2] At the present time the *per capita* consumption of alcohol in Canada is only *one-half* the *per capita* consumption of the United States, and only *one-fifth* that of England and Wales.[3] The temperance sentiment of the country is also more advanced and active than is the case elsewhere. Prohibitory legislation of a permissive character plays an important part in its licensing arrangements. In addition to the "Scott Act," which is a Federal law, it has a variety of provincial laws which recognise, although unequally, the principle of local option. It is understood that any authority exercised under provincial legislation takes effect only in localities in which the electors have not availed themselves of the prohibition authorised by the "Scott Act."

[1] The following table gives the *per capita* consumption of absolute alcohol in Canada for the last thirty years:—

	Absolute Alcohol. Galls.
1871–75	0·79
1876–80	·60
1881–85	·66
1886–90	·58
1891–95	·55
1896–98	·52

[2] See pp. 74, 76.

[3] The proportion of population living in towns of 5,000 inhabitants and upwards in the three countries is as under:—

Canada	22 per cent.
United States	32 „
England and Wales	68 „

Nearly all the Provinces have legislation authorising relatives to prohibit by notice the sale of liquor to habitual drunkards, minors, or other persons in whom the notifiers are interested, and imposing severe penalties for sale after such notice. Most of the Provinces have also civil damage laws, and some Provinces authorise the commitment of habitual drunkards to special asylums.

Under the Canada Temperance Act of 1878 (commonly known as the "Scott" Act, from the name of the member of the Senate who introduced it), counties and cities in the Dominion can, by a majority of those entitled to vote for representatives in the Federal Parliament, prohibit the retail sale of intoxicating liquors within their boundaries. Twenty-five per cent. of the electors of any county or city can, by petition to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, require that a vote of the electors of the same county or city be taken on the question of the adoption of the prohibitory clauses of the Act. When half or more of the votes polled are against the petition, no similar petition can be entertained for a period of three years. If a majority of the qualified electors of the said county or city vote in favour of the adoption of the Act, it is put in force by proclamation of the Governor-General, all legal formalities having been previously complied with. The Act being adopted, the retail sale of liquor, except by persons licensed to sell for medicinal, mechanical, and sacramental purposes, is prohibited. No further vote can be taken for a period of three years.

Since the passing of the Act it has been submitted to public opinion in nine cities and seventy-three

counties.[1] It remains in force in one city (Fredericton) and twenty-seven counties.[2] In the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia, which contain the largest proportion of urban population of all the provinces in the Dominion, the Act is nowhere in force.[3] Both of these provinces, however, have other permissive legislation in force which recognises the principle of local option. Now, it is unquestionable that, *so far as the rural districts are concerned* (and Canada, it must

[1] The following is a summary :—

Carried four times and still in force	2
„ twice „ „	4
„ once „ „	22
At present in force (September, 1899)	28
Defeated the first time and not submitted again	17
Carried the first election but defeated the second	30
„ twice and lost twice	1
„ once and lost twice	1
„ twice and lost once	3
Lost twice and not carried at all	1
Carried three times, rejected the fourth, carried the fifth, and rejected the sixth	1
	54

[2] The Act is in force in one county in the Province of Quebec, in two counties in the Province of Manitoba, in eleven in the Province of Nova Scotia, in ten counties and one city in the Province of New Brunswick, and in three counties in the Province of Prince Edward Island. *Statistical Year Book of Canada*, 1898, p. 538.

[3] Formerly, twenty-five counties and two cities in the Province of Ontario were under the provisions of the " Scott " Act, representing three-fourths of the entire province, but the law was subsequently repealed in them all, " repeal in most cases " —to quote the words of Dr. M'Leod, the representative of the Dominion Temperance Organisations on the Canadian Commission—" taking place at the earliest possible opportunity."

be remembered, is pre-eminently a country of rural populations), the local veto clauses of the various permissive Acts have achieved satisfactory results. In this respect the experience of Canada more than confirms the encouragement suggested by the experience of the United States. But it is necessary at the same time to point out that Canada furnishes us with no evidence that in the larger towns and cities of the United Kingdom a prohibitory policy would be successful. The available evidence, on the contrary, is opposed to such a presumption.

This will most clearly appear from a brief summary of the facts for each Province in the Dominion.

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

Population (1891).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
2,114,321	10

Distribution of Population at the last census (1891).

67% lived in rural districts other than villages, towns, etc.
10 „ villages, towns, etc., of 1,500 and under 5,000 inhabitants.
5 „ „ „ „ 5,000 „ 10,000 „
3 „ „ „ „ 10,000 „ 25,000 „
6 „ „ „ „ 25,000 „ 50,000 „
9 „ Toronto, population 181,000

The liquor laws of this Province are exceedingly stringent. Licences are of three kinds: (a) *tavern* licences (retail "on"); (b) *shop* licences (retail "off"); and (c) *wholesale* licences (to sell in quantities of not less than five gallons).[1] The licensing arrangements are entrusted to a Board of three Commissioners for

[1] In the case of *bottled* beer, wine, or spirits, the limit is one dozen bottles of at least three half-pints each, or two dozen bottles of at least three-fourths of a pint each.

each electoral district,[1] together with an inspector.[2] Applications for a *new* licence (retail) must be accompanied by a certificate, signed by a majority of the electors of the polling sub-division in which the premises sought to be licensed are situate, and the said majority must include at least one-third of the *resident* electors of the sub-division. In localities not under municipal organisation, the certificate must be signed by at least eleven out of the twenty householders residing nearest to the premises for which a licence is sought. No *new* licence can be granted for any building situate within 300 feet of a church or school. Any seventy-five persons, being a majority of the electors in any polling sub-division, may petition against the renewal of a tavern licence on the ground that the locality in which the same is exercised is a residential, and not a business, locality. If, in the judgment of the Commissioners, the objection is well-grounded, the licence is not renewed.

Every tavern or inn authorised to be licensed for "on" sale must contain not less than four bedrooms (in cities, six), in addition to what may be needed for the use of the family of the licensee, and must also possess the appliances requisite for daily serving meals to travellers.

The ordinary statutory fee for a retail licence ("on" or "off") is as follows:—"In cities, $100; in towns, $80; other municipalities, $60. The local municipal council may, however, impose a higher fee, up to $200, at its discretion, and beyond that amount with

[1] The licensing district is usually the electoral district, but there are exceptions (*e.g.* in Toronto and other cities).

[2] In Ottawa there are two inspectors, and in Toronto three; elsewhere, one.

the consent of the electors. Over and above this sum, a further tax of from $130 to $250 in cities; $70 in towns; $60 in villages; and $30 in townships is levied as a part of the consolidated revenue of the Province.

The method of appropriating the revenue from licences is somewhat complicated. Of the proceeds of the ordinary statutory fees, one-third (after payment of expenses) is paid into the Provincial treasury, and two-thirds to the treasurer of the local municipality. Additional fees imposed by the municipality (up to $200) are retained by the locality, but all sums imposed by the municipality in excess of $200 are divided equally between the Province and the municipality. The further special tax levied by the Provincial government goes, as already shown, into the Provincial treasury.

Statutory Limit.

The law further provides that in cities, towns, and incorporated villages the number of tavern licences to be granted shall not exceed one for the first 250 of the population, with an additional licence for each subsequent 250, provided that not more than three be granted for the first 1,000 of the population, and one for each subsequent 600 of the population after the first 1,000.[1] Municipal councils may, however, limit the number to be issued within their own areas.

[1] In the case of county towns having a population of 2,500 or less, the limit is one for each full 250 of the population up to 1,000, and one for each full 400 after the first 1,000.

The maximum generally prevails except in the large cities.[1]

The following table gives the total number of licences issued in the Province of Ontario for the year 1897–8:—

Tavern licences, "on" . . .	2,725[2]
Shop „ "off" . . .	317
Wholesale „ "off" . . .	22
	3,064[3]

No "shop" licence (*i.e.* retail "off") may be granted for any store or shop where groceries or other merchandise (other than tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes in unbroken packages) are sold. The municipal council may at its discretion limit the number of such

[1] The number granted in the three largest cities is as follows:—

	Toronto. (Pop. 186,000.)	*Ottawa.* (Pop. 55,000.)	*Hamilton.* (Pop. 50,000.)
Tavern licences, "on" . .	150	77	75
Shop „ "off" . .	50	33	20
Wholesale „ "off" . .	6	5	3
	206	115	98
	1 "on licence" to every 1,240 inhabitants.	1 "on licence" to every 720 inhabitants.	1 "on licence" to every 670 inhabitants.

For a comparison with English cities, see p.

[2] Exclusive of 59 special summer licences.

[3] It may be interesting to compare this total with the figures for each quinquennial period during the last 25 years:—

1874–78	4,666
1879–83	4,113
1884–88 ("Scott" Act largely in force) .	2,677
1889–93	3,428
1894–97	3,111

licences to be issued within its area. All clubs at which liquor is sold or otherwise disposed of must be duly licensed.

Hours of Sale.

The hours of sale are from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. in townships and villages, and from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m. in towns and cities, except on Saturdays, when no liquor may be sold after 7 p.m. Sunday sales are absolutely prohibited. The Sunday regulation appears to be strictly obeyed in the case of the ordinary taverns, but sales are made to guests in the principal hotels without interference from the authorities. No liquor may be sold at any time to minors (this applies to clubs also), nor may liquor be sold on election days.

Extent of Prohibition.

There appears to be very little actual prohibition in Ontario. Out of seven hundred and four separate municipalities (*i e.* cities, towns, incorporated villages, townships, and unorganized territories) in the Province, only seventy-six, or eleven per cent. of the whole, were under "no licence" in 1897–8, the latest year for which statistics are available, and these were all exceedingly small. Of twenty-three[1] towns and cities which had 5,000 or more inhabitants at the last census, not one is under prohibition.

The licensing arrangements are, however, carefully controlled, and the law is everywhere well enforced. Provincial and civic officials alike testify to its good results.

[1] Representing one-half of the total number in Canada.

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

Population (1891).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,488,535	6

Distribution of Population at the last census (1891).

71%	lived in rural districts other than villages, towns, etc.		
5	„	villages, towns, etc., of 1,500 to 5,000	inhabitants.
3	„	„ „ 5,000 to 10,000	„
2	„	„ „ 10,000 to 15,000	„
4	„	Quebec, population 63,000	
15	„	Montreal, population 216,000	

The licensing arrangements for this Province are in the hands of the Provincial Revenue Department, but municipal councils (outside of the cities of Montreal and Quebec), have power to control or prohibit the granting of licences. The law (as in Ontario) does not recognise the existence of a saloon proper, but restricts the "on" sale of liquor to (a) *inns*, where accommodation is provided for food and lodgings, and (b) *restaurants*, where arrangements exist for supplying at least ten persons at one time with a meal. This restriction, however, makes little practical difference, for the places so licensed are to all intents and purposes ordinary saloons, and, in the case of restaurants especially, little provision is made for serving meals. Restaurant licences are not granted to rural districts. In addition to the above, *shop* licences (*i.e.* for "off" sales) are also granted. The holders of these are not prohibited, as in Ontario, from selling groceries or other commodities. In some instances the holders of these "off" licences violate the law by selling for "on" consumption also.

An applicant for an "on" licence (*i.e.* for an inn or restaurant) must furnish the collector of provincial revenue with a certificate signed by twenty-five

municipal electors of the village, town, or ward of a city in which the premises sought to be licensed are situate.

The authorities charged with confirming the certificate may not confirm the certificate of any applicant if a majority of the municipal electors residing or having their places of business in the polling sub-division in which the saloon is to be located, object thereto in writing. The certificates (except those connected with applications for licences in the cities of Quebec and Montreal) must also be confirmed by the local municipal council.[1]

Local municipal councils have also power to pass bye-laws prohibiting the sale of liquor within the limits over which they have jurisdiction. In such cases one person in each municipality may be licensed to sell for medicinal and sacramental purposes only. The "Scott" Act can be adopted in any city or county upon a petition of one-fourth of the electors of such city or county. This Act, however, is only in force in one county in the Province, and is not likely to be further adopted.

Number of Licences.

There is no statutory limit to the number of licences that may be issued in a locality, except in the case of Montreal, where the maximum number of "on" licences (*i.e.* for inns and restaurants) to be permitted is fixed

[1] The same conditions attach to *shop* (*i.e.* "off") licences, and licences for *clubs*, except that the number of signatures of municipal electors required upon a certificate is reduced to three. Before any club licence is issued, the constitution, rules, and regulations of such club must be submitted to the Provincial Treasurer, who may refuse to grant the licence if he sees fit.

at 400. This gives a proportion at the present time of one "on" licence (excluding clubs) for every 625 persons of the population.[1]

These figures are, however, misleading, for in Montreal, as elsewhere in the Province, a large number of unlicensed places sell liquor freely. Many of these illegal "shebeens" are "candy shops," and cigar stores, while others are immoral houses. No attempt seems to be made to suppress the latter. The keepers of the houses are fined once a year, and for the rest are allowed to go on selling without a licence. It is said that but for the drink they would not be so freely patronised. The ordinary "shebeens" (*i.e.* illicit liquor saloons) are not confined to the cities and towns, but are found also in the country parishes. The Comptroller of the Provincial Revenue Department stated that a considerable amount of illicit sale goes on in the rural districts, including those under prohibition. The law imposes a fine for a first or second offence, and imprisonment for a third, but in practice the latter is rarely imposed. The fines ordered by the law are also often "continued" for political reasons. The "Trade" exercises great political influence in the Province. It attaches itself to no one party, but shifts its vote in each constituency as its interests demand. It is said to be "all powerful."

Licence Fees.

The fees charged for licences are as follow:—

1. *Inn* licences ("on"): In the city of Montreal, $400 to $800; in the city of Quebec, $250 to $650; and in every other city, $200. In incor-

[1] Montreal has in addition 500 grocers' licences.

porated towns, $180; in villages, $150; in every section of an organized territory outside of cities, towns, and villages, $125; and in unorganized territory, $90.

2. *Restaurant* licences ("on"): In the city of Montreal, $400 to $800; in the city of Quebec, $300 to $500; in every other city, $200; in incorporated towns the fee is $150.
3. *Club* licences ("on"); in the city of Montreal, $300; in the city of Quebec, $200; and $100 elsewhere.
4. *Shop* licences (retail "off"): In each of the cities of Montreal and Quebec, $25 and 125 per cent. of the annual value or rent of the premises; provided that in no case shall the duties on such licence be less than $200 or more than $400. In every other city the fee is fixed at $200; in incorporated towns the fee is $160; and in every other part of organized territory, $125.

The total revenue derived from liquor licences in the Province in 1898 was $541,190 (£108,238).

Hours of Sale.

The statutory hours of sale are from 5 a.m. to midnight for inns and restaurants ("on"), and from 4 a.m. to midnight for shops ("off"). Local municipal councils have discretionary powers to close at 7 p.m. on Saturdays and 10 p.m. on other days, if they so desire.[1] All sales are absolutely prohibited on Sundays. This last regulation is, however, ignored in the principal

[1] Under the law, no sales may be made to soldiers, sailors, apprentices, or servants after 8 p.m.

hotels, with the knowledge of the authorities. The bar of the hotel at which one of the present writers stayed in Quebec was open on Sunday to outsiders and guests alike. Many of the other saloons in Quebec and Montreal also serve customers on Sunday at side and back doors.

Extent of Prohibition.

Nearly two-thirds of the municipalities in the Province (*i.e.* 603 out of 933) are without licences at the present time. These "no licence" areas are, however, almost wholly confined to the *rural* municipalities (*i.e.* villages with from 500 to 1,000 inhabitants). According to the Comptroller of the Provincial Revenue Department there is no town or city under prohibition.[1]

NOVA SCOTIA

Population (1891).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
450,396	22

Distribution of Population at the last census (1891):—

78 % lived in rural districts other than villages, towns, etc.
9 „ villages, towns, etc., of 1,500 to 5,000 inhabitants.
4 „ „ „ „ 5,000 to 10,000 „
9 „ Halifax, population 38,556.

The licensing arrangements in this Province are even more drastic than those of Ontario. The licensing authority is the local municipal council, and but three kinds of licences are allowed:—

[1] The Provincial Secretary of the Dominion Alliance informed us that the two largest "towns" under prohibition in Quebec are Westmount and St. Lambert. Both are, however, suburbs of Montreal. The former (population, 1899, 7,000) is really a part of the city, while the latter (which had a population of 906 in 1891) is just across the river

1. *Hotel* licences, which authorise the holder to sell liquor in quantities not exceeding one quart to *bona fide* guests or lodgers in his hotel, during the regular meals or in their own rooms, only. No bar of any kind is allowed, nor may such sales be made to a person other than a guest, boarder, or lodger in the hotel. The fee for such licence is $150.
2. *Shop* licences, which allow the holder to sell liquor in quantities of not less than one pint, nor more than two gallons, for "off" consumption only. Such licences may not be granted to premises where groceries or other merchandise are sold. The fee for a "shop" licence is $100.
3. *Wholesale* licences "off." Fee, $300.

Shops where liquor is sold must be open to full view from the street. No licence may be granted for any premises situate within one hundred yards of a church or school, except where such premises were continuously licensed for four years prior to the passing of the Act. No person holding a licence to sell liquor, or engaged directly or indirectly in the business of manufacturing, buying, or selling liquor, may be appointed to the office of justice of the peace. The hours of sale are from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m.; Saturdays, 6 p.m. No sales are allowed on Sundays except to *bona fide* guests in hotels during meals. No liquor may be given, supplied, or furnished to a minor by a licence-holder or his assistants. Sales are also forbidden on election days. The administration of the law is entrusted to special licence inspectors appointed by the municipal council. Every inspector at the time of his nomination and during office must be a member in good

standing of some recognised temperance organisation within the municipality or Province.

An application for a hotel, shop, or wholesale licence elsewhere than in the city of Halifax, must be accompanied by a certificate signed by two-thirds of the resident ratepayers of the polling district in which the premises sought to be licensed are situated. In the city of Halifax three-fifths of the resident ratepayers of the polling district must sign the certificate for a shop or hotel licence, and a majority of the resident ratepayers in the case of a wholesale licence.

In municipalities where no licences are issued, the council may appoint one or more agents to sell for medicinal, mechanical, or manufacturing purposes only. No such agent may have any interest in the profits accruing from his sales.

Nearly the whole of the Province is under "no licence." Indeed, licences are only issued in two (*e.g.* Halifax and Richmond) out of eighteen counties at the present time. Prohibition sentiment appears to be exceptionally strong in Nova Scotia, and in all but a few places the law is said to be well enforced. The population is chiefly rural, and the few municipalities are exceedingly small, there being only one important city in the Province. This is Halifax (population, 1899, 45,000), which has 120 licences, or one to every 375 persons of the population. In this city enforcement of the restrictive clauses of the law is found to be extremely difficult, and the "bar" sale of liquor, although forbidden, is nevertheless carried on. The Rev. Dr. M'Leod, the representative of the Dominion temperance organizations on the Royal Canadian Commission (1892–5), states in his report that, "It was made clear that in Halifax but slight regard is

paid to the restrictive features of the licence law, either by the licensees or others."[1]

NEW BRUNSWICK

Population (1891).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
321,263	11

Distribution of Population at the last census (1891).

81 per cent. lived in rural districts other than villages, towns, etc .
2 „ „ villages, towns, etc., of 1,500 to 5,000 inhabitants.
5 „ „ „ „ „ 5,000 to 10,000 „
12 „ „ St. John, population 39,000.

The licensing authority in this Province is a Board of three Commissioners, appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, for each city, town, or county.[2] Licences

[1] In an official memorandum transmitted through the Governor-General of Canada to Lord Knutsford in 1889, the Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia wrote: "In *rural districts*, where there is a strong temperance sentiment, the Act is well observed. Few licences are issued. In the city of Halifax the effect of the present legislation is a matter of debate. The most important difference between the present law and the preceding Provincial legislation is in relation to saloon licences. The city had for many years a large number of saloons which were licensed by the municipal authorities. The Act of 1886 was designed to prohibit this form of the traffic. A hotel licence authorises the sale of liquor under certain conditions to *bona-fide* guests. A shop licence authorises the sale in quantities not less than one pint and prohibits drinking on the premises. The advocates of prohibition, who secured the passing of this legislation, admit that the Act has not realised their expectations in the city of Halifax. Though no bars are allowed by law, it is alleged that there are as many as there were before, that holders of shop licences sell to persons who drink on the premises, and that there is, as before, much selling by unlicensed persons."—*Parliamentary Return* [C.-6,670] 1892.

[2] The word "county," as here used, means that part of any county which is outside the limits of a city or incorporated town.

are of two kinds: (a) *Tavern* licences ("on"), which authorise the sale of liquor in quantities not exceeding one quart, which may be consumed in the hotel, saloon, or tavern, or other house of entertainment in which the same is sold; and (b) *wholesale* licences, which authorise the sale of liquor in quantities of not less than one quart for consumption "off" the premises. The number of tavern licences which may be granted is determined by statute, as follows: In cities and incorporated towns, one for each full 250 of the first 1,000 of the population of each ward taken separately, and one for each full 500 over the first 1,000. Not more than seventy-five tavern licences may be granted in the city of St. John.[1] In rural districts the number of tavern licences must not exceed one for each 400 up to 1,200 of the population, and one for each full 1,000 beyond 1,200. The hours of sale are from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. (Saturdays 7 p.m.). All Sunday sales are absolutely prohibited. No licensed tavern-keeper may be appointed as a magistrate, nor elected to serve in the council of any city, town, or other municipality; nor may he hold any office in the appointment of any city, town, or other municipal council. He is also disqualified from serving as a trustee of a school.

One-fourth of the ratepayers in any ward of a city, town, or rural parish may petition that a vote be taken of the ratepayers in such ward or parish on the question of granting or refusing licences. A bare

[1] In the city of St. John six hotels, each having sleeping accommodation for at least fifty guests, and one additional hotel having sleeping accommodation for at least two hundred guests, may also be licensed in addition to the seventy-five taverns referred to above.

majority of the votes polled determines the question. No further election can be held for three years thereafter. No signatures of ratepayers, etc., are required in support of any application for a licence, but any ten or more electors of any ward or parish have the right to object by petition, or in any similar manner, to the granting of any licence within such ward or parish. Such objections are to be considered by the Board of Commissioners, whose decision is final.

Prohibition exists in nine out of fourteen counties in the Province under the Canada Temperance ("Scott") Act. These counties only include three towns of even moderate size, namely: Moncton (population, 1898, 10,000); Fredericton (population, 1898, 7,000); and Woodstock (population, 1898, 4,000). The evidence points to the fact that in the two former cities liquor is still procurable, but that less is sold than when the towns were under licence, and it is further stated that there is less drunkenness.[1]

[1] The Royal Canadian Commissioners, in reporting on the condition of things in Moncton in 1892-93, said:—

"It was stated that in Moncton, population 9,138, where the 'Scott' Act was in force, that there were as many as fifteen places where liquor was being sold, and it was notorious that there was no difficulty at all in purchasing liquor in the town. The opinion was expressed, however, that there was less drinking at the present time in Moncton, in proportion to the population, than there was when the traffic in the town was regulated under a licence system."

"The Collector of Customs stated that for the year ended 1st July, 1892, 2,624 gallons of spirituous liquors had been imported, and that it was principally Scotch whisky. There was some brandy in casks."

The Commissioners add:—"As evidence of how openly the liquor traffic is conducted in the city of Moncton, it may be mentioned that the city marshal stated that, acting under the instructions of the mayor, in regard to the 12th of July, he had

The following "Minute of Council," drawn up by the Committee of the Executive Council of the Province, and approved by the Lieutenant-Governor, was forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in April, 1890. It describes the working of the "Scott" Act up to that date, and distinguishes, it will be noticed, between its success in the rural districts and its less successful enforcement in the towns:—"The Committee have to remark that in some portions of the Province the Canada Temperance Act, 1878, has been brought into operation and has been in force for several years. The Committee are of opinion that in communities where there is a strong public sentiment in favour of the Act it has worked well, and has lessened in a marked degree the evils resulting from drinking in taverns. *This is true more particularly of country districts. In the larger towns and cities the Act has not been so well enforced*, and the Committee think it cannot be truthfully said that very beneficial results have, as a general rule, followed its adoption in such cities and towns, though undoubtedly an exception must be made in the case of one or two towns where the Act has been quite rigidly and successfully enforced."[1] The Report of the Royal Canadian Com-

issued a notice requesting illicit sellers in the town to close their bars on that date."

The following is a copy of the notice which appeared in the Moncton "Times" on July 11th, 1892:—

"CAUTION."

"All proprietors of bar-rooms are notified to close their respective places of business on Tuesday, July 12th.

"CHARLES FOSTER,"
"Police Marshal."

[1] *Parliamentary Return* (C.-6,670), 1892.

missioners, published a few years later, is less favourable.[1]

The Province is, however, so distinctively rural, and contains so few towns of even moderate size, that its experience can only be of limited value to this country. *Eight-tenths* of its population in 1891 lived in rural parishes (*i.e.* in places other than villages, towns or cities having 1,500 or more inhabitants).

MANITOBA

Population (1891).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
152,506	2

Distribution of Population at the last census (1891).

77 per cent. lived in rural districts other than villages, towns, etc.
6 „ „ villages and towns of 1,500 to 5,000 inhabitants.
17 „ „ Winnipeg, population, 25,600.

The Provincial Liquor Law (sections 51 and 52) provides that any city, town, or other municipality may pass a bye-law prohibiting licences within its limits. Such bye-law is to be submitted to a vote of the electors of the municipality upon petition of twenty-five per cent. of the resident electors. Three-fifths of the electors have to vote in favour of the bye-law to give it effect. Prohibitory bye-laws are in force in two towns (Birtle, population, 338, and Neepawa, population, 774) and eight rural municipalities at the present time. Both of these towns and four of the rural municipalities are, however, included in the two counties which have adopted the "Scott" Act. In these two prohibition counties there are, according to the last census returns, eight towns,

[1] See *Report of the Royal Canadian Commissioners*, vol. v. p. 91.

seven of which have populations ranging from 338 to 950, and one a population of 3,363.

The entire Province contained but fifteen towns and cities at the last census, of which *ten* had less than 1,000 inhabitants; *two* from 1,000 to 1,600 inhabitants; *two* from 3,000 to 3,800 inhabitants; and *one* (Winnipeg) 25,600 inhabitants.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Population (1891).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
109,078	54

Distribution of Population at the last census (1891).

87 per cent. lived in rural districts other than villages, towns, etc.
3 „ „ villages and towns of 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants.
10 „ „ Charlottetown, population, 11,300.

Prince Edward Island is the smallest of all the Provinces, but it is more than twice as thickly populated as any other Province. It had, however, but *one* town (or city) at the last census with a population exceeding 3,000. This was the capital (Charlottetown), which is the only place in the Province where licences are issued.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Population (1891).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
98,173	0·3

Distribution of Population at the last census (1891).

57 per cent. lived in rural districts other than villages, towns, etc.
5 „ „ villages, towns, etc., of 1,500 to 5,000 inhabitants.
7 „ „ „ „ „ 5,000 to 10,000 „
14 „ „ Vancouver, population, 13,685.
17 „ „ Victoria, „ 16,841.

The liquor laws of this Province are too complicated to be summarised here. In cities licences are granted

by a Board of Commissioners, composed of the mayor (or substitute), the police magistrate, an alderman, and two justices of the peace chosen by the council. A very similar Board has charge of the licensing arrangements in township or district municipalities. Applications for new licences in cities must be signed by two-thirds of the lot owners and resident householders in the same block and in the block opposite, and also by their wives. Similar regulations exist in respect of new licences in smaller places.

The holders of licences issued prior to 1891 are not required to make application for a renewal of their licences.

There appears to be little or no prohibition in British Columbia.[1]

NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES

Population (1891).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
98,967	0·2

Distribution of Population at the last census (1891).

94 per cent. lived in rural districts other than villages, towns, etc.
6 „ „ villages and towns of 1,500 to 5,000 inhabitants.

The population in these districts is so small and at the same time so widely scattered as to make detailed reference to them almost valueless. Prior to 1892 a strict prohibitory law was in force in order to prevent alcohol from reaching the Indians. The development of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the eighties

[1] The Provincial Secretary, in response to a request for a list of "no licence" towns (if any) in the Province, stated (October 27th, 1899):—

"In reply I have to inform you that no Act respecting the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors is in force within the Province of British Columbia."

brought a much larger number of white settlers into the territories, with the result that in 1892 the prohibitory system was abandoned and a system of high licence and local option was substituted.

CONCLUSION

It will thus be seen that in Canada, as elsewhere, prohibition is practically confined to certain *rural* districts. In respect of these (which include, in the aggregate, a considerable proportion of the total population) the general success of the policy is unquestionable, but it contributes little or nothing to the solution of the problem in the *towns.*

That this fact has not failed to impress itself upon the public mind is evident from the fact that while in the recent plebiscite in Canada the rural districts polled large majorities in favour of national prohibition, most of the principal towns and cities gave an emphatic negative to the proposal. In referring to this vote in an article published in the *Alliance News*, November 4th, 1898, Mr. F. S. Spence, the Secretary of the Dominion Alliance, said:—"As was expected, a majority of the cities and the largest towns, the strongholds of the liquor traffic, voted 'No.' There are exceptions. Halifax, St. John, Brantford, Winnipeg, and some other large towns voted 'Yes,' but as a rule the urban constituencies went against Prohibition. The partly rural constituencies of Victoria, B.C., Lincoln, and East York owed their 'No' majorities entirely to votes in the cities of Victoria, St. Catharines, and Toronto respectively. *The voting strength of the Prohibitionists is greatest in agricultural districts, and in the villages and smaller towns*"

LOCAL OPTION IN AUSTRALASIA

(including New Zealand)

Population (1898).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
4,437,900	1·44

In most of the Australasian Colonies the principle of local option is directly or indirectly recognised. The recognition is, however, by no means so complete as in the case of Canada or the United States. The particulars can best be given for each colony separately.

NEW SOUTH WALES

Population (1898).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,335,800	4

Distribution of Population in 1898.

Metropolitan.[1]	Country.[2]
32 per cent.	68 per cent.

Local option in this colony applies only to new licences and "removals." The law provides that in every municipality a local option vote shall be taken

[1] The metropolis is composed of Sydney (population 98,000) and its suburbs. The suburbs of Sydney comprise forty distinct municipalities, of which one contained (January 1st, 1898) less than 1,000 inhabitants; seventeen from 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants; ten from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants; ten from 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants; and two from 20,000 to 28,000 inhabitants. The incorporated area in the metropolitan district is about 142 square miles. Some of the more immediate suburbs are more densely populated than the city itself.

[2] The country districts include 142 boroughs and municipal districts, with a total population of 340,000 (or thirty-eight per cent. of the total *country* population). These country boroughs and municipalities are, for the most part, very small. In 1898 thirty-three had less than 1,000 inhabitants; seventy-six from

every three years, at the election for aldermen, when the ratepayers are permitted to vote either "Yes" or "No" on two questions: (1) Whether any new publicans' licences shall be granted, during the coming three years, in the municipality or ward in question; and (2) whether any removals of publicans' licences shall be allowed within the same period. Over eleven-twentieths of the votes polled are required to make the vote operative in the negative. The popular vote does not apply to hotels containing thirty rooms.

Although the local option is taken triennially in every municipality or ward of a municipality, the year when it is taken is not the same for all. During the three years 1897–1899, votes were taken in 357 municipalities, or wards of municipalities, on the two issues. The result of the elections was as follows:—

	New Licences.	"Removals."
In favour	69	145
Against	283	208
Equal vote	5	4
	357	357

Twelve per cent. of the *metropolitan* municipalities or wards, and twenty-three per cent. of the *country* municipalities or wards, voted in favour of new licences. In the city of Sydney only one out of eight wards voted in favour of new licences. The total vote cast was extremely small, a large proportion of the electors taking no part in the elections.

1,000 to 3,000 inhabitants; twenty-seven from 3,000 to 6,000 inhabitants; and the remaining six had populations ranging from 7,000 to 20,000 inhabitants.

The Superintendent of Police in the metropolitan district (a district which is declared by the Inspector-General to afford "a clear indication" of the operation of the law throughout the Colony) reported in 1893 as follows:—

"The local option law . . . is much too limited in its operation to afford a satisfactory test of the value of the principle; but, considering that it has been the means of replacing a number of very inferior houses by buildings of a superior class, which are not much frequented by persons addicted to intemperance, its operation has certainly been beneficial, and I am decidedly in favour of such an extension to the principle as would approximate to full local option."[1]

The District Licensing Inspector, in the same year, reported:—

"As a factor in the repression of drunkenness, I do not think the local option vote in this district has had any appreciable effect. It has certainly prevented the licensing of new hotels, except where buildings have been erected containing over thirty rooms in order to overcome the operations of the vote. Such houses, when licensed, have proved, in the majority of cases, perfect failures as residential hotels, the sale of liquor being the only trade done."[2]

The total number of publicans' licences granted in New South Wales in 1898 was 3,153, or one to every 420 persons of the population. The number granted in the metropolitan district (*i.e.* Sydney and its suburbs) was 789, being one to every 530 persons of the population.

[1] *Parliamentary Return.* [C.-7,415.] 1894.
[2] *Ibid.*

There are no towns in New South Wales in which the sale of liquor is prohibited.

VICTORIA

Population (1898)	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
1,169,434	13

Distribution of population in 1898.

Urban.[1]	Rural.
56 per cent	44 per cent.

In this Colony also there is only a limited form of local option. The law, which came into force in 1886, fixes the number of hotels or publichouses at one for every two hundred and fifty inhabitants up to the first thousand, and one for every full five hundred beyond one thousand. Where the existing number is greater than the statutory limit it can be reduced by a popular vote to that limit. In cases where the existing number is *less* than the number allowed by law it can be raised by the same process to the statutory limit. In no case, however, can the number be reduced below or increased above the limit fixed by law. A poll can be taken upon petition of one-fifth of the electors in any district. Electors are allowed to vote either for (*a*) the existing number, or (*b*) the number fixed by the law, or (*c*) some number

[1] The urban population includes Greater Melbourne, which comprises the area within a radius of ten miles from the centre of the City of Melbourne, and furnishes thirty-nine per cent. of the total population of the Colony; and the extra-metropolitan cities, towns, and boroughs which lie outside those limits. There are altogether thirty-six cities, towns, and boroughs in Victoria, of which three have less than 1,000 inhabitants; sixteen from 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants; seven from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants; six from 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants; three from 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants; and one (Melbourne City) 70,000 inhabitants.

between. That number is declared carried which receives a majority of the votes cast.[1] In cases where reduction is carried the houses to be closed are selected by the licensing court, which consists of a county court judge and two stipendiary magistrates. Compensation must be paid to the owners and occupiers of all houses from which licences are withdrawn.[2] The compensation fund is raised from the Trade itself by means of (*a*) increased licence fees, (*b*) fines for infringements of the law, and (*c*) in cases of deficiency, a special tax upon liquor. The amount of compensation to be paid is determined by two arbitrators, of whom one is the owner. If these cannot agree, a county court judge or police magistrate is nominated by them as umpire. Reduction has so far been effected in eleven districts, resulting in the closing of one hundred and seventy-three saloons at an average cost, by way of compensation, of £800. The compensation clauses of the Act are, however, so obnoxious to the temperance party in Victoria that no organized effort is now made to use the Act for purposes of reduction.

The schedule of licences includes nine classes, and the fees range from £2 to £50, being based, in the case of taverns, on the annual assessment of the premises. The licence fee for an inn or tavern assessed at £200 is £50.

[1] In cases where the votes are so scattered that no one number secures a majority over all the others, the votes next above the statutory number are added to the statutory number until a majority is secured.

[2] This does not apply to grocers' licences. These may be reduced by the same process as ordinary saloons (the statutory limit being one for every full five hundred of the population), but no title to compensation is conferred.

It is stated that there is only one district in Victoria where no licences are issued. This is Mildura, a thinly-peopled wine-growing district (population 2,000, area 4,564 square miles), where licences are prohibited by the veto of the original owner of the land.

QUEENSLAND

Population (1898).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
493,704	0·74

The law in this Colony grants full powers of local option. It provides that one-sixth of the electors of a ward or district can secure a direct vote upon one or all of three propositions:—

(1) That the sale of intoxicating liquors shall be prohibited;
(2) That the existing number of licences shall be reduced;[1]
(3) That no new licences shall be granted.

The Act requires a two-thirds majority for prohibition, but a bare majority is sufficient to carry the second and third of the propositions.

In a large majority of the cases where votes have been taken, the issue of *new* licences has been refused, but in no instance has prohibition been carried. There are no towns or districts in Queensland where the sale of alcoholic liquors is prohibited.

[1] It is provided under this option that the number shall not be reduced below two-thirds of the existing number.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Population (1898).[1]	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
361,483	0·40

Under the "Licensed Victuallers' Amendment Act, 1891," each municipal corporation and each district council in South Australia is constituted a local option district. The law provides that one-tenth of the resident ratepayers of such district may petition the Governor in Council to cause a poll to be taken to determine:—(1) Whether any *new* licences shall be granted; or (2) Whether the existing number shall be reduced.[2] One-fourth of the whole number of ratepayers on the roll must record their votes in order to constitute a poll. Three years must elapse between any two elections.

Compensation must be paid to the owners and occupiers of all houses other than those licensed after the passing of the Act, from which licences are withdrawn as a result of a popular vote. The exact amount of compensation to be paid is to be determined by three arbitrators, one of whom may be appointed by the owner and occupier of the premises jointly, and the other by the district treasurer. The third arbitrator, who must be a magistrate, is nominated by the other two. The basis of compensation

[1] Including the Northern Territory.

[2] Provided that in any local option district where the number of publicans' licences exceeds five, it shall not be competent for the ratepayers at any poll to determine that the publicans' licences in such district shall be increased or decreased by more than one-third of the then existing number. And in any local option district where the number of publicans' licences does not exceed five, the number shall not be increased or decreased at any poll by more than one.

must in all cases be the difference between the rental value of the premises as a licensed house and as an unlicensed house, from the time of the non-renewal of such licence until a period of fifteen years from the passing of the Act.[1]

The Act further provides for Sunday closing.

The Commissioner of Police in Adelaide (which includes two-fifths of the entire population of South Australia) in reporting on the Act to the Governor of the Colony in October, 1893, said:—"As far as I am aware the local option clauses of the Act, although tested in one or two instances, have not resulted in the closing of any public-houses. Perhaps the least satisfactory feature in connection with the working of the Act is in connection with the provisions respecting Sunday closing, which, especially during the hot months of the year, are frequently evaded."[2] There is said to be one "town" in South Australia under actual prohibition. This is the Moonta Mines Township.

TASMANIA

Population (1898).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
172,981	6

The licensing authority in Tasmania is a bench of nine magistrates, the police magistrate and mayor in

[1] The compensation is paid by the treasurer of the province out of the sums received for licence fees in the preceding financial year. The law provides that "no refusal of the renewal of any licence as a consequence of any poll shall take effect until the amount or amounts awarded by the arbitrators shall have been paid to the person or persons entitled thereto."

[2] *Parliamentary Return* [C.-7,415], 1894.

cities, and the warden in municipalities being *ex-officio* members. The fee for a public-house licence is £25. There is no local option law on the statute book. The Agent-General states (February 20th, 1900) that, "apart from an occasional academical discussion of the subject or the advocacy of the Temperance Party, the general attention given to it has not been great."

Under the existing law the majority of the ratepayers of any neighbourhood may petition against the granting, transfer, or continuation of any licence, and it is imperative on the licensing bench to entertain such petition, if duly lodged with the clerk of the peace ten days prior to the hearing of the application. According to the Commissioner of Police, the convictions for the illegal sale of liquor by unlicensed persons have been confined for some years past to newly-formed mining centres where licensed houses had not been opened, and to Chinese camps at other mining districts. There is little or no illicit sale in other parts of the Colony. Some of the most beneficial provisions are those under which the sale or giving of liquor to persons who are addicted to habits of intemperance may be prohibited. This power of prohibition may be exercised by justices or by superior officers of police, and has been resorted to in many cases to the great benefit of individuals and their families.

A further clause in the law provides that no woman, except the wife of the landlord, may serve liquor after 10 p.m.

There is no town or district in Tasmania where the sale of liquor is prohibited.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Population (1898).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
170,971	0·17

The rush to the Western Australian goldfields since 1891 has given that colony the largest average annual increase of population during the decade.[1] The population, however, is still exceedingly small, and, if we except the city of Perth, which contains 40,000 inhabitants, or nearly one-fourth of the entire population of the colony, is widely scattered.

The fee for a publican's licence is £50 in Perth and Freemantle and £40 elsewhere. The licensing bench consists of the resident or police magistrate of each district, and two justices of the peace appointed by the Governor in Council. No landlord, owner, or part owner of any licensed house,[2] nor anyone engaged in or interested in the sale of liquors, is eligible to sit as a licensing justice. The same disqualification applies to officers or agents of any society interested in preventing the sale of liquor. As a result of the rapid development of the gold-mining industry in this colony, and the consequent settlement of large populations within the various mining areas, it was found necessary, in 1888, to introduce an Act to confer upon the warden of a goldfield the powers of a licensing bench, and to dispense with the necessity of applicants giving the notices required by the principal Act in settled districts.

The only form of local option recognised in the law

[1] In 1881 the population was 29,708, and in 1891 49,782.

[2] This applies only to owners or part owners of houses situated within the licensing district.

is the privilege set forth in Section 25 of the principal Act, where it is provided that petitions or memorials from *bonâ fide* ratepayers of the district in which application for any form of licence is made may be entertained by the bench, "and if it shall appear that a majority of the ratepayers in the neighbourhood of the house proposed to be licensed object to the granting of such application, such licensing magistrates shall refuse to grant such application."[1] The definition of "the neighbourhood" is left to the discretion of the magistrates.

A report forwarded by the Governor of the Colony (Sir W. C. F. Robinson) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1894, states that, "although these powers of objection constitute what is practically a form of 'local option' the course indicated with regard to the organised opposition of ratepayers is seldom or never adopted, though personal objections are frequently made by ratepaying members of temperance bodies, licensed persons and others in open Court, with more or less effect, according to the validity of the objections."[2]

Licensed persons are forbidden to supply liquor to habitual drunkards or aboriginal natives of the Colony.

There are no towns in Western Australia where the sale of liquor is prohibited.

[1] The privilege of objection is likewise given to any ratepayer as well as to any corporate body by proxy.

[2] *Parliamentary Return* (C.-7,988), 1896.

NEW ZEALAND

Population (1898).	No. of Persons per Square Mile.
743,463.[1]	7

Distribution of Population.

Boroughs.[2]	*Counties.*
44 per cent	56 per cent.

The population of New Zealand is divided into counties and boroughs. The counties include all towns not constituted municipal boroughs. These rural "town districts" are, however, very small, only two of them (Stratford, population, 1,256; and Hampstead, population, 1,214) having 1,000 inhabitants. The boroughs also are for the most part exceedingly small, only *six* out of ninety-seven having more than 7,500 inhabitants.[2]

The licensing laws in this Colony are extremely stringent. Brewing is lawful but not distilling, so that for spirits the Colony is wholly dependent upon importations. Licences for consumption *on* the pre-

[1] Exclusive of 39,000 Maoris.

[2] Of the 97 boroughs in New Zealand :—

27	have *less* than	1,000	inhabitants.
28	„ from 1,000 to	2,000	„
12	„ „ 2,000 „	3,000	„
15	„ „ 3,000 „	5,000	„
9	„ „ 5,000 „	7,500	„
1 (Napier)	has	9,400	„
1 (Sydenham)	„	11,000	„
1 (Christchurch)	„	18,000	„
1 (Dunedin)	„	23,500	„
1 (Auckland)	„	36,000	„
1 (Wellington)	„	43,000	„
97			

mises (excluding New Zealand wine licences) are of two kinds:—

1. *Publicans'* licences, the fee for which is £40[1] within the limits of a borough or town district, and £25 outside.
2. *Accommodation* licences, which are of the nature of a publican's licence, and are granted for an out-of-the-way country house which is situated at least five miles from any other licensed house. The licence fee in this case is determined by the Licensing Committee, but must not exceed £20.

Anyone may manufacture wine, perry, or cider from New Zealand grown fruit, and sell it, without a licence, in quantities of not less than two gallons. A licence to sell such native wine, etc., in quantities of *less* than two gallons for consumption on or off the premises is granted in boroughs only for a fee of £1. No sales of liquor can be made in clubs unless a special charter has been obtained from the Secretary of the Colony. An annual fee of £5 must be paid for such charter. It is said that since 1893 no new charter has been granted.

The licensing authority is a committee of five persons chosen by the electors of each licensing district. A local stipendiary magistrate acts as chairman. The members of the licensing committee serve for three years. By the Act of 1893, each parliamentary electoral district, of which there are sixty-two, is made a licensing district. The number of "on" licensed houses (exclusive of native wine licences) in New

[1] For licence to sell from 6 a.m. to 10 a.m. For an eleven o'clock licence an additional £5 must be paid.

Zealand in 1897-8 was 1,526, or one for every 476 persons of the population.[1]

Full powers of local option are conferred. The original Act (passed in 1893) provided for a licensing poll to be taken in every district at the triennial election of the licensing committee, but under the Amendment Act of 1895 it is provided that the licensing poll shall be taken at the same time as the general election of members of the House of Representatives.

The questions for the decision of the voters are:—

(1) Whether the number of licences existing in the district shall continue?
(2) Whether the number shall be reduced?
(3) Whether any licences whatever shall be granted?

The voter may vote for one or two of these proposals, but no more.

Any man or woman who is twenty-one years of age and who has resided in the Colony for twelve months, is entitled to be registered as a voter. More than forty per cent. of the electors are women.

In the case of either of the first two proposals (*i.e.* "continuance" or "reduction"), a number of votes equal to an absolute majority of all the voters whose votes were recorded is sufficient to carry the proposition into effect; but in the case of the third proposal ("no licence") the number of votes cast in its favour must be not less than three-fifths of all the voters whose

[1] The proportion in counties and boroughs was as under:—

Counties ...	849,	or one for every 469 persons.
Boroughs ...	677	„ „ 487 „
	1,526	

For a comparison with England and Wales, see p. 669.

votes were recorded. If no proposal is carried by the prescribed majority, things continue as before.[1] In no case is compensation allowed for the loss of a licence. The original Act, which governed the first election in 1894, required that to make the election valid, at least one-half of the voters on the register must take part in the election. The effect of this was largely to destroy the value of that election as an indication of public sentiment on the question, inasmuch as large numbers of anti-vetoists deliberately abstained from voting, with the result that thirty-three out of sixty-two elections were declared to be invalid. The law was wisely amended by the repeal of this clause in 1895.[2]

Three elections have been held on the question since the first Act was passed, but in only one district (Clutha) has "no licence" been carried. In 1894, reduction was carried in fourteen districts and "no licence" in one, while in thirty-three districts the election, for reasons shown above, was declared invalid. At the second election in 1896, fifty-two districts gave a majority in favour of continuance, while in the remaining ten no proposal was carried. The district of Clutha, which had given a three-fifths majority in favour of "no licence" in 1894, failed to secure the requisite majority for prohibition in 1896, owing to a re-arrangement of boundaries. It nevertheless polled a larger number of votes in favour of "no licence"

[1] If both prohibition and reduction are carried, prohibition takes precedence. Similarly, if both continuance and reduction are carried, reduction takes precedence. Reduction must affect not less than five per cent., nor more than twenty-five per cent. of the existing number of licences.

[2] In 1894 the votes for "reduction" and "no licence" could be added together to secure reduction, but that is no longer possible.

than for either "continuance" or "reduction."[1] In three other districts also (Marsden, Hawera, and Bruce) a majority of those who polled voted in favour of prohibition, but not the necessary three-fifths required to carry that issue.

The third election under the Act took place in December, 1899, when forty-five districts voted in favour of continuance; one in favour of reduction; one (Clutha) carried "no licence"; while in twelve districts no proposaal was carried, and in three the election was declared void.[2]

The district of Clutha is therefore the only "no licence" district in New Zealand. It is a sparsely peopled district, and contains but two boroughs, one of which (Balclutha) has 925 inhabitants, and the other (Tapanui) has 450 inhabitants.

It will thus be seen that while the principle of local option has received more or less limited sanction in Australasia, it has not led to any important results in prohibition. (See summary, p. 363.)

LOCAL OPTION IN SWEDEN AND NORWAY

The nature and extent of local option in Sweden and Norway are fully described elsewhere.[3]

[1] The actual figures were as under:—

Continuance.	Reduction.	No Licence.
1,618	1,630	1,989

[2] In eleven districts the number of votes cast in favour of "no licence" was greater than the number cast for either "continuance" or "reduction" but in all of them it fell short of the requisite majority.

[3] See Chapter VIII.

SUMMARY OF LOCAL OPTION IN AUSTRALASIA.

Colony.	Form of Local Option.	Extent of Prohibition.
New South Wales	Limited option applying to new licences and transfers only. Hotels with 30 rooms are exempt	No towns under prohibition.
Victoria	Limited option for reducing or increasing to statutory limit	One district (Mildura) under "no licence" by ordinance of landowner. Population, 2,000; Area, 4,564 square miles.
Queensland	Full powers of local option	No towns or districts under prohibition.
South Australia...	Limited option applying to new licences or reduction	One township under prohibition.
Tasmania	No local option law. Majority of ratepayers may petition against the granting, renewal, or transfer of a licence: decision lies with licensing authority	No town or district under prohibition.
Western Australia	Right of protest against new licences; refusal if majority of ratepayers object	No towns under prohibition.
New Zealand ...	Full local option	One rural district (Clutha) under prohibition.

LOCAL VETO IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

There are, of course, numerous instances of successful local prohibition in the United Kingdom, and while the majority of these consist of villages which owe their immunity from the liquor traffic to the ordinance and foresight of the local "squire," there are others which furnish useful suggestions of the possibilities of permissive legislation in the suburbs and wards of large cities. Among these may be mentioned the Toxteth Park Estate in Liverpool (population 60,000); the Shaftesbury Park Estate, Battersea (population 7,500); the Queen's Park Estate, Kensal Green (population 14,420); the Noel Park Estate, Wood Green (population 9,100); and others.[1] In these cases, it is true, there is no "option," inasmuch as the prohibition of the traffic is due to restrictions imposed by the owners of the estates; but the favourable regard in which the restriction is popularly held is sufficiently indicated by the eagerness of respectable working men and others to rent houses in the prohibited areas. Further, there is ample evidence that in these districts the system of restriction has operated beneficially so far as the local communities are concerned. But prohibition, it must be remembered, is successful in these districts precisely because their close proximity to non-prohibition areas offers abundant facilities for the purchase of liquor to those of their population who desire to have it.[2]

[1] Bessbrook, Ulster, is a familiar illustration of prohibition in a busy, prosperous village. The nearest public-house is on a country road a mile and a half away, and the next nearest is in the village of Cawlough, some two or three miles distant, where there are several public-houses.

[2] It must also be borne in mind that "the undoubted success of experiments in local prohibition by ground landlords depends

Toxteth Park, Liverpool.

The districts commonly referred to as Toxteth Park,[1] Liverpool, may be taken as an illustration of this. The prohibited districts comprise a considerable area, covered by some 11,000 or 12,000 houses, and including a population of about 60,000 persons, composed for the most part of respectable working-class families and clerks. The population of the district is, however, far from being composed exclusively of teetotalers,[2] and the wants of the non-abstainers are fully met by the facilities offered for the purchase of liquor by a "considerable number" of licensed houses in the districts which immediately adjoin the prohibited areas. As Mr. W. Crosfield, J.P., put it in his recent evidence before the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws: "I am bound to say that with a very little trouble from the centre of that area [Kensington Fields] an unlimited quantity of refreshments could be obtained from the houses which have been in existence for a great many years."[3]

very much on the more absolute power which they possess to enforce observance of their wishes. A simple clause in a lease is a more effective weapon than any local veto law." Lord Peel, *Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, p. 274.

[1] What is known as Toxteth Park is really an extra-parochial district of Liverpool. It was formerly a park, but is now simply a section of the city.

[2] "With regard to the restricted area, you do not in any way suggest that those who live in this area are in any way abstainers more than in the usual area?"—"Oh, no, I am sorry to say not."—*Evidence of Mr. W. Crosfield, J.P., Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, vol. II. (1897), p. 33.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 24.

Queen's Park, Kensal Green.

The case of Queen's Park, Kensal Green, furnishes a similar illustration. The estate comprises an area of seventy acres, covered by some 2,300 houses, occupied for the most part by artisans and clerks. There are no licensed houses within this area, but there are public-houses in the districts immediately adjoining, and—according to the evidence of the Rev. Sidney Bott, vicar of St. Jude's, Kensal Green, and a warm supporter of local prohibition—there is "a constant effort to get more." In addition to these it was stated by the same witness that within a small radius comprising about 300 houses there are no fewer than nine "off" licences, three of which are "at the very gates" of the prohibited area, and "others as near as they could get." Asked how he could explain the existence of so many "off" licences in a comparatively poor district, he replied: "You forget that there are these 2,300 houses close by without any public-house. *The custom comes from Queen's Park.*"[1]

Now it is clear that where there is this safety-valve in the shape of neighbouring facilities for the purchase of liquor by those who are accustomed to use it, prohibition in limited urban areas (*e.g.* wards and suburbs of large cities) may be successfully attempted; and it is not unlikely that if permissive legislation were granted, many districts of this character would gladly avail themselves of its powers. But it is impossible to believe that in the present state of public opinion a complete prohibitory policy could be successfully

[1] "Then you say the restriction of the public-house has produced these off licences?"—"I do grant you that."—*Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, vol. III., p. 205.

adopted in any important town or city. To admit this, however, is not to suggest that the widespread and practically unrestricted sale of liquor as at present conducted in the larger towns and cities must continue. On the contrary, it should certainly be possible, while permitting the continuance of such traffic as public opinion demands, to safeguard the conditions under which it is conducted, and to reduce to a minimum the evils that at present are associated with the trade. How this is to be done the present writers hope to show in a later chapter.[1]

CONCLUSION.

To sum up. The facts that have now been adduced indicate the successful operation of a permissive policy of prohibition throughout wide districts in the United States and Canada. It is a policy that has been initiated and supported by self-governing communities, and the experience of many years enables trustworthy conclusions to be formed as to the sphere of its success. That sphere is uniformly found to be the rural districts, and certain suburban areas where there is the "safety-valve" of neighbouring facilities for the purchase of liquor. The problem to be solved is, of course, much simpler in the rural districts, and the obstacles to be encountered in the enforcement of the law are few and unimportant. But the broad fact remains that in the *rural districts* of the United States, as also elsewhere (*e.g.* Canada, Sweden, and Norway), popular sentiment is generally on the side of the restriction and prohibition of the liquor traffic, and enforcement of the

[1] See Chapter IX.

law is found to be comparatively easy. In the larger towns and cities the conditions are different, and it is there, as we have seen, that prohibition has been found impracticable. The failure is the more significant inasmuch as Temperance sentiment in the United States and Canada is far in advance of Temperance sentiment in this country, and consequently the conditions are, by so much, rendered more favourable for the experiment. It is evident, therefore, that a system that has proved ineffectual in urban communities there, is not likely to prove successful in the larger and more densely populated towns and cities of the United Kingdom.

The present writers believe that the principle of prohibition by *local option* has a distinct place in the ultimate solution of the temperance problem, and one, moreover, that can only be finally determined by experience. But they are profoundly convinced that, so far as the towns and cities are concerned, the policy of prohibition can have but limited application, and that for a complete solution of the problem resort must be had to other methods.

The history of the experiment in those countries or states that have adopted it points in the judgment of the present writers to the following broad conclusions:—

(1) That prohibition, whether by State enactment or local option, cannot be a universal panacea, and that when it has done all that it can do there will still be a large volume of trade in alcoholic liquors left outside its scope.

(2) That it will have a large measure of success in rural districts, and will possibly succeed in some small towns.

(3) That it will further succeed in wards or suburbs of cities where there is a "safety-valve" in the shape of neighbouring facilities for the purchase of liquor.

(4) That, consequently, the practical question, so far as the *town* populations of this country are concerned, is the best form of "safety-valve," taking all necessary considerations, such as the need for destroying the political domination of the "Trade," and its unceasing opposition to temperance reform, fully into account.

In any case, it must be insisted that a policy of permissive legislation that left undisturbed the present monopolist character of the permitted traffic (*i.e.* as conducted for private gain) would fail in the first essentials of reform. It would leave unremedied the evils that are inseparable from such a traffic in those communities that refused to adopt prohibitory legislation; and would unite the forces of a powerful monopoly in unscrupulous hostility to the law in districts that were favourable to its enforcement. Clearly, therefore, the plea for permissive legislation must be accompanied by satisfactory proposals for the conduct of the traffic that would remain, and those proposals must carry within themselves ample security for the elimination of the influence of the liquor traffic from municipal and political life.

CHAPTER V

High Licence

This chapter (from p. 373 onwards) has been recast and extended for the present edition in the light of new information obtained in the course of personal investigations in the summer of 1899.

THE scheme of licensing known as High Licence has claimed great attention in recent years, and has been adopted in many States of the Union, among others in Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, and New York. The system came to the front in Nebraska in 1881 by the passing there of the "Slocumb Law," which fixed the State licence fees at not less than $500 for saloons in small towns, and not less than double that amount where the population exceeded 10,000, together with a bond for 5,000 dollars.

The most conspicuous instances of its working are, however, to be found in Pennsylvania, where the Brooks' Licensing Act came into force on June 1st, 1888, and in New York State, where the "Liquor Tax Law," commonly known as the "Raines Excise Law," was enacted in 1896.

High Licence in Pennsylvania.

The leading provisions of the Brooks' Act are as follow:—(1) That the granting of licences shall be left in the hands of the Court of Quarter Sessions, which shall issue whatever number it may deem necessary, with full power to revoke any, or all, at the end of each twelve months. (2) That each licensee shall pay a fee of from 1,000 dollars (£200) down-

wards, according to the size of the town or city in which he carries on his trade. (3) That besides his giving a personal bond for 2,000 dollars (£400), two owners of real estate, living in the immediate neighbourhood, shall also become bondsmen to the same amount each as sureties for his strictly keeping the law. To these clauses are added the prohibitions usual in most of the States against selling on Sundays, or election days, or to minors or intoxicated persons. As a result of the passing of the Act, the number of licensed houses in Philadelphia[1] was reduced from 5,773 in 1887 to 1,343 in 1888. This enormous reduction was made without any compensation being paid. The following table, compiled from particulars specially obtained from the Police Department of Philadelphia, shows the number of licences issued in Philadelphia from 1887 to 1898, together with the arrests for drunkenness and other offences:—

Description.	Before High Licence	High Licence.										
	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898
Licences issued .	5,773	1,343	1,204	1,173	1,253	1,388	1,632	1,662	1,677	1,662	1,638	1,691
Ratio of estimated population to each licence	169	744	849	893	855	790	686	688	696	717	742	733
Arrests for drunkenness	34,037	24,923	20,097	24,661	24,785	26,194	28,095	28,230	27,077	23,107	25,174	27,543
Ratio per 1,000 of estimated population	34·93	24·96	19·60	23·56	23·14	23·91	25·10	24·68	23·19	19·39	20·70	22·21
Arrests for all offences	57,944	46,899	42,673	49,148	53,184	52,944	57,297	61,478	60,347	58,072	62,628	62,907
Ratio per 1,000 of estimated population	59·46	46·96	41·72	46·94	49·65	48·34	51·18	53·76	51·68	48·72	51·50	50·72

[1] The estimated population of Philadelphia in 1899 was 1,240,266.

Yet, notwithstanding the reduced number of saloons, the revenue from fees showed a decided increase. Before the passing of the Act the licence fees in Philadelphia amounted to 300,000 dollars; in 1898, with 4,082 fewer licences, the fees amounted to 1,692,112 dollars.

The advantages claimed for high licence are, briefly: First, the extinction of a great number of the worst and lowest dram-shops. Second, better police control, owing to the diminution of numbers, and the concentration (to some extent) of the trade in the business centre of the town, where it is most profitable. Third, better observance of the law by licence-holders from fear of the pecuniary loss involved in the forfeiture of their licences. Fourth, suppression of unlicensed liquor-sellers by the licensed, as an act of self-protection.[1]

Experience has shown that some of these contentions are just; but in Philadelphia, at least, the suppression of unlicensed liquor-sellers by the licensed is not realized.[2] A policeman having an intimate acquaint-

[1] Fanshawe, *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, p. 64.

[2] There are, however, some places in the State of New York (which is under High Licence) in which the liquor dealers assist in the enforcement of the law. In his Annual Report for the year ending September 30th, 1899, the State Commissioner of Excise of the State of New York says:—

"Liquor dealers themselves, who have large interests in the trade, have in some instances given valuable assistance to the authorities in compelling observance of the law. Within a year, in one large city in the State, nearly all of the brewers and many dealers united in a request that all liquor dealers of that city be compelled to observe the provisions of the law. . . . Little or no trouble [in the enforcement of the law] has been met with from reputable and responsible dealers. Their traffic is open and legitimate. They obey the statutes, wanting

ance with all sections of the city, questioned as to the number of "speak-easies" (that is, unlicensed saloons), replied unhesitatingly, "There are at least six thousand." "While this statement must be regarded as exaggerated, it is beyond doubt that the illegal places exceed by not a little the number of licensed retailers." It may, however, be fairly urged that the "speak-easies" are mainly a re-action against Sunday Closing, not against High Licence. Most of the illegal vendors, it is said, restrict their business to the Sunday hours, and carry it on in private houses.[1] In Pittsburg, Mr. McKenzie says that, under High Licence, there were in 1891 probably seven "speak-easies" to each licensed house. "These places were permitted to exist because of the political power of their owners, and the police did not dare proceed against them."[2]

The Liquor Tax ("Raines") Law of the State of New York.

Population (1890) of State of New York—5,997,853.

In 1890 there were in the State of New York 46 cities or towns with a population of 8,000 and upwards, viz. :—

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no special favours from any source, and only asking that the law be fairly and impartially administered that they may be protected against the illegitimate competition of crooked dealers. Complaints made by this class of men have, as a rule, been well founded, and have resulted usually in conviction of the offender or suppression of the violation complained of."

[1] *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, p. 251.

[2] *Sober by Act of Parliament*, pp. 72, 73.

New York[1]	. . . . .		1,515,301
Brooklyn	. . . . .		806,343
Buffalo	. . . . .		255,664
Rochester	. . . . .		133,896
3 cities or towns of		50,000 to 100,000	inhabitants
5 „	„	30,000 to 50,000	„
6 „	„	20,000 to 30,000	„
28 „	„	8,000 to 20,000	„
46			

Proportion of Urban and Rural Population, 1890:—

Urban (*i.e.* populations above 8,000)	3,600,877, or 60 per cent.
Rural	2,396,976, or 40 „
	5,997,853

The Liquor Tax ("Raines") Law of the State of New York is one of high licence and local option. It was passed by the State legislature in March, 1896, and came into force May 1st of the same year, very substantial amendments in the Act being made in 1897. It deals only with quantities of less than five gallons of liquor, a term which, as here used, includes spirits, wine, and beer. The circumstances of the adoption of the measure by the House of Assembly are so unusual that they may be reproduced here. On the day after the Bill had passed the Senate, the Republican leader (Mr. O'Grady) gave notice in the Assembly that, on the following day, he would move to suspend a certain number of Bills which he specified, the practical effect of which would be to make it possible to pass the Bill into law on the same day. Accordingly, on March 12th, "the rules were sus-

[1] In 1898 Brooklyn and some other places were added to the city of New York; its estimated population in 1899 was 3,550,053. The estimated population of the former city of New York in 1899 was 2,117,106.

pended by practically a party vote, and then followed a scene which had never been witnessed in Albany before. It was known that the supporters of the Bill numbered more than eighty and less than ninety, a sufficient number to pass the measure but not enough to transact business by themselves, as the constitution provides that three-fifths of either House must be present while Bills are on their final passage. Realising this, the Democrats and Republicans opposed to the Bill commenced to slip out by ones and twos, intending to break the quorum. The majority leaders noticed the sharp practice, however, and Mr. O'Grady asked for a call of the House. The absentees came flocking in, and as soon as they were inside the doors were locked, and none of them were allowed out again. During the rest of the afternoon the Assembly men inside remained close prisoners, while the sergeant-at-arms and his assistant were busily scouring the corridors and committee-rooms in search of the absentees. Whenever any were found they were taken back to the Assembly and escorted to their places, while a close watch was kept to see that they did not get away again. The Democrats raved wildly at such treatment, and at one time had almost decided to break down the door and get out any way, claiming that they had a perfect right to do so. The cooler heads among the minority, however, pointed out that while such a course might be justifiable yet it would only lead to further trouble, and would reflect upon the Democracy. This view of the case was accepted, and no violence was attempted. At six o'clock in the evening a vote was reached, and the Bill was passed by a vote of 84 to 58." [1]

[1] *The Raines Excise Law.* Eagle Building, Brooklyn, New York.

The Bill passed in this extraordinary manner involved "a new and radical departure from the principle of local control" which for over 300 years had largely governed the treatment of the question in the State of New York.[1]

It abolishes all local boards having jurisdiction to issue licences for the sale of liquor, and places the whole matter under State supervision.

At the head of the new administration is placed a "State Commissioner of Excise," appointed by the Governor of the State with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Commissioner is invested with large powers, and holds office for a term of five years. He appoints the whole of his administrative staff—secretary, deputy commissioners and special agents—whose number and salaries are, however, fixed by the Act. All officers appointed by the State Commissioner may be removed by him.[2]

The "excise taxes" issued are of six grades, of which the chief may be defined thus:—

(1) For "on" sale, whether in hotel, restaurant, saloon, store, shop, or other place.
(2) For "off" sale in quantities of less than five gallons.

[1] *First Report of the State Commissioner of Excise of the State of New York*, 1896, p. 32.

[2] "The law centralises in an unprecedented manner the control of the excise business in one man—the State Commissioner. He is left the sole interpreter of the intent and scope of the law. . . . Such power and authority have never before been vested in one man under the liquor laws of any of our States."—*The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, Second Edition, 1898, p. 374.

(3) For sale by a duly licensed pharmacist upon the written prescription of a regularly licensed physician.

(4) For sale upon any railway car, steamboat, or vessel.

The annual excise taxes charged for the grades Nos. 1, 2, and 3 vary according to the size of the town in which the licence is issued. The charges are upon the following scale :—

City, Town, or Village, with a population of	Grade No. 1 "On" Sale.	Grade No. 2 "Off" Sale.	Grade No. 3 Sale by Pharmacist.
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
1,500,000 or more	800	500	100
Less than 1,500,000 but more than 500,000	650	400	75
„ 500,000 „ „ 50,000	500	300	50
„ 50,000 „ „ 10,000	350	200	30
„ 10,000 „ „ 5,000	300	100	20
„ 5,000 „ „ 1,200	200	75	15
„ 1,200	100	50	10

The excise tax under grade 4 is 200 dollars for each car, steamboat, or vessel upon which traffic is carried on.

Subject to the adoption by any place (not a "city" [1]) of local option, no limit is put upon the number of licences of any class that shall be issued, reliance being apparently placed upon the amount of the excise tax to furnish the needful check. Any one desiring to obtain a licence must submit a signed and sworn statement to the county treasurer or official

[1] The Local Option Clauses, as is explained further on, do not apply to "cities."

deputy commissioner in which shall be stated, among other less important matters, the facts as to his citizenship, the premises to be used, the specific location of the bar. He must also state that he has not been convicted of a felony, has not had a former licence revoked, and that he is not interested in any unlawful traffic or occupation. The deputy commissioner testifies to the formal correctness of such application, but appears to make no further inquiry. "All comers are practically served alike—they pay the money and take the certificate."

The Liquor Tax Law has not had a marked effect upon the number of licences issued. The figures for the last year of the old system and the subsequent years of the new are as under:—

	No. of Licences.	No. of Certificates, year ending April 30th.		
	1895-6.	1897.	1898.	1899.
For the State of New York ...	33,257	30,156	31,116	31,598
For the City of New York ...	8,906	7,926,	8,425	8,430[1]

[1] An analysis of the 8,430 Certificates issued in the City of New York in the year ending April 30th, 1899, gives the following result:—

7,227	certificates	(86 per cent.)	were under	Grade 1, for "on" sale in hotels, saloons, etc.
787	„	(9 per cent.)	„ „	Grade 2, for "off" sale by storekeepers, etc.
416	„	(5 per cent.)	„ „	Grades 3 and 6, for sale by pharmacists and for mechanical and scientific purposes.
8,430				

The proportion of the different grades in the State of New York corresponds closely with that in the City of New York.

The greater part of the reduction took place in the cities of New York, Brooklyn, and Buffalo, in which the excise tax was respectively 800, 650, and 500 dollars.[1] Nearly all the small beer and ale shops in the City of New York were driven out of business "by the sixteen-fold increase of the tax."[2] It is said that as a class these shops were the least obnoxious of all, and have so been regarded by students of social conditions. In twenty-five out of the sixty counties in the State, a larger number of licences were granted under the "Raines" than under the old law.

Arrests for Drunkenness.

Even more than the ordinary uncertainty common to statistics of drunkenness attaches to those which might be used to indicate the effect of the Liquor Tax law upon drunkenness in the State and City of New York. The difficulty of the inquiry is set forth by the State Commissioner in his second report.

In conversation he informed us that he did not think the law had had much effect upon drunkenness. The Chief of Police in Albany and in Buffalo spoke in the same sense, the latter holding that drunkenness had even increased in the last two or three years. At the same time the arrests for drunkenness throughout the State show some reduction after the passing of the law,[3] and so also do those for the City of New York (where, however, a reduction had taken place prior to 1896), as will be seen from the following table, which

[1] *First Report of State Commissioner of Excise*, p. 232.

[2] *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, Second Edition, p. 385.

[3] The State Commissioner of Excise, in his Annual Report,

gives the arrests for drunkenness[1] in that city from 1889 to 1899:—

	Population.	Arrests for drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000 of population.
1889	1,566,801	29,234	18·66
1890	1,612,559	31,484	19·52
1891	1,659,654	34,681	20·89
1892	1,708,124	30,808	18·03
1893	1,758,010	28,690	16·32
1894	1,809,353	28,357	15·67
1895	1,879,195	31,978	17·02
1896[2]	1,934,077	30,663	15·85
1897	1,990,562	28,723	14·43
1898	3,438,899[3]	46,170	13·43
1899	3,550,053	44,013	12·40

As has been pointed out, the value of comparative statistics of drunkenness is exceedingly small, but if these figures are compared with those for London it will be seen that the number of arrests per 1,000 of the population in the latter city is only about one-half of those in New York. The visible drunkenness in New York is much less than in London, but in the

January, 1900, gives the following figures of the arrests for drunkenness in the State of New York:—

"In 1895, Calendar year 81,893
1896, Calendar year 78,095
1897, First nine months 59,207
1898, Fiscal year, ending September 30th, 1898 ... 72,571
1899, Fiscal year, ending September, 30th, 1899 ... 69,993
being a decrease as compared with the year 1895 of 11,900, or over fourteen per cent."

[1] The law requires arrests for simple drunkenness, but in New York, as elsewhere in America, arrests are only made for disturbance or absolute incapacity.

[2] The Liquor Tax Law came into force May 1st, 1896.

[3] First year of *Greater New York*.

former city the saloon-keeper will often detain those under the influence of liquor till they become sober. In the above table, 72 per cent. of those arrested were males and 28 per cent. females. The proportions in London (1898) were 61 per cent. males and 39 per cent. females. In New York, women, as a rule, do not frequent the ordinary saloon. In a few cases separate "ladies' entrances" are to be met with, but this appears to be a modern development. Drunken women are very rarely seen.

The following regulations embodied in the Act are common to the liquor laws of many of the States :—

(1) Liquor may not be sold or given to any minor under the age of eighteen years, nor to such minor for any other person.

(2) Sunday closing is absolute. (For the general disregard of this law, see p. 385.)

(3) Liquor may not be sold on the day of any general or special election within one-quarter of a mile of any voting place while the poll is open.

(4) No girl or woman not a member of the family of the licence holder may serve or sell any liquor on the premises. (This rule, which obtains generally throughout the Union, is well observed in New York.)

Local Option Clause.[1]

The Act provides that before any licences are issued, the will of the qualified electors in each "town" (including townships in rural districts) shall be ascer-

[1] The Local Option Clauses do not apply to "cities" (Sec. 16 of the Liquor Tax Law), of which there are 41 with populations varying from 8,000, upwards, and with a total population (1892

tained by ballot. The four questions submitted to the electors in all the towns in the State are, whether they will or will not authorize—

(1) Sale of liquor to be drunk on the premises.
(2) Sale of liquor not to be drunk on the premises.
(3) Sale of liquor by a pharmacist on physician's prescription.
(4) Sale of liquor by hotel-keepers.

The question is, in each case, decided by a bare majority of the votes polled; but if the votes cast on the fourth question show a majority in the affirmative, a hotel licence is granted, even though a negative vote has been recorded against the first question.

The same questions "are to be again submitted at the annual town meetings held in every second year thereafter, provided at least 10 per cent. of the electors request a resubmission of the question, by a written petition signed by them before a notary public."

In the spring of 1897, 847 towns voted for the first time; 62 in the spring of 1898 for the second time, and 33 towns voted in the fall of 1898. Of the 942 towns in the State, 263 voted for no sales whatever.[1]

State Census) of 4,081,331. Technically, the word "city" in the United States implies "a municipality of the first class, governed by a mayor and aldermen, and created by charter. The requisite number of inhabitants varies from 1,000 upwards."

[1] The exact voting of the 942 towns was as follows:—

For no sales whatever	263
For sales under all four propositions	361
For sales by pharmacists and hotels only ...	121
For sales by hotels only...	103
For sales by pharmacists only	30
The balance (divided variously upon the different questions) being	64
	942

That in the State of New York, as elsewhere, Local Option finds its sphere in the rural districts is seen by an analysis of the populations of these 263 towns. The figures at the last census (1890) were as under:—

54	towns	had a population of	less than 1,000			
133	,,	,,	,,	1,000, and	less	than 2,000
61	,,	,,	,,	2,000,	,,	,, 3,000
9	,,	,,	,,	3,000,	,,	,, 4,000
5	,,	,,	,,	4,000,	,,	,, 5,000
1	town	,,	,,	8,877		
263						

Prior to the passing of the Liquor Tax Law a peculiar system of indirect Local Option prevailed in the State of New York. In each town and small city the licensing power was wielded by a Board of Excise Commissioners of three members, chosen by popular vote—one member retiring and one new member being elected each year. The Board in every locality had absolute power to grant or refuse licences, and it was the constant aim of the temperance people to secure or retain control.[1]

The State Commissioner of Excise for the State of New York, in his third annual report[2] (1898) writes: "The radical difference between the present and old law upon Local Option seems to be very satisfactory to those who desire to take advantage of its provisions. Under the old law the privilege could be exercised only indirectly and by a vote which had no binding force. The present law gives the electors the privilege

[1] *Cyclopædia of Temperance and Prohibition* (1891).
[2] p. 26.

of voting directly upon the various questions without having the propositions obscured or the results affected by the personality of candidates or their politics."

In his annual report of January, 1900, in a section devoted to the "theory and results" of Local Option, the State Commissioner writes: "The workings of the so-called Local Option scheme, provided by Section 16 of the present law, have been varied according to the circumstances in each town [township].[1] . . . A no-licence vote, upon the understanding that all duty of the electors is ended after casting a secret ballot in favour of prohibited or restricted traffic, in most instances results not only in depriving the State and locality of the revenue, but the town is liable to become a place of illegal traffic and disorderly conduct, which tends to the detriment of the public morals and to destroy respect for all law. Hence it seems desirable that a no-licence vote should be backed up by the determination on the part of the electors that the will of the majority, as expressed by ballot, should be respected as the law of the land until changed or modified at a subsequent election, and that the local officers charged with the duty of enforcing the restrictions or prohibitions of the liquor traffic made applicable to the town as the result of a Local Option vote should have the active moral support of the people. Where, in towns voting for limited or no licence, the leading citizens have organized and declared boldly for law and order, the hands of the public officers have been so strengthened that the Liquor Tax Law has been as

[1] It is to be noted that the word "town" is here used in the American sense, corresponding generally with our word "township." The Local Option Clauses of the Act do not, it will be remembered, apply to "cities."

well observed and enforced in that community as any other law against crime."

These extracts illustrate the familiar fact that Local Option is successful in the rural districts when supported by a strong and vigilant public opinion.

Evasion of the Liquor Tax Law through the "Raines Law Hotels."

When it finally became settled that in order to sell liquor on Sundays with impunity it was only necessary to run an establishment having ten bedrooms,[1] exclusive of those occupied by the family and servants, and facilities for serving a sandwich, the "Raines Law hotels" sprang up like mushrooms. By November, 1896, the police of New York City reported to a Senate committee, appointed to investigate the working of the new law, the existence of 2,378 liquor-selling hotels, of which 2,105 were stated to be offspring of the law, and the remaining 273 *bonâ-fide* hotels. In Brooklyn, the hotel list had swelled from thirteen to 1,474, and in other cities a similar condition prevailed.[2]

The President of the New York Police Commissioners informed us that there is no legitimate demand for these bogus hotels, and that to get back the money expended upon them the rooms are let for immoral purposes. This, the Commissioner said, was very general. The frequent connection between the social evil and the sale of drink in many cities of the State is unquestionable. At the present time the violation of the Sunday closing and early closing provisions of

[1] In small towns and villages *six* bedrooms only are required.

[2] *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, Second Edition, 1898, p. 369.

the Act is so general that the original *raison d'être* for the "Raines Law hotels" no longer exists. They are, it is said, continued as a safeguard against eventualities. The rapid extension of clubs also threatened the working of the Act. Many men transformed their saloons into clubs, arranging with their customers to "distribute" drinks to them on Sundays and during prohibited hours. The extent of this flourishing and very profitable business is apparent from data furnished by the Secretary of State. From May 1st, 1896, to January 13th, 1897, he chartered 3,711 so-called clubs, as against 845 during the year May 1st, 1895, to May 1st, 1896.[1] This abuse was, however, brought within narrow compass by an amendment of the Act passed in 1897, under which clubs had to take out the ordinary (grade No. 1) certificate for an "on" sale, which, in the city of New York, costs $800 (£160) a year.

Chattel Mortgages.

The tied-house system exists on a large scale in the city of New York, but under a form differing from that with which we are familiar in this country. In the large towns of Great Britain the value of licensed premises is so enormous and the premises are so largely owned by brewers, that the publican is generally the tenant of a house owned by a brewer, and in that position is compelled to purchase his liquor from the owner of the house. Under the Raines Law, however, the licence is given to the man, not to the house, and as any one can obtain a licence by paying for it, the inflated monopoly values (as distinct from goodwill)

[1] *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, Second Edition, 370–71.

which obtain in this country are unknown in New York. But despite this difference, the saloon-keeper in New York city appears to be very much in the power of the brewer. We were informed by the Excise Department of New York, and the statement was confirmed by the State Commissioner, that the brewers control seventy-five per cent. of the saloons in the city. The advances are made on a mortgage of the fixtures. These chattel mortgages are often associated with an assignment of the lease. The result of an examination[1] of the chattel mortgages on saloon fixtures in New York city filed by brewers during the year 1897, as reported in the *Real Estate Record and Guide*, showed that 2,906 mortgages had been filed, amounting to $6,703,362 (£1,340,672).[2]

Financial Results.

The State Commissioner, in his first Annual Report, referring to the liquor traffic, said:—"Whatever phase the question assumed, or however the laws relating thereto have been changed, one feature seems to have been quite constant and one sentiment almost universal, viz.: That the traffic should contribute to the public revenue; and the present law, in its provisions for regulating the trade, brings this feature into special prominence." Regarded from this standpoint, the success of the new law has been complete, as will be seen from the following table, which shows

[1] *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, Second Edition, 1898, p. 382.

[2] As Chattel Mortgages mature in twelve months, the total given must be taken to represent the total value of these Mortgages in existence at the time this investigation was made.

the net revenue received by the State of New York in (*a*) the last year of the old law, and (*b*) each of the three years during which the Liquor Tax Law has been in force.

For the year ending	OLD LAW.	
April 30, 1896	$2,919,593	(£583,919)
	LIQUOR TAX LAW.	
,, ,, 1897	$10,665,747	(£2,133,149)
,, ,, 1898	$11,638,290	(£2,327,658)
,, ,, 1899	$11,648,956	(£2,329,791)

Of the amount raised under the Liquor Tax Law one-third goes to the State and two-thirds to the towns and cities. It will be seen that under the operation of the Liquor Tax Law the revenue to the State of New York rose in a single year from $2,919,593 to $10,665,747, and that the advance has been fully maintained. The annexed table shows the net revenue received by the City of New York in the last year of the old law and in each of the three years during which the Liquor Tax Law has been in force.

For the year ending	OLD LAW.	
April 30, 1896	$1,056,013	(£211,203)
	LIQUOR TAX LAW.	
,, ,, 1897	$3,262,939	(£652,588)
,, ,, 1898	$3,621,821	(£724,364)
,, ,, 1899	$3,595,072	(£719,014)

Results of the System.

Three powerful factors necessarily influence the working of the Liquor Tax Law in the city of New York, viz.:—(1) the High Licence fee; (2) the cen-

tralized administration (both of which are integral parts of the Act); and (3) the rule of Tammany, which affects the carrying out of the law. It is not easy to allot to each of these factors its right share in bringing about results.

The increased annual revenue (more than £1,500,000) obtained by the State of New York under the new law is, of course, due to High Licence. The fact that such an additional sum was obtained without any difficulty from the Trade gives some indication of the vastness of its profits. Other claims put forward on behalf of High Licence receive little support from the experience of the Raines Law. It has been urged that the dread of losing a licence for which a high sum had been paid would lead to a stricter observance of the law. In New York the reverse appears to be the case. We were informed by the President of the Police Commissioners that "there can be no doubt that the High Licence fee makes for irregular practices." Mr. Robert Graham, Secretary of the Church Temperance Society, spoke in the same sense. "It certainly is not true," he said, "that High Licence secures greater attention to enforcement of bye-laws. High Licence puts a premium on low practices, as most saloons could hardly be made to pay without." The Hon. Frank Moss, ex-President of the Police Commissioners, also said that the high fees induced saloon-keepers to resort to low practices.

Equally clear is the evidence that violation of the law is not followed by loss of licence. The universal disregard of the Sunday closing regulations is probably due to their being unsupported by public opinion, but it cannot be said that public opinion supports the "low" and "irregular practices" to which allusion

has just been made.[1] Again, it has been urged that High Licence would place the saloon (or public-house) in the hands of a superior set of men. The State Commissioner, however, in his report for 1898, says "that it is about the same identical people who follow the trade under this as under former laws." The President of the New York Police Commissioners also said that High Licence had made no difference in the character of the saloon-keepers. We are inclined to think that it might have done so but for the tied-house system. The saloon-keeper was "a man of straw" under the old law, and he remains such under the new.

Dr. E. R. L. Gould, whose opinion is of great weight, urges that in estimating the results attending the operation of the Raines Law in New York, stress should be laid "upon the general effect of the Tammany administration in letting loose evil forces upon the community."

Since its introduction the system has had the advantage of the guidance of Mr. Henry H. Lyman, a strong and able man; but whilst a highly centralized system thus administered may be the best thing possible when the body politic is in a bad state, the resulting benefits are purchased at a high price. The English reader may wonder why no statutory limitation is placed upon the number of licences that may

[1] The enforcement of the bye-laws rests with the police; their neglect to suppress abuses appears to be due not so much to the corruption of the force by the saloon-keepers—although in the case of some of the worst houses the police are believed to be bribed—as to the direct influence of Tammany. That is to say, the liquor-sellers are expected to subscribe liberally to the Tammany election funds, and in return they obtain "protection."

be taken out, but the reason is this: that to limit the number in any other way than through the automatic operation of a high fee, would be to introduce the principle of selection with all its possibilities of favouritism and corrupt influence.

An examination of the annual Reports of the Commissioners of Excise for the years preceding the Raines Law shows that under the old law there was much honest effort to lessen the evils of intemperance. The old system, however, had many defects, and these were pointedly brought out by the State Commissioner in his first report (1896). He said: "The liquor traffic of the State was subject to the application or misapplication of the law by 963 boards of excise, or 2,892 different officials, with infinite variance in opinions and prejudices, to befriend or oppose it. Add to these the 964 attorneys, and an equal number of clerks for the boards and the various other officials in cities, the most of whom had opinions and prejudices which they gratified to a greater or less extent in the administration of the law, and it will readily be understood why such diversity of practice existed in the execution and non-execution of the law. The uncertainty and irregularity of control and treatment of the traffic have led to much personal bitterness and local strife, and, in many localities, have so demoralised public sentiment upon this question that all excise laws are treated with indifference and contempt."

If it be the mark of the best licensing systems to admit of quick adaptation to local needs, and to enlist in the interests of Temperance the thought and effort of good citizens, then, judged by any test of the kind, the Liquor Tax Law of New York State is signally deficient.

HIGH LICENCE IN MINNESOTA.

	Estimated population in 1884.	Estimated population in 1899.
Minneapolis	50,000	225,602

In Minneapolis, the chief city of Minnesota, an interesting experiment, said to be unique in the United States, has been carried on since 1884. In that year, with a population of about 50,000, the city had 536 saloons,[1] each paying an annual licence fee of 100 dollars. The rapid growth of Minneapolis appears to have been foreseen. "Ambitious hands had laid out its boundaries, and prepared an area five miles wide by six miles long. Residents were scattered already over a large portion of the tract, and the saloons followed them with a haste which was a menace." This led to an uprising which has rooted out every saloon in eleven-twelfths (in area) of a city of 225,000 people.[2] At the desire of the city, the "Patrol Limit" Law of Minneapolis was passed by the State Legislature in 1884. It "prohibits the grant of liquor licences outside the limits of a certain defined area, which includes only the central business part of the city; and this restriction applies equally to hotels which supply liquors to their guests, as to mere dram-shops." [3]

[1] *The Outlook* (New York), September 23rd, 1899, p. 206.

[2] The Mayor of Minneapolis, in a letter to the present writers dated March 19th, 1900, says:—

"The best estimate of the population within the patrol limits would be merely a guess, as the limits do not follow precinct lines. The territory is nearly all business and manufacturing, but, counting lodgers, about one-fifth of the population, in my opinion, lives within the limits."

[3] Fanshawe, *Liquor Legislation in the United States and*

"Within the restricted limits, saloons, under the close and immediate supervision of the authorities—a closeness of supervision rendered possible by the segregation—might be established under strict provisions and subject to close police patrol; [1] outside of this line there should be no saloons. Should new territory be added to the city at any future time, it should for ever be free from saloons." [2] Since that time, over fifteen years ago, there has been no change in the line. Repeated efforts have been made to break it down. They have uniformly proved ineffectual. The experiment has no doubt been helped by the character of the population in Minneapolis, a city which, for its size, is one of the most orderly in the United States. One-third of its inhabitants, it is estimated, are Scandinavians, a frugal and law-abiding people who support temperance legislation.

The process of reduction in the number of saloons has gone through three stages in Minneapolis. The first stage was reached in May, 1884, when the Patrol Limit Law was passed. Its immediate result was the closing of 95 saloons, the total number being reduced from 535 to 440. Next, the licence fee was raised by an ordinance of the City Council from $100 to $500, and the number again fell to 334, at which figure it stood when the new State high-licence law [3] came

Canada, p. 242. See also an address by General A. B. Nettleton, of Minneapolis, in the *Proceedings of the National Temperance Congress, New York*, 1890.

[1] Hence the name "Patrol Limit" Law.

[2] *The Outlook*, September 23rd, 1899, pp. 206–7.

[3] The following are, under this law, the licence fees throughout the State of Minnesota:—

"In a city of 10,000 people or more, $1,000 or such amount in excess as the city council may from time to time prescribe; in a

into operation in 1887. By this law, which raised the minimum fee to $1,000, the number of saloons was brought down to the lowest point, 230;[1] it has since risen with the growth of the population to the present figure of 330, being one saloon to every 684 of the population. In 1884 the 536 saloons yielded an income to the city of $53,600; in 1899 the 330 saloons yielded an income of $307,000.

It is said[2] that the "Patrol Limit" Law is well supported by the public opinion of Minneapolis, and that the people themselves are eager to aid in closing clandestine establishments, here called "blind pigs," which dispense small quantities of liquor on the sly. In qualification of this statement must, however, be taken the evidence given by the Rev. Dr. M'Leod, a member of the Royal Canadian Commission, who in his Minority Report (1895) says: "In Minneapolis, which has 285 licensed saloons, there are, according to the Mayor's private secretary, from 25 to 40 unlicensed places, all of which are as unmindful of days and hours as are the majority of the licensed places."

The following table shows the arrests for drunkenness in Minneapolis in some recent years[3]:—

city of less than 10,000, $500, or such amount in excess as the city council may prescribe; in county, village or borough, $500, or such amount in excess as the county commissioners or municipal authorities may fix and prescribe."

These fees are considerably higher than the licence fees in the State of New York, see p. 377.

Report of the Royal Canadian Commission, p. 385.

[1] Fanshawe, *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, p. 243.

[2] *The Outlook*, September 23rd, 1899, p. 209.

[3] The figures for the years 1888 to 1893 are taken from the

Year.	Arrests per 1,000 of the Population.
1888	18·10
1889	16·33
1890	13·19
1891	10·98
1892	12·92
1893	12·51
1894, 1895, 1896, 1897 .	no returns
1898	6·89

Mr. Fanshawe, writing in 1892, supplies the following evidence as to the working of the Act: "A gentleman, who was formerly a reporter for one of the newspapers in the Municipal Court, where he had exceptional opportunities of observing the condition of the town in regard to crime, assured me that the institution of the patrol limit had had a very marked effect on the business in the police court, and had greatly lightened the reporter's duties. The change had been especially notable in one particular quarter of the town, a residential district of the lower sort, inhabited by many of the workmen employed in the great factories. It had acquired so bad a character that it was known as the "Hub of Hell." From this region came frequent calls for the patrol wagon; much drinking went on in it; saloons were plentiful, and from them proceeded a vast amount of disorder and crime. The Patrol Limit Law shut up nearly all these saloons, since all but a strip of this district lies outside the limit; and it has now lost its old title, and become a decent, orderly part of the city. This

Report of the Royal Canadian Commission, p. 992; those for 1898 from the *Bulletin of the Department of Labour*, Washington, No. 24, September, 1898.

is only a more striking example of what has in less degree happened in other parts. When a workman comes home in the evening, tired, he will not go far for a drink. If there is a saloon quite near his house, he is apt to stroll in and meet his friends; they treat one another, and thence comes the mischief."

	Population in 1899.
St. Paul	215,582

In St. Paul, the Capital of Minnesota, there is a considerable residential section of the city in which no licences are allowed. The number of saloons (1898) was 286; the licence fee is $1,000. The arrests per 1,000 of the population were in 1898 only 5·42.

The wide areas in Minneapolis and St. Paul in which there are no saloons may be compared with Toxteth Park, Liverpool, where a population of 60,000 has no public-house in its midst. In Toxteth Park this immunity is dependent upon the will of the ground landlords, while in Minneapolis it has been secured by the action of its City Council. But in each case large urban populations accept and support the exclusion of public-houses from extensive districts in their respective cities; the explanation being that in each case there is, at no great distance from the prohibition districts, the "safety-valve" of places where liquor can be obtained. Neither in Minneapolis nor in St. Paul is there any statutory limitation of the number of licences, and the ratio of licences in these cities to the entire population is not especially small, being 1 to 684 in the former, and 1 to 745 in the latter city.

In Minnesota, High Licence is seen in perhaps the

most favourable aspect in which it is presented in the United States. As already said, its working has been aided by the Scandinavian element in the population—Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes—who "make excellent citizens," and represent together nearly one-half of the total population of the State. Yet any one who reads in the Minutes of Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission the forty-four pages devoted to Minnesota will see how imperfect is the control of the licensed houses. In the larger towns the Sunday closing regulations are generally violated; indeed, some of the saloons provide additional attractions on Sundays. The sale of drink is carried on in connection with places of entertainment—in certain of them under conditions that would not be permitted in this country—and the sale to minors, although illegal, exists.[1]

Under High Licence, as under low, so long as the sale of liquor is in private hands, and the saloon-keeper benefits by every glass that he sells, the violation of bye-laws is inevitable.

Evils of High Licence.

Perhaps the gravest impeachment brought against High Licence is that it does little to lessen the political power of the Trade.

Mr. McKenzie, writing in 1896, after careful investigation of the working of the liquor laws in High Licence States, says: "*The great fault of the High Licence plan is that it leaves the saloon almost as great a power in politics as ever.*"

[1] See *Minutes of Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. v. pp. 321, 328, 337-8, 340, 345 and 349.

To this fault should, however, be added two others.

In the first place, the system gives the locality a direct interest in the local drink trade. In Philadelphia, as we have seen, the licence fees, which before the introduction of High Licence amounted to £60,000, have since risen to £338,422. Even this figure is dwarfed by the revenue received in Chicago[1], which in 1899 amounted to £625,480, received on account of 6,300 licences. This sum constitutes twelve per cent. of the municipal income ("ordinary receipts") of the city. The net revenue in the State of New York under the Raines Excise Law in the year ending April 30th, 1899, was £2,329,791, of which two-thirds, or £1,553,194, went to the cities or towns, or townships, *in which the traffic was carried on.* A locality which, under the Local Option clauses, decided to have no licences within its limits, would thus have no share in the two-thirds proceeds of the excise tax which went to the municipalities. It is unquestionably right that the licence holder should pay a sum commensurate with the monopoly handed over to him, but it cannot be wise that the people in any city or village should have a direct monetary interest in the traffic.

Secondly, it is to be remembered that High Licence intensifies the interest of the ordinary dealer in pushing his sales.

In considering how far these objections would apply to the introduction of a High Licence system into this country, it may be admitted that some of the evils which have resulted from it in the United States would not be likely to be reproduced here, and that

[1] The estimated population of Chicago, in 1899, was 1,850,000.

others might possibly be obviated by modifications of the system. But, under it, the menace of the trade to our political and municipal life would continue. For if the number of licensed houses were reduced, the individual power of those that remained would be greater. The divorce between politics and the drink traffic, without which no scheme of licensing reform can be satisfactory, would not be effected.

Moreover, in this country, as in the United States, the inducement of the licence-holder to press sales would be increased, and once again we should realize the futility of attempting to control a trade while placing those who conduct it under the strongest temptation both to bring about its extension and to prevent the introduction of salutary reforms.

CHAPTER VI

The Government Spirit Monopoly in Russia

AN experiment of a different character from any hitherto considered is that of the Government Spirit Monopoly in Russia. The system was introduced, by way of experiment, in four of the eastern provinces in January of 1895. From the beginning of the second half of 1896 it became the common law of the Empire, and only the preparatory work of organization has occasioned a delay in its application to the whole of Russia in Europe. "In addition to the above-mentioned regions, the monopoly is in force in the North-West, the North, and in all the Kingdom of Poland. The time is not far distant when it will be in force equally in the parts of Siberia nearest the Ural."[1] In the establishment of this monopoly "two objects have been kept in view throughout: firstly, to obtain for the benefit of the State the largest possible amount of revenue from this trade; and, secondly, to diminish drunkenness."[2] The two objects named must necessarily be somewhat antagonistic, and the history of Government monopolies would warrant the expecta-

[1] *Bulletin Russe de Statistique Financière et de Législation.* Nos. 10–12, Oct.–Dec., 1898.

[2] *Foreign Office Report—(Miscellaneous Series)*, No. 465, 1898.

tion that more attention will ultimately be paid to the acquisition of revenue than to the lessening of drunkenness ;[1] the Government Opium Monopoly in India and the State Liquor Monopoly in South Carolina are illustrations in point.

The new monopoly is limited to the sale of spirituous liquors which are, according to Consular statement, "the usual alcoholic beverages of the masses," and is not extended to fermented beverages such as wine and beer. The manufacture of spirits remains in the hands of private persons, but the distilleries are put under official regulation as regards output, prices, etc.

The retail dealers consist of—

(1) The shops and depôts of the Government.
(2) "Traktirs,"[2] restaurants, and private establishments, which sell on commission for the Government.

In the Government shops, no consumption on the premises is allowed. The spirits are sold in closed and sealed bottles, on which is a label stating the price, quantity, and alcoholic strength. The price of the bottles, which are of various sizes, is strictly proportional to the contents. No corkscrews are allowed in the shops, nor are the buyers allowed to open the bottles on the premises, nor while carrying them to their destination. In the country, the "traktirs" may supply their customers with sealed bottles only,

[1] "In the opinion of many persons, one of the chief objections to the present reform is that it is impossible for the State to adequately perform the twofold duties now undertaken by it; namely, to maintain the revenues from the tax on liquors at their previous level, and to endeavour to wean the masses from their fatal proclivity to inordinate drinking."—*Ibid.*, p. 6.

[2] Establishments where food is supplied as well as drink.

at a fixed price, receiving a small commission (about 3½ per cent.) from the Government on their sales. Except in these establishments, and in the Government shops, it is impossible to procure any spirits legally in the rural districts.

In towns and at railway stations, keepers of restaurants and buffets may sell spirits either:—

(*a*) As in the country—viz., in sealed bottles and at the prices marked thereon, but with this difference, that the contents may be consumed on the premises,[1] or

(*b*) By the glass, or in any way they choose. Spirits of any kind, native or foreign, may be sold.

This second mode (*b*) of sale is only permitted in the case of a very few restaurants and buffets of the highest class, and the privilege is not likely to lead to any danger to the working-classes, whose purses do not permit them to patronize such costly establishments.

A sweeping reduction has also been made in the number of places where drink can be obtained. In St. Petersburg, out of 937 wine and spirit shops, only 178 are now permitted to sell Government spirits; some others may continue their business, but are not authorized to sell spirits. The Government and private spirit-shops now amount to 325, which number may be increased if necessary. Out of the 650 "traktirs" formerly existing, 250 only have been relicensed, but there are also 15 first-class restaurants where

[1] This is another illustration of the fact which meets one at every turn, that it is impracticable to carry out in the towns regulations as stringent as those which can be enforced in the country.

spirits of any kind may be sold without restrictions as to price or quantity, and 66 others with the obligation to sell Government spirits, if required, at Government prices and in sealed bottles.

Compensation.

No compensation has been given to the dispossessed keepers of spirit-shops. An extract from a semi-official publication may be quoted: [1]—

"In Russia, there can be no question of giving compensation to the evicted retailers of spirits. The licence they were granted by which they were permitted to carry on their deplorable business has always been considered by the legislator, the administration, the public, and by themselves as a permission liable to be withdrawn without explanation or comment."

It is, however, stated that the question of granting assistance in certain cases to the above-mentioned individuals is under consideration. In the case, however, of Poland, some of the Western provinces, and the Baltic provinces, very ancient vested rights existed belonging to both private persons and public bodies. Landed proprietors and towns had the right of distilling, and keeping drink-shops, both of which proved a source of considerable income. It was found impossible to extinguish these rights, called "propination," without some compensation. Accordingly, all those who have enjoyed the privileges of "propination" have been called on to furnish returns to the Government showing their annual income from this source for the five years 1890–94; an average is

[1] Quoted in *Foreign Office Report* (*Miscellaneous Series*), No. 465, 1898.

taken, and this sum, multiplied by 20, has been or will be paid to them as a final settlement of their claims for the loss of their rights.

Sale of Beer.

"Although it was stated that the Monopoly would sell spirits only, its introduction has occasioned great interference with the sale of beer, the licences for houses providing this beverage having been considerably reduced in number." In St. Petersburg, for instance, out of 982 establishments where beer might be sold and consumed on the premises, 304 are permitted to carry on their trade as before, while 580 may sell beer, but not for consumption on the premises. These restrictions have caused a considerable loss to the brewing industry, the consumption of beer being said to have fallen off nearly 30 per cent. since the beginning of 1898.

Counter-Attractions.

A feature of some interest in the new legislation is thus described in the Consular Report:—

"While criticising the monopoly, mention should be made of the tea-shops which the Government are endeavouring to establish alongside of the new system, and for which certain sums of money have been granted. They are intended to take the place of the old dram-shops, and to become harmless places of resort for the lower classes, where they can meet without any temptation to intemperance. Temperance committees have been also formed, presided over by the Governor of the province when in a provincial town, and by the Marshal of Nobility in a district town. The functions of these committees consist in

endeavouring to prevent an inordinate consumption of vodka, and to generally promote Temperance. They are also authorised to establish tea-rooms and to make them as attractive as possible. It is stated that these attempts to combat drunkenness and to wean the people from the drink-shops have as yet proved ineffectual, owing to the smallness of the sums devoted by the provincial authorities to the organization and maintenance of the Temperance establishments."

It is worthy of note that the Government have thus recognised the necessity of providing counter-attractions with which to combat drunkenness. In the Russian climate, it would obviously be a mistake to close the doors of the warm room—the popular place of meeting—without providing a substitute. But it is equally worthy of note that the experiment has failed because it has not been supported by adequate funds. To provide attractions which shall efficiently counteract those of the public-house must involve a great expenditure of money and time.

Results of the Monopoly.

The latest and most authoritative evidence upon the working of the Spirit Monopoly is to be found in the Report of the Russian Minister of Finance addressed to the Emperor under date January 31st, 1899, from which the following extracts have been taken. After stating that the immediate result of the introduction of the Monopoly is a diminished consumption of alcohol, but that as the people become accustomed to the new *régime* the consumption tends to revert to the former figures, the Report continues:—

"Now that four years have passed since the

monopoly was put in force in the Eastern Provinces, and two and a half years since it came into operation in the vast regions of the South and South-West, it is permissible to express a judgment on its moral and economic effects, and to present some data for estimating its financial results.

"Your Imperial Majesty is aware that, in changing the method of collecting the duty on alcohol, it was not sought directly to increase the fiscal revenues. If the Minister of Finance felt it necessary to ask that the retail sale of spirituous liquors should be taken from individuals and monopolised by the State, it was above all that he might bring to an end the abuses inherent in the old organization. With us the average of consumption is relatively small, though there are great variations. The spirituous liquors offered for sale by the retail dealers contain ingredients which are harmful, if not dangerous, to the health. The very conditions of the trade in strong drink, a very lucrative trade for people who are not over-scrupulous, favoured the perpetuation of manifold abuses which were ruining the lower classes. It was impossible to end these deplorable evils except by placing the trade in the hands of the State. The trial that has just been made, short as has been its duration, has proved that the monopoly attains this end.

"The reports addressed to Your Majesty by the Governors of the Provinces where the new system is in force, and the accounts communicated to the Minister of Finance by the highest ecclesiastical authorities, by the Officials of the Nobility, by the Zemstvos, and by the Municipalities, are almost unanimous in bearing evidence to the salutary effects

of the reform. The better quality of the brandy, the considerable reduction in the number of places of sale, the establishment of uniform prices strictly proportional to the quantity sold, the impossibility of procuring alcoholic drinks except for ready money,—all these advantages, and others which are brought about by the rectification and sale of spirits under the care of the State, have already practically demonstrated their happy influence. Drunkenness has perceptibly diminished; debauchery, with its inevitable consequences, has given place to a more regular use of alcohol; offences and crimes provoked by drunkenness have become rarer. Nor has the usefulness of the reform been limited to the preservation of health and good morals; it exercises a salutary effect upon the material resources of the people. This economic progress is confirmed both by the increase of the fiscal receipts and by the inflow of deposits to the savings banks, a double phenomenon which is to be observed in the four Eastern Provinces (Perm, Oufa, Samara, and Orenbourg) since the new regulations as to spirituous liquors have been in force there. . . . Another point that is not without importance is, that the establishment of the monopoly has been followed by improved influx of yearly redemption payments (debts exclusively owing by the peasants) and even by the settlement of arrears due on these same annuities. . . . To estimate the financial results of the reform, we may base our calculations upon the experience gained during the years 1895–7 in the Eastern Provinces. In 1893, the year before the reform,[1] the

[1] The year 1893 has been chosen as the basis of comparison, and not the year 1894, which in the Eastern Provinces immediately preceded the application of the new *régime*, because the

amount of excise duty in these four provinces had been 11,600,000 roubles,[1] and the revenue from the licence duty 754,000 roubles, or a total of 12,354,000 roubles. If we take this last figure as the annual average of the revenue from drink, the triennial period 1895–7 should have given in the provinces of the East an income in round numbers of about 37,000,000 roubles. At the same time we must consider that the application of the new system has brought with it under the head of control of indirect taxes an increase of disbursements of about 694,000 roubles for the three years, and that this sum must be put to the debit of the monopoly. In consequence, in order that the passage from the old system to that of the new administration might be effected without injury to the Exchequer, it was necessary that the income from the drink revenue should reach for the three years 1895–7, taken together, a total of 37,700,000 roubles. As a matter of fact, the revenue under the head of licences and as the net result of the work of the monopoly, making deduction for all expenses of purchase, of rectification and of sale generally (except the allowances to the local distillers),[2] amounted in 1895 to

year 1893 had had an exceptional harvest, and consequently the figures of consumption in 1894 had been abnormally increased. On the other hand, just before the establishment of the regulations, enormous sales of existing stocks had been made.

[1] Rouble=two shillings.

[2] Before the reform these allowances to the local distillers were given in kind; that is to say, the distillers instead of paying excise duty (ten roubles per vedro* of pure alcohol) on the total amount of their production, might, according to the greater or less importance of the distillery, send out free from duty from ½ to 4 per cent. of the quantity of alcohol made by them.

* Vedro=2·7 of an imperial gallon.

16,844,000 roubles; in 1896 to 19,018,000 roubles, and in 1897 to 20,375,000 roubles; making a total of 56,237,000 roubles.

"Thus after the establishment of the monopoly the drink revenue in the East, from the commencement of the first triennial period, exceeded by 18,500,000 roubles the income which could have been obtained under the Excise system. It must be noted that the initial expenses of the establishment and organization of the monopoly only amounted for these provinces to a total of about 3,300,000 roubles. . . .

"Whilst attesting to Your Imperial Majesty the excellent effects of the reform on the material and moral state of the people, as well as its satisfactory results from a fiscal point of view, the Minister of Finance is far from pretending to affirm that the new organization in these districts where it has been in force has attained to all the perfection of which it is capable. Doubtless there is much to be done still in this domain as regards the administration of the finance. Certain details of the reform have as yet been simply indicated; others must be remoulded or completed: the whole needs attentive management. Nevertheless, this vast enterprise rests henceforward on a rational basis. Though profoundly convinced that the drink reform will not be slow to exercise a beneficent action on all parts of the Empire, yet the Minister of Finance expects that in its application it will be the most fruitful in the Central Provinces, where the actual evils of the trade in spirituous liquors are experienced with an intensity peculiar to the population of old Russian stock. So we must congratulate ourselves upon the decision adopted by the Council of the Empire to advance by one year the

establishment of the monopoly in the Province of the region of Moscow."

Conclusion.

If it be thought that in the Russian Spirit Monopoly there is little that can be imitated in this country, the experiment is nevertheless exceedingly suggestive. That it has been entered into with an honest intention of lessening intemperance may be freely acknowledged, even by those who believe that the desire to obtain revenue from sales will ultimately defeat the moral objects of the measure. While it is true that the interest of the retailer in pushing sales has been almost destroyed, his place has been taken by the Government, and it is easy to see that, without constant vigilance, the administration of the law may fall into the hands of those who will care only to bring about an immediate increase of revenue, and who, as officers of the State, will be armed with the power of modifying arrangements so as to increase consumption.

In this connection, it is necessary clearly to distinguish between two systems which are essentially different, and, indeed, directly antagonistic. The control of a monopoly trade by the State, whose revenue benefits by an increase and suffers by a reduction of sales, is as far removed as possible from the local control of a monopoly trade by a body of men who can have no interest in its extension, and whose reason for association with it is that they may restrict sales. In the former case, the inducement of the private trader to increase sales is transferred to the State; in the latter case, if the necessary safeguards are pro-

vided, the element of interest in sales by those who control it is destroyed.[1]

Under the Russian Spirit Monopoly, the consumption of spirits on the premises has been largely done away with. Sales on credit, or in exchange for agricultural produce, clothes, etc., have been stopped,[2] and a great reduction has been made in the number of places licensed for the sale of spirits. But perhaps the most significant feature of the experiment is the fresh indication it affords of the growing sense on the part of civilized States that the liquor traffic is of so dangerous a character that it cannot safely be entrusted to the private trader, and also that it is irrational to let the profits of this monopoly pass into private hands.

The Swiss Alcohol Monopoly.

The Swiss Federal Alcohol Monopoly, which came into force in 1887, applies to the importation, manufacture, and wholesale distribution of spirits in quantities of not less than about forty gallons. As the Act leaves the retail sale untouched, a consideration of the measure is outside the scope of this volume.

[1] The power of law, *i.e.* of the arrangements of a community, to affect consumption is strikingly illustrated in the earlier history of Russian licensing. From 1826 to 1862 what has been called the "farming system" was in force, under which the farming companies had the strongest interest in pushing sales. They succeeded, according to the Consular Report, "in bringing the consumption of spirits in Russia to exactly double what it had been under the preceding system."

[2] "In the dram-shop, the proprietor was usually willing to supply drink on credit, advance it on wages owing, or exchange it for agricultural produce, clothes, etc."—*Foreign Office Report* (*Miscellaneous Series*), No. 465, 1898.

CHAPTER VII

The Dispensary System in the United States

THE Dispensary System is a system under which the retail trade in alcoholic liquors is taken out of private hands and carried on in dispensaries under public management. The saloon is abolished, and no sale permitted except an "off" sale in sealed bottles. The system has been adopted to a greater or less extent in South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama.

In South Carolina, where a State monopoly has been adopted, the dispensaries are under centralized (State) management, but where the Dispensary System has been adopted without a State monopoly, the dispensaries are managed locally.

When the Dispensary System is strictly enforced as a State monopoly, the only alternative to the Dispensary is Prohibition. There are, however, States in which the Dispensary is not a State monopoly, but in which the localities can adopt the System or not, as they may determine. Within the limits of these States there may be some districts under the Dispensary System, others under Prohibition, and others again under some form of licence.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Population (1890) Whites . .	462,008
Coloured . .	689,141
Total .	1,151,149

In 1890 there were in South Carolina 37 towns or villages with a population above 1,000, viz.:—

Charleston with a population of . . .	54,955
Columbia „ „ „ . . .	15,353
1 town with a population of 8,000 and under .	9,000
1 „ „ „ „ 5,000 . . .	6,000
6 towns „ „ „ 3,000 . . .	4,000
10 „ „ „ „ 2,000 . . .	3,000
17 „ „ „ „ 1,000 . . .	2,000
37	

Proportion of Urban and Rural Population.
1890.

Rural	93 per cent.
Urban (*i.e.* populations above 8,000)	7 „

The case of South Carolina affords another illustration, under a different form, of the principle of State Monopoly.

Prior to 1893 "the principles of local option and prohibition were both applied, the former to the traffic in cities, towns, and villages having charters, the latter to all the territory of the State outside of such municipalities."[1] On July 1, 1893, however, there came into force a State monopoly, known as the Dispensary System,[2] which had been enacted by the

[1] See communication from the Chairman of the State Prohibition Committee. *Report of the Royal Canadian Commission*, 1895, p. 865.

[2] The Dispensary System did not originate in South Carolina, but was borrowed from Athens, a University town in Georgia

South Carolina legislature in 1892. Under this Act, which was re-enacted with various amendments in 1895,[1] 1896 and 1897, the sale of all beverages containing alcohol is made a State monopoly. The saloon has been abolished and its place taken by dispensaries, where liquor can only be obtained in bottles for consumption off the premises. No licences are granted to either hotels or restaurants.

The existing Act provides for the establishment of a State Board of Control of five members (one of whom retires annually) elected by the General Assembly, and of State and County dispensaries; as well as for the appointment, by the Board of Control, subject to the approval of the Senate, of a State Commissioner from whom all liquors sold by the dispensaries must be purchased.

All *spirits* are required to be put up in bottles (or packages) of not less than one half-pint, or more than five gallons, and dispensaries are not allowed to sell except in such vessels, nor may the bottles be opened on the premises. Very similar restrictions are applied

with a population of about 10,000. The system was established there in 1891.

[1] Under a revision of the Constitution of the State of South Carolina, ratified December 4, 1895, it was enacted "that no licence shall be granted to sell alcoholic beverages in less quantities than one half-pint, or to sell them between sundown and sunrise, or to sell them to be drunk on the premises." The South Carolina Dispensary Law, as such, is no part of the State Constitution, but the above important provisions, which are embodied in the Dispensary Law, can only be altered by a revision of the State Constitution.

For the method of effecting a change in the Constitution of a State, see footnote, p. 128.

to the sale of *malt liquors*, which may not be sold in less quantity than one pint, nor for consumption on the premises. All sales are for cash, and confined to the hours between sunrise and sundown. Sales to minors are prohibited and Sunday closing is absolute, except that a physician, known to the dispenser as a duly qualified and reputable medical man, can himself purchase liquor if he requires it for an urgent case.

The Act provides that before selling or delivering any intoxicating liquors to any person, a request is to be presented to the county dispenser, printed or written in ink, stating that he, or she, is of age, giving the residence of the signer, and stating for whom or for whose use the liquor is required and the quantity and kind wanted. This request is to be signed by the applicant and attested by the county dispenser or his clerk, who receives and files the request. If the applicant is known to be intemperate, the request is to be denied. This provision of a written application is, however, absolutely disregarded in the Charleston dispensary which came under the special observation of one of the present writers, and was declared by the dispenser to be impracticable.

The system has a twofold aim: (1) to reduce the evils of the liquor traffic by taking it out of private hands, and (2) to retain the whole of the profit for State and municipal purposes. It was anticipated that the dispensaries would yield a net annual profit of £100,000, but the total net profit actually realized to the State, counties and towns, in the five and a half years ending December 31st, 1898, during which the South Carolina monopoly has been in force, has been £258,504. Di-

viding the five and a half years into two equal periods, the profit in the first was at the rate of £31,949 per annum, and in the second at the rate of £62,052 per annum.[1] In 1892, prior to the establishment of the State monopoly, South Carolina had 613 bar-rooms, from which it derived a yearly revenue of £43,074.[2] The city of Charleston has, however, suffered financially by the change. Before the introduction of the Dispensary System, the liquor licences yielded from £5,500 to £6,000 per annum.[3] The city now receives from the dispensaries less than half that sum.[4] This fact may, in part, account for the opposition which the law has persistently experienced in Charleston.

The profits upon sales by the State Commissioner (*i.e.* to the local dispensaries) go to the State and are devoted to the public (free) schools; those upon sales by the dispensers are equally divided between the county and the municipality. If the authorities of any town or city, in the judgment of the State Board of Control, do not enforce the law, the State Board may withhold the profits going to such town or city, and use them to pay the State constables, or may turn the profits into the county treasury.

[1] *Report of the State Board of Control of the South Carolina Dispensary for the Fiscal Year* 1898.

[2] *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, by the Committee of Fifty, p. 149.

[3] *Year Book of City of Charleston for* 1894, p. 5.

[4] *Year Books of City of Charleston for* 1896-97-98.

The Wholesale Trade.

The State Board of Control virtually controls all the manufacture of liquor. Before a distiller can manufacture a single gallon of spirits he has to get a permit from the State Board, which regulates the quantity to be produced. Moreover, subject to one possible exception, the distiller cannot sell to anybody but the State Board. The exception is this: Should the Board not want his liquor, it may at its discretion grant him a permit to sell it outside the State, but in practice this is rarely, if ever, done. The Board refuses many applications from persons wishing to establish distilleries in the State, holding that there are enough already. There is only one brewery in South Carolina. It is in the city of Charleston and has a charter from the State which enables it to sell on its own account outside the State; but even in this case the State Board has a certain control, having an agent on the premises always in charge who collects a royalty upon all the beer sold.

As will be seen by the annexed table, which gives the figures for the entire State and also for the two principal cities, the reduction in the number of places for the sale of drink, under the operation of the Act, has been very great:—

Population 1890.	Bars in 1892.	Dispensaries in 1899.	Illicit Liquor-sellers [1] in year ending 30th June, 1899.
State of South Carolina—			
1,151,149	613	92 [2]	185
City of Charleston—			
54,955 [3]	285	10	139
City of Columbia—			
15,353	38	4	4

No compensation was given to those whose licences were suppressed, the Act simply providing that "no licence for the sale of spirituous liquors now authorised to be granted by municipal authorities shall be of any force or effect after June 30th, 1893."

Beer Dispensaries.[4]

Favoured by some ambiguity in the wording of Sec. 4 of the Dispensary Law of 1897, dispensaries for the

[1] Persons, other than dispensers, who took out Federal liquor licences for the year ending June 30th, 1899, and who were therefore presumably violators of the State law.

[2] The 92 dispensaries are distributed as follows:—

Charleston	10
Columbia	4
2 towns have each two	4
24 towns (out of 37) which in 1890 had a population *above* 1,000 have each one	24
50 towns, or villages, which in 1890 had a population of *under* 1,000 have each one	50
	92

[3] The estimated population of Charleston in 1899, as supplied by the City Clerk, was 65,165, viz.:—Whites, 28,870; coloured, 36,295.

[4] In the ordinary dispensaries both spirits and beer are sold, but the sale of the latter is confined to "export" beer (*i.e.* beer

sale of beer were established in 1897–8. At that time, owing to the adverse decisions of the law courts, the liquor traffic was almost unrestricted and the State Board of Control was not unwilling to use beer dispensaries to assist in suppressing the illegitimate competition thrust upon it.[1]

At the present time (1899) there are 24 beer dispensaries in South Carolina, of which 4 are in the city of Charleston. The beer dispensers can only buy through the State Commissioner,[2] but they can choose both the kind of beer they wish to purchase and the brewery from which it is to be bought. The beer dispensers are, in fact, private traders (in some cases the agents of brewers), who, although trading for private profit, have to comply with the general regulations which attach to the Dispensary System. Thus the sale is entirely an "off" sale and is confined to the hours between sunrise and sundown. Not less than one pint can be sold at one time.[3] The beer dispensaries have throughout been the subject of much controversy. In September, 1899, the Board of Control adopted a resolution to close them on November 1st, 1899. But the beer dispensers having been elected for a period of twelve months, beginning May 1st, 1899, and having given bond for that time, could not be removed with-

bottled by the *brewer*). In the case of the beer dispensaries the sale is restricted to "bulk" beer (*i.e.* beer purchased in barrels and bottled by the beer *dispenser*). No jug trade is in either case allowed.

[1] See *Report of the State Board of Control for* 1898, p. 4.

[2] The beer dispensaries pay a royalty to the State Board of three dollars on every barrel of beer. This royalty is equally divided between the State on the one hand, and the towns and counties on the other.

[3] In practice, two half-pint bottles are often served.

out cause. Subsequently the State Board of Control adopted a resolution prohibiting the local boards from electing any more beer dispensers, so that under the latter resolution all beer dispensaries were to be closed on May 1st, 1900.[1]

Arrests for Drunkenness.

No conclusive test of the success of a system can be drawn from the statistics of drunkenness, but the following figures of the arrests for drunkenness in Charleston and Columbia since 1888 are not without significance. It will be seen that in the years following the introduction of the system the arrests show a considerable decline. In Charleston and Columbia the figures are as under :—

Arrests for Drunkenness.

City of Charleston.		City of Columbia.	
Year.	Total No. of Arrests. / Ratio per 1,000 inhabitants.	Year.	Total No. of Arrests. / Ratio per 1,000 inhabitants.
1888	715 / 13·25	1891	247 / 15·85
1889	868 / 15·93	1892	201 / 12·71
1890	801 / 14·57	1893 [2]	187 / 11·66
1891	849 / 15·31	1894	182 / 11·19
1892	690 / 12·33		
1893 [2]	412 / 7·29		
1894	459 / 8·06		
1895	405 / 6·68		
1896	361 / 5·85		
1897	no returns.		
1898	327 / 5·11		

Note.—Owing to the destruction of the City Hall by fire, later figures for Columbia are not available.

[1] Letter from a Charleston correspondent under date December 4th, 1899

[2] The Dispensary System came into force in July, 1893.

In other cities "the information collected shows conclusively that the arrests for drunkenness have fallen off from one-third to one-half under the Dispensary Law." [1]

Right of Local Veto.

Section 7 of the Dispensary Law, as approved March, 1897, provides that "When the county board designates a locality for a dispensary, twenty days' public notice of which shall be given, it shall be competent for a majority of the voters of the township in which such dispensary is to be located, to prevent its location in such township by signing a petition or petitions addressed to the County Board, requesting that no dispensary be established in that township." The County Board is, moreover, precluded from placing a dispensary in any county, town, or city wherein the sale of alcoholic liquors was prohibited by law prior to July 1st, 1893, unless one-fourth of the qualified voters of such county, town, or city, petition to have a dispensary therein, in which case an election is held, and if a majority of the ballots cast be found and declared to be for a dispensary, then a dispensary may be established.

As the South Carolina Dispensary System is a State monopoly, the only option it offers lies between dispensaries and prohibition. The extent to which prohibition exists in the State has been shown elsewhere.[2]

History of the Act.

The Governor of the State in 1896 said that the Act "has had a hard road," and another American speaks

[1] *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, p. 178.
[2] See p. 302.

of "its stormy and dramatic existence." In the year following its original enactment, the friction produced by attempts to execute the law culminated in conflicts which on three separate occasions led to loss of life. The extraordinary energy and the iron will of Governor Tillman alone carried the measure through this early opposition. Then it encountered even greater perils in the law courts, where the Act in one or other of its forms was twice condemned as unconstitutional, with the result that in 1894, from April 21st to August 1st, the traffic was almost unrestricted, while the same state of things prevailed during some months of 1897 and 1898.

However, by the decision of May, 1898, the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that "the Dispensary Acts in their essential features are valid, that is, furnish a proper and constitutional method of regulating the liquor traffic through the domestic police power, and that the State may take sole charge of the business."

The present Governor of the State looks hopefully to the future. In his address to the General Assembly on January 10th, 1899, he said: "The demoralization produced by the various causes mentioned can be readily overcome in time, and the law will work more successfully and be obeyed more willingly as time goes by. Our efforts should be especially directed to perfecting the system in its administrative features."

The Act has from the first been bitterly opposed in the city of Charleston. Of the 185 persons in South Carolina, other than dispensers, who hold Internal Revenue licences to retail liquor for the year ending June 30th, 1899 (all of whom may therefore be assumed

to carry on a sale contrary to the State law), no fewer than 139 (*i.e.* all but 46) are in the city of Charleston. There is no more concealment practised about many of these illegal places of sale than about the saloons in the large cities of Maine. This defiance of the law may to some extent be a survival from the almost unrestricted sale during parts of the years 1894, 1897, and 1898, when the Dispensary Act was in the law courts and its legality not finally determined. In Charleston, however, it has, since the introduction of the system, been exceedingly difficult to secure convictions against those carrying on an illicit sale. No matter, it is said, how strong and complete the evidence, neither the Grand Jury nor the Petty Jury will convict. Temperance sentiment in Charleston is not high, and it may be questioned whether the "safety-valve" of ten dispensaries for the "off" sale only of liquor is, at the present time, sufficient. If "off" sales will not suffice, it would seem far better to have a restricted and controlled "on" sale in certain dispensaries than a widespread illicit sale.

The Dispensary System and Politics.

In his recent visit, one of the present writers was assured by State officials and influential citizens representing widely different points of view, that the liquor interest had been predominant in municipal elections prior to the establishment of the Dispensary System, but that since its introduction this influence had been destroyed.[1] These assurances accord with the declaration of a former Governor of the State, who, in his message of November, 1893, said:—"The local

[1] See further evidence on this point at p. 430.

whisky rings, which have been the curse of every municipality in the State, and have always controlled municipal elections, have been torn up root and branch, and the influence of the bar-keeper as a political manipulator is absolutely destroyed."

This strong statement is quite consistent with the words employed by the present Governor (January 10th, 1899) :—"The new system," he said, "has now been in force three years, and, in my opinion, it has failed to accomplish the purposes of its advocates. The idea was to divorce the Dispensary System from politics and to put it under a strictly business management. No such result has followed. It is notorious that the Dispensary is as much or more in politics than it ever was." The apparent contradiction is such for an English reader only. The reference is simply to the notorious "Spoils System" of American party politics. The Dispensary System is "in politics" merely in the sense in which any municipal undertaking—gas or water works or tramways—would be in politics if the posts in connection with these undertakings were given by preference to the adherents of one political party, instead of to the fittest men irrespective of party. In other words, the Dispensary System shares in that which is so often the bane of municipal government in the United States. In a better sense, too, the system is "in politics," as the discussion upon its merits is not yet closed, public opinion being divided between the relative merits of the Dispensary System, High Licence, and Prohibition. As a matter of fact, in South Carolina, as in Scandinavia, the taking of the trade out of private hands has destroyed its electoral power.

Results of the South Carolina State Monopoly.

Certain advantages of the system are undeniable. It has the great merit which attaches to any system under which the liquor trade is taken out of private hands, namely, that administrative reforms which, under private licence, are either unattainable or can only be secured after an arduous national struggle, become at once easy of attainment. Not only has the ordinary saloon been abolished, but the places for the sale of drink have been greatly reduced in number, the hours of sale have been shortened, sales to minors are not allowed, sales on credit have been done away with, and gambling and the immoral accessories of the public-house no longer exist. The limitation of sale to sealed bottles which may not be opened on the premises does away with the "treating" habit. Further, the bar-tender having no inducement to push sales, the enforcement of bye-laws can be secured, and the domination of the whisky rings in politics has become a thing of the past.

As compared, however, with the Norwegian system (to be described in a later chapter), to which that of South Carolina bears a superficial resemblance,[1] the inferiority of the latter is strongly seen. Under the Norwegian system there is a much wiser adjustment of responsibility as between the State and the locality. In Norway the power of the State is severely restricted; its function is to secure honest

[1] In its essence, the South Carolina State monopoly is more nearly related to the Russian spirit monopoly, the regulation of the traffic in both cases being under centralized State control.

local administration and compliance with the few broad conditions, imposed by statutory law, under which the localities carry on the traffic. Nor can the State open a single public-house. Within wide limits the towns are free to work out their own deliverance from the drink curse, and the intelligence and right feeling of the community are enlisted in the struggle with intemperance. In South Carolina, on the other hand, a locality, not prepared to adopt prohibition, cannot grapple directly with the problem of intemperance in its midst; the responsibility for the task is transferred to the State Board of Control. The principle of local management and control is ignored, and in consequence there can be no quick adaptation of means to ends. The rigidity of the system is illustrated by the fact that the Constitution of South Carolina limits all sale of alcoholic beverages to an "off" sale, so that if a town, in combating illicit trade, believed that the "safety-valve" of a controlled "on" trade was necessary, the change could not be made.[1]

Alike in South Carolina and in Scandinavia the appropriation of the profits of the trade is open to objection. In neither country has the important principle been adequately recognised that the profits of the trade should be used directly to counteract the trade.

[1] It will be observed (p. 431) that the amendment to the Constitution of South Dakota does not limit sales to "off" sales.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Population (1890):	Whites .	1,055,382
	Coloured .	562,565
		1,617,947

In 1890 there were in North Carolina 44 towns or villages with a population above 1,000, viz. :—

Wilmington	with a population of				20,056
Raleigh	„	„	„		12,676
Charlotte	„	„	„		11,557
Asheville	„	„	„		10,235
1 town	„	„	„	8,000 and under	9,000
1 „	„	„	„	7,000 „	8,000
1 „	„	„	„	5,000 „	6,000
5 towns	„	„	„	4,000 „	5,000
3 „	„	„	„	3,000 „	4,000
8 „	„	„	„	2,000 „	3,000
21 „	„	„	„	1,000 „	2,000
44					

Proportion of Urban and Rural Population.
1890.

Rural	96 per cent.
Urban (*i.e.* populations above 8,000) .	4 „

North Carolina, in adopting the Dispensary System, has availed itself of the experience of South Carolina. In the latter State, as has been shown, the system is highly centralized; while in North Carolina, as a Judge of the Superior Court has pointed out, it "is intensely local in its operation and management, and its machinery is simple." There is no general State Dispensary law, but many counties and towns have obtained Bills from the State Legislature enabling them to adopt the system. The usual regulations provide that liquor before being offered for sale shall

be analysed and found to be pure; that it shall be sold in sealed bottles in quantities not less than a half-pint, that the sales shall not begin before sunrise nor be continued after sunset; that no sales shall be made except for cash, and that no bottle shall be opened on the premises. Purchasers may, however buy without any formalities.

The Rev. A. J. McKelway, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Fayetteville (population 4,222 in 1890), gives the following account of the early history of the system. In 1897 he, "in company with the other pastors of the town, began a movement for a dispensary there in place of the twelve saloons with which the town was afflicted. Blank petitions were sent to the ministers and church officers in the county, and in a little while were returned with a thousand names in all, praying the Legislature to pass a dispensary law for the county. The measure was hotly contested in the Legislature by the Liquor Dealers' Association of the State, which seemed to recognise the danger of the movement to them, and advised its members in Fayetteville to join hands with the Prohibitionists and enact a Prohibition law rather than have a dispensary put into operation. But the Prohibitionists were not to be taken with guile. They unanimously supported the dispensary movement, and the Bill passed both branches of the Legislature." [1]

The experiment was attended with great success; not only the 12 saloons [2] in Fayetteville, but 19 distilleries in the county went out of business. "Statis-

[1] *The Outlook* (New York), April 8th, 1899.

[2] Presumably one dispensary for "off" sales only took the place of the twelve saloons.

tics showed that drunkenness, and the crimes resulting therefrom, decreased about one-half," and it was estimated that the consumption of liquor was reduced by two-thirds.

Mr. McKelway adds: "In Charlotte" (population 1890, 11,557), "the most progressive city of North Carolina, two ministers, two laymen, and the writer of this article met in conference and arranged for sending out circulars and blank petitions to the ministers of all the churches in the county. The movement spread like wildfire. Through the snow and sleet of the great blizzard the couriers went on horseback, from house to house, securing signatures. In Charlotte a mass-meeting was held, and more than a hundred citizens volunteered to go to Raleigh carrying the largest petition ever signed in a North Carolina county, with 3,200 names of voters. The House passed the Bill unanimously, but it was defeated in the Senate, because the Senator from the county concerned had pledged himself to the saloon-keepers during the campaign. But the matter has been merely postponed, and it is only a question of time when the saloons in Charlotte and in North Carolina generally will be superseded by dispensaries or closed by Prohibition. In the smaller towns Prohibition will prevail. In the larger the dispensary will be advocated by the leaders of the reform as preferable even to Prohibition, for under Prohibition the danger of 'blind tigers' [1] has to be taken into consideration. The 'blind tiger' starves under the Dispensary System." [2]

[1] Illicit liquor shops.

[2] While this is not the case in Charleston, South Carolina it appears to be true of the smaller towns in that State.

Another correspondent of *The Outlook*,[1] after two years' study of the system, states that it has eliminated the grog-shop influence from politics; and, dwelling upon a point ever present to the best citizens in the United States, adds: "Wherever there are saloons, they become, if not the headquarters of political demagogues, the principal means by which they carry out their plans; and usually, when the aggregated saloon interests are lined up in the active support of any man or measure, then, generally speaking, it is well for self-respecting voters to be on their guard against them. The Dispensary System effectually removes this evil.

The dispensary as carried out in North Carolina marks an important advance in the evolution of the system. With the freedom of action secured to the localities, the prospects of its ultimate success are brighter than in the more southern State. Yet the framers of the North Carolina system do not appear to have realized, as the people of Norway have done, what is the wise adjustment of the powers of the State and of the locality in which the fullest success is to be found. In Norway the State determines the general appropriation of the profits, forbidding their use in aid of local rates. In North Carolina the profits are turned into the local public fund. In Norway the State, while not undertaking any local management, retains sufficient power to check local abuses.

[1] April 8th, 1899.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Population (1890):	Whites .	327,290
	Coloured .	1,518
	Total .	328,808

In 1890 there was only one town with a population above 8,000, viz. :—Sioux Falls, 10,177.

Proportion of Urban and Rural Population. 1890 :—

Rural	97 per cent.
Urban (*i.e.* populations above 8,000) .	3 „

A similar experiment has been attempted in South Dakota. In November, 1898, the following amendment to the Constitution of the State was adopted :—

"The manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors shall be under exclusive State control, and shall be conducted by duly authorized agents of the State, who shall be paid by salary and not by commission. All liquors sold shall be first examined by a State chemist, and the purity thereof established."

The present condition of the liquor laws in the State is altogether exceptional. The constitutional mandate was for the establishment of a South Dakota State Monopoly, but the House of Representatives acting, as it is openly stated, under the influence of the Sioux Falls Brewery, declined to pass the Dispensary Bill necessary to give effect to the constitutional amendment. The Courts have, on appeal, decided that, under these circumstances, the old licence law remains in force ; and the amendment to the constitution of the State is to be again voted upon in November, 1900. The Anti-Saloon League

of South Dakota exerted all its influence to secure the adoption of the constitutional amendment.

GEORGIA AND ALABAMA.

The Dispensary System has further spread to both Georgia [1] and Alabama,[2] and considerable districts are under its operation.

Results of the Dispensary System.

In the spring of 1899 the directors of the Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society, desiring to secure additional information about the Dispensary plan of managing the liquor traffic in the States which had more recently adopted it, instructed a committee to send out inquiries. The committee agreed upon the questions below, and sent them to prominent people in the States where the system is in use or provided for:—

I. *What is your estimate of the value of the so-called dispensary plans for the sale of liquor, as operated in your State?*

II. *Are the results growing better as the years advance?*

III. *Is the effect salutary on the poorest classes in your communities?*

IV. *Is there an apparent increase in illicit traffic in liquors?*

V. *Will you kindly give us your sharpest criticisms of the Dispensary System?*

[1] See p. 260. [2] See p. 278.

The Temperance Cause, the monthly organ of the Society, thus summarises the results of the inquiry:—"To the first question there are twenty-five answers—eighteen in favour of the system and seven opposed; to the second, twenty-two answers—seventeen favourable, five opposed; to the fourth, seventeen answers—eleven favourable, six otherwise. In all there are eighty-five answers, of which sixty, or seventy per cent., are favourable, and twenty-five, or twenty-nine per cent., unfavourable, but sometimes with important qualifications."[1]

[1] *The Temperance Cause*, July, 1899.

CHAPTER VIII

The Scandinavian Experiments

In the preparation of this chapter the writers have relied, to a considerable extent, upon information obtained by them in the course of personal investigations in Sweden and Norway in June and July, 1898. These investigations have been supplemented by a close examination of the numerous sources of information available on the subject.

The purpose of the chapter is not so much to give an account of the Swedish and Norwegian systems—a work which has already been well carried out by many writers—as to indicate the bearing of the Scandinavian experiments upon the Temperance problem in this country.

For the English equivalents of the foreign moneys and measures named in this chapter the reader is referred to page 736.

THE liquor legislation of Sweden and Norway during the past hundred years affords a remarkable illustration of the power of law both to stimulate and to lessen the consumption of alcoholic drinks.

Amidst much that is the subject of controversy in connection with the Scandinavian liquor laws, the broad facts are not disputed that, in Sweden, the consumption of spirits per head of the population is little more than a third of what it was in 1850; and that in Norway the annual consumption of spirits is only one-half of what it was in 1876, and probably little more than a fifth of what it was in 1833. Norway

is, indeed, now the most temperate country in Europe.[1] These results have been brought about by the joint action of Temperance effort and of wise national legislation; the former could have done little without the latter, and in both Sweden and Norway its main service has been in creating the public opinion which was essential alike for the enactment, the enforcement, and the progressive improvement of wise and strong public law.

It may be noted here that, until a comparatively recent date, spirits[2] in both Sweden and Norway were the "only alcoholic beverage of the lower classes; the consumption of beer being almost confined to the upper and middle classes, and rarely used by them to the extent of intemperance." Beer was, in fact, regarded as a Temperance beverage. Spirit-drinking has been a national custom in Sweden for three hundred years.

SWEDEN

The extraordinary consumption of spirits in Sweden throughout a large portion of the first half of the present century was due to what was practically free trade in the manufacture as well as in the sale of spirits. At the commencement of the nineteenth century it was enacted that in Sweden the right of distillation should go with the soil; *i.e.* it should belong to those who possessed or cultivated land, and

[1] See p. 74.

[2] The native spirit of the Scandinavians is commonly called 'bränvin," generally translated into English as "brandy." When, therefore, in this chapter the word is used, it must be understood as referring to a liquor distilled from potatoes or corn, and containing from 40 per cent. to 50 per cent. of alcohol.

ten years later the privilege was extended to tenants and other persons resident in the country, if the owner of the estate gave them leave. As a result of this legislation, the number of stills in Sweden paying licence had in 1829 reached the enormous number of 173,124, being at the rate of one to every seventeen of the population. In 1895–6 the number was 132. Mr. David Carnegie, of Gothenburg, in his evidence before the Lords' Committee on Intemperance (1879), speaking of Sweden, said: "When the home distillation was allowed, it was a miserable state of things. One peasant would set his still going one week, and invite his neighbours to come in, and they were sure to do so, and all would get drunk together, and the following week his neighbours would begin."

In 1855, according to Dr. Sigfrid Wieselgren, the very careful and well-informed Director of Prisons in Sweden, about 5·9 (English) gallons of native brandy were consumed per head of a population of about 3,500,000. At that time, as now, women rarely indulged in brandy drinking. Estimating, then, that one-half, or 1,750,000, of the population were females, and that of the other half about 600,000 were under the drinking age, which may be put at fifteen years, only about 1,150,000 of the total population could be reckoned as brandy drinkers. The average yearly consumption of the latter would then be 18 (English) gallons.

The combined effects of free distillation and free sale were appalling. "The very marrow of the nation was sapped; moral and physical degradation, insanity, poverty, and crime, family ties broken up, brutal habits—all those grim legions that ever range them-

selves under the banner of intemperance—took possession of the land."[1]

It has been stated[2] that for the ten years between 1841 and 1850, no fewer than 36·46 per cent. of the conscripts were unfit for military service. The following figures, supplied by the Statistical Department of Stockholm, show the number of conscripts rejected on account of unfitness for military service from 1831 to 1890:—

1831–1840	. . . .	35·7 per cent.
1841–1850	. . . .	36·4 „
1851–1860	. . . .	35·7 „
1861–1870	. . . .	27·8 „
1871–1880	. . . .	23·7 „
1881–1890	. . . .	20·4 „

The wretched condition of the country produced at last a powerful Temperance movement, which resulted, twenty years later, in the epoch-making law of 1855. Peter Wieselgren, Dean of Gothenburg, a large-hearted, learned, and eloquent man, was the leader of the popular movement. The Swedish Temperance Society was established in 1837, and soon hundreds of branch societies were formed. More and more pledged themselves to abstain from spirituous liquors, literature was issued, medical men took up the cause; and petitions began to pour in upon the king, Oscar I., himself a champion of Temperance. It is important to observe that the struggle was not confined to members of the Temperance League, but enlisted the support of moderate consumers.

The Law of 1855 was a simple measure; one section of it dealt with the *distillation*, and the other with the

[1] Sigfrid Wieselgren, *The Liquor Laws of Sweden, 1835 to 1885.*

[2] Whyte, *The Gothenburg and Bergen Public-house Systems.*

sale of spirits. Provision was made that the old stills for domestic use should be abolished[1] and replaced by distilleries on a larger scale, and subject to a higher excise duty. With regard to sales, the Act gave to every commune the power to decide with regard to both the Bar ("On") and Retail ("Off") sale, "not only in what manner, and within what limits, the trade should be carried on, but also whether it might take place at all within its jurisdiction." [2]

The effect of the new law in the rural districts [3] was soon apparent. Dr. Wieselgren says :—

> "Before 1855, brandy could be bought in almost every cottage; in 1856, one might travel through whole provinces without finding a single place where it was sold."

There are in Sweden about 2,400 rural parishes, and it is estimated that in 1856—*i.e.* in the year immediately following the passing of the Act—more than 1,800 of these decided to have no places for either the "On" or "Off" sale of spirits.[4]

[1] In 1860 there still remained 2,889 distilleries, but the following year the *small* distilleries had ceased to exist, and in 1861 the number was reduced to 590. In 1896 the number was 132.

[2] For the method of effecting local option see Appendix, p. 716.

[3] In a letter to the present writers, under date February, 1899, Dr. Wieselgren says: "The towns as commercial places found themselves not able to make use of their right."

[4] The total number of Spirit Licences in Rural Sweden in 1856 and in 1895–6 was as under :—

Year.	Retail "Off" Licences.	Ordinary Bar Licences subject to operation of Local Veto.	"Privileged" Bar Licences conferred for one or two Lives.	Casual Licences issued to tourist steamboats and for resorts.
1856 . .	64	82	411	132
1895-6 . .	27	33	95	96

Density of Population in Sweden

In view of the close connection which has already been shown to exist between density of population and the success or failure of certain forms of Temperance legislation, it may be well, before proceeding further, to examine the distribution of population in Sweden.

The country stretches for nearly one thousand miles between latitude 55° and 69° N. But the entire population in 1896 was less than five millions,[1] distributed at the rate of 29 persons to the square mile.

The growth and distribution of the population are illustrated by the following figures:—

	Number of Persons to the Square Mile.
1820	15
1850	20
1870	24
1896	29

In England and Wales there are 497 persons to the square mile, in Belgium 533, in Switzerland 189, and in Russia 49.

Proportion of Urban and Rural Population.

The division between the Rural and Urban population is as follows:—

---

[1] Population of Sweden.

1800	2,347,303	1860	3,859,728
1810	2,377,851	1870	4,168,528
1820	2,584,690	1880	4,565,668
1830	2,888,082	1890	4,784,981
1840	3,138,887	1896	4,962 568
1850	3,482,541		

	1896.	
Urban[1] . .	1,003,798	. 20 per cent.
Rural . . .	3,958,770	. 80 „
	4,962,568	

In 1875 the division was:—

	1875.	
Urban. . .	613,506	. 14 per cent.
Rural . . .	3,769,785	. 86 „
	4,383,291	

Over the wide and thinly peopled districts of Sweden, in which 80 per cent. of its people live, the option of the communes in 1855–6 in so generally closing the places where spirits were sold appears to have been attended with excellent results. There has been little evasion of the law, no difficulty through the formation of drinking clubs, no driving of the traffic below the surface. Forty-three years have now passed since the policy was adopted, and throughout this period it has received, what is a high sanction for any law, the steady support of the people.

To prevent misconception as to the conditions under which this experiment has been carried on, it is to be noted that it was the *common traffic in the sale of spirits* that was stopped by the rural communes—there was no restriction upon their importation direct to the consumer.[2] The constant temptation to the use

[1] The distinction between "Urban" and "Rural" in Sweden is technical and administrative, and many places are included in the category of towns which have extremely small populations. Adopting the United States line of division, and describing as Urban only populations numbering 8,000 and upwards, the division in Sweden in 1896 would be, Urban 16 per cent. and Rural 84 per cent.

[2] With regard to the probable consumption of spirits in the

of spirits was removed, but no sumptuary law prohibiting their use was attempted.

The table on page 442 gives the *per capita* consumption of bränvin and beer in Sweden for a number of years. It is to be regretted that these statistics are less full than those of Norway, and that no figures are available, prior to 1887–8, showing the proportion of the national sales made by the bolags. Beer has been altogether outside the sphere of the company system.

The Problem of the Towns.

In Sweden, however, as in other countries, it was the intemperance of the towns which presented problems of extreme difficulty. In them the policy of prohibition was not adopted. Whether this arose, as has been suggested, from the large number of houses in the towns held upon what were called permanent tenures, or from a recognition of the impracticability of carrying out in the large towns a prohibition policy, is not apparent. The condition of the towns became deplorable, for in addition to the absence of effective regulations for the control of the traffic there, the problem was further aggravated by the influx of customers from the neighbouring prohibition districts.

The Act of 1855 had, it is true, conferred upon municipalities the right, if they so desired, to transfer to a Company the whole of the bar and retail licences which would otherwise have been sold by auction to private licensees, but no municipality had, so far, availed itself of its powers in this direction. Thus it

rural districts of Sweden, see the corresponding question in connection with Norway discussed at page 489 (foot-note).

Consumption of Bränvin and Beer in Sweden.

	Bränvin 50 per cent. alcohol. Litres per head of the population.		Beer. Litres per head of the population.
1829	46	Estimated [1]	In 1829 the number of Stills was 173,124.
1850	22	„	
1856–60	9·5	Actual [2]	By 1855 the number of Stills had fallen to 3,481. Under the law of 1855 power of local option was given to the communes.
1861–65	10·6	„	11·1
1866–70	8·8	„	10·7
1870	10·3	„	11·1
1871	10·5	„	12·1
1872	10·9	„	15·2
1873	11·8	„	16·2
1874	13·5	„	15·1
1875	12·4	„	16·4
1876	12·4	„	15·9
1877	10·6	„	17·0
1878	10·5	„	20·5
1879	8·8	„	16·4
1880	8·1	„	16·2
1881	8·8	„	18·3
1882	8·0	„	15·8
1883	6·8	„	16·8
1884	8·0	„	20·8
1885	8·4	„	In the autumn of 1885 the minimum of a wholesale sale was raised from 39¼ litres to 250 litres. 20·3
1886	7·8	„	22·1
1887	7·0	„	22·7
1888	7·5	„	27·2
1889	6·2	„	28·2
1890	7·0	„	27·4
1891	6·4	„	30·9
1892	6·5	„	30·8
1893	6·7	„	31·6
1894	6·9	„	33·0
1895	6·9	„	35·5
1896	7·2	„	42·4
1897	7·5	„	45·0
1898	8·0	„	

[1] The estimates for the years 1829 and 1850 are taken from a return drawn up by N. Sandell, quoted by Dr. Wieselgren in his *La Lutte contre l'Alcoolisme en Suède*. The various estimates differ widely. The only certain thing about the consumption of these years is that it was very great.

[2] The official statistics of the national consumption of bränvin

happened that in 1856 the towns possessed 584 "Off" and 1,170 "On" licences against 64 of the former and 493 of the latter in the rural districts.

Mr. Edwin Goadby, in his valuable pamphlet upon the Gothenburg Licensing System, writing of the condition of Gothenburg at this time, says:—

"It is the dark sky that brings the apostle and makes his background at the same time. The first Gothenburg apostle was Dr. Peter Wieselgren, Dean of the city. Moved by the misery about him, he got up a petition to the magistrates in 1862, signed by 8,800 persons, the majority of them being poor people, to their credit be it said, to prohibit the sale of spirits on Sundays and holidays, or to limit the sale to meal times. An eloquent report accompanied the petition. The magistrates said they could take no steps in the matter." In 1863, however, a new Communal law was passed by the Diet, and a real Town Council was formed. Another apostle then appeared, who still lives, Dr. S. A. Hedlund, editor of the Gothenburg *Handelstidning*. He proposed that the pauperism of the town should be investigated by a Committee. It was appointed, and ably presided over by Mr. Oscar Ekman, and did its work thoroughly, reporting the next year, *i.e.* in 1865. "The committee found much moral and material degradation, poor dwellings, people in rags, public-houses evading the law as to selling food, 2,161 cases of conviction for drunkenness in 1864, and 104 cases of delirium tremens. Everything was traced to brandy, always brandy. There were 60 public-houses with spirit licences in existence, 50 of which were resorted to by the working classes.

date from 1855, but prior to 1870 can only be obtained in quinquennial periods.

Holders transferred them and lived on the proceeds as a pension."[1]

To remedy this state of things the Committee proposed that the authorities, making use of the right accorded them by the Act of 1855, should hand over the licences hitherto disposed of by auction to a company consisting of persons who would engage in the undertaking, not for the sake of profit but solely for the good of the working classes; that the shareholders should not derive the slightest profit from the concern, beyond the ordinary rate of interest for the capital invested, but that all profits accruing therefrom should be devoted to the welfare of the working classes, or transmitted to the town treasury. This proposal was accepted. Twenty highly respected firms and private individuals formed a Bolag or Company, which on October 1st, 1865, began its operations, an example which was speedily followed in other towns.

Mr. James Whyte, the Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, in referring to the establishment of the Company System, says: "The Gothenburg 'Bolag,' or Company, was formed in the faith that a body of honest and intelligent men, deeply moved by the sins and sorrows of which the liquor traffic was the unfailing source, would, if they undertook to conduct the traffic for no profit or emolument of their own, but for the public good, be able to prevent, or at least to greatly mitigate, the terrible evils which experience has shown to be inseparable from the

[1] Those who desire a detailed account of the formation of the Company may be referred to *The Gothenburg System*, 1881, by Dr. Sigfrid Wieselgren, who is the highest authority upon matters connected with its history.

common sale of drink when carried on for private personal gain. I am convinced that the spirit in which the founders of the Bolag acted is worthy of the warmest commendation. They did what they could. They acted up to their convictions. *And their failures—for they have partially failed—are like those of other honest people, lights on the way of progress.*"

The last words, which the present writers have italicized, are both wise and timely. For the experience to be gained from the operation of the Company System in Sweden and Norway has been obscured by indiscriminate praise on the one hand, and by indiscriminate attack on the other. The experiment of taking the drink traffic out of private hands was a novel experiment attended with many difficulties, and no body of men, however able and honest, were likely, in the first instance, to see its full bearing, or to conduct it without making mistakes.

Essential Features of the Company System.

It may be well, before describing the working of the Company System in Gothenburg, briefly to consider what are its essential principles. If these are kept clearly in mind, it will enable us to determine how much of its success has been due to the system itself, and how far the imperfect results achieved are the consequence, either of a neglect of the fundamental principles of the system, or are due to accidental causes, local or temporary. This continual mental recurrence to the essential principles of the system is the more necessary, as, to quote Mr. Whyte, the Company System has only had "a very partial and imperfect trial in Gothenburg."

(a) *Elimination of Private Profit.*

There are important differences between the Company System in Sweden and the Company System in Norway, and in each country the different Companies have their special regulations; yet, in common parlance, the term "Gothenburg System" is used as descriptive of the whole—Gothenburg having been the first large place which adopted the Company System.[1] But the principle which underlies the entire Company System in Scandinavia *is the elimination of private profit from the sale of drink.*

The Gothenburg Committee, whose investigations led to the formation of the Company, stated in their report that, "The worst enemy of the morals and well-being of the working classes in this community is brandy. Yet it is not the intoxicating liquor only, and its moderate consumption, which causes demoralization and poverty; it is the disorder, evil temptations, and opportunities for every kind of iniquity with which public-house life abounds, that contribute mainly to this unhappy state of things. *Neither local enactments nor police surveillance can do much so long as public-houses are in the hands of private individuals, who find their profit in encouraging intemperance, without regard for age or youth, rich or poor.*"

The Prime Minister of Sweden put the same thought

[1] As early, however, as 1850, a company had been founded in the small town of Falun on the principle of conducting the liquor traffic by a company, regardless of gain or advantage to its members, and later, at Jönköping, a company had been established for the sale of liquor over the bar, on practically the same foundation. It is interesting to know that these small experiments suggested the Company System to the framers of the Act of 1855.

into different words. "It stands to reason," he said, "that when a private individual engages in the brandy trade, as well as in any other, his interests will induce him to sell as much as he can; whereas the Companies, if they properly fulfil their mission—and happily our country can boast of many such—need never be influenced by selfish motives."

(b) *Easy Enforcement of Law.*

But whilst the elimination of private profit from the sale is the central thought in the Company System, two subordinate considerations have a great place in its policy. It is often said that, in this country, what is needed is not so much any new law as the strict enforcement of those now in existence. Conscientious Watch Committees can doubtless do much to prevent the more obvious violations of the law; although even in these cases, the very thoroughness of the effort made may tend to defeat the object in view. Mr. Chamberlain has recorded[1] how "the Watch Committee of the Town Council of Birmingham—finding that drunkenness was by far the most frequent offence in the force under their control, and that while they were compelled weekly to fine and dismiss constables for intoxication while on duty, the persons supplying them with drink escaped undetected and unpunished—determined, in February last, to appoint five special inspectors, carefully selected and highly paid, to see that the provisions of the Licensing Acts were carried out in the borough. Already this appointment has resulted in the prosecution of twenty licensed persons in two months for supplying drunken people and police constables on duty with

[1] *The Right Method with the Publicans* (1876), p. 7.

drink, and for permitting gaming, against ten, the total number proceeded against for these offences in 1875. But the action of the Watch Committee has roused the bitter hostility of the publicans, who have held indignation meetings, and formed an electoral association to secure the return to the Town Council of representatives pledged to the support of the 'righteous privilege' of the liquor-seller to set the law at defiance. In boroughs where parties are evenly divided, it is too much to expect that either side will incur the reprobation of a powerful trade which furnishes one householder to every thirty, and each member of which boasts that he can bring five voters to the poll."

The reader will already have seen in the chapter on Prohibition how continually, and upon how large a scale, the drink-sellers in the United States are able to violate the laws for the regulation of the trade by the capture of the local administration. Occasionally in this country individuals undertake, at their own risk, to attempt to enforce the law; but the task is arduous, and accompanied with no little financial risk. [1]

Under the Company System, all these difficulties

[1] On Saturday, the 11th of February, 1893, Miss M. E. Phillips, a member of the Society of Friends, resident in Tottenham, saw a man, whom she believed to be very drunk, served in a public-house, and called the attention of a policeman to the fact, asking him to get her the man's name and address. The policeman told her he would have to report the case to the inspector. The inspector afterwards called on Miss Phillips and told her that the police would not take any action. She then took out a summons herself, but, when it was heard, the policeman swore that the man was sober, and that he had told Miss Phillips so. Ten other men were ready to swear that the man was sober, and the case was dismissed. Miss Phillips was then served with two writs, one for slander by the man whom she believed to have been drunk, and the other for slander and malicious

are avoided, since the elimination of private profit has effectually destroyed the ordinary inducements to violate the law. Should a manager, for any cause, fail to carry out the bye-laws of the Company, his dismissal can instantly be effected. There is no laborious collection of legal evidence, no costly trial, no risk of a counter-charge, carrying heavy damages.

(c) *Progressive Reforms Facilitated.*

One other consideration of a general character may be mentioned here—Sunday closing, reduction of the number of licensed houses, the shortening of the hours of sale, and the non-serving of children, are reforms which the Temperance party in this country have at heart, and to secure which a laborious national agitation, extending over years, has not sufficed.

In Sweden and Norway, changes of this kind have been easily, almost noiselessly, accomplished. For when a Company has satisfied itself of the wisdom of any of these reforms, it becomes a mere matter of administration to give effect to them. The severance of private interest from the liquor traffic, together with its local administration, make such prompt changes possible. They could not have been so carried

prosecution by the publican. Acting under legal advice, Miss Phillips settled with the man; this case costing her about £55. In the case of the publican, who claimed £2,500, the trial took place in the Court of Queen's Bench before Mr. Justice Wills and a special jury, on the 364th day after the writ had been served. Miss Phillips obtained a verdict. But although costs followed the verdict, Miss Phillips was put to an outlay in connection with this case of about £100. It transpired in court that the publican had previously been convicted of selling drink to a drunken woman, and fined £10 and costs.

This case illustrates both the ruinous risk and the long harass and anxiety to which those subject themselves who seek the enforcement of the Licensing Laws.

out had it been necessary to appeal to the Swedish Diet, and to consider the interests of private dealers.

Briefly, the elimination of private profit from the trade is the central principle of the Company System, while the power of enforcing the strict observance of bye-laws, and of quickly adapting regulations to local requirements, are resultant practical benefits of great importance.

THE COMPANY SYSTEM IN GOTHENBURG.

Population—(1866) 47,332, (1875) 59,986, (1897) 117,534.

We now revert to the history of the Gothenburg Company, to which the town had handed over the licences hitherto disposed of at auction. The Company undertook to carry on the trade solely for the good of the working classes, without any view to private profit; the shareholders were to receive nothing beyond 6 per cent.[1] (the current rate of interest in the country in 1865) upon the capital invested, and all

[1] Mr. Whyte summarily disposes of the charge that there was "any taint of greed or self-seeking" in the rate of interest charged. "It is mere nonsense," he says, "to talk of the 6 per cent., which was to be paid on the money actually advanced, as having been an object of any importance to the Company, which was composed of about twenty of the leading citizens in Gothenburg." "The total amount of capital to be employed was about £11,000, and only £6,900 has been called up. The yearly interest on that amount at 6 per cent. is only £414, or, on the average, about £21 a year to each shareholder. It is not to be thought of for a moment that the fear of having that paltry amount reduced a pound or two would prevent such men from doing their best to carry out the object for which the Company was formed—the promotion of sobriety in Gothenburg." See *The Gothenburg and Bergen Public-house Systems*, p. 15.

The current rate of interest in Sweden is now lower than in 1865, and, under the Act of May 24th, 1895, the interest paid to the shareholders must not exceed 5 per cent.

profits accruing from the sales were to be paid over to the town treasury.

(a) *Reduction in the Number of Licences.*

In 1865, 36 public-house licences were handed over to the Bolag, and as the terms of the remaining "On" licences expired, they also were transferred to the Company; so that by 1868 the Company had acquired the whole number of 61 "On" licences of which the town had the disposal.[1] The Company made use of these as follows:—

Appropriated for public-houses	27	
Transferred by Company to hotels, clubs, restaurants . .	16	
	43,	being one to every 1,172 of the population;
whilst the number not used was	18	
	61	

In 1896-7 the number of "On" licences was still 61, which were made use of as follows:—

Appropriated for public-houses	18	
Do. do. eating-houses	4	
Transferred by Company to hotels, clubs, restaurants . .	20	
	42,	being one to every 2,798 of the population;
whilst the number not used was	19	
	61	

[1] At the formation of the Company there were also five "privileged" licences ("On") in existence. These, which are not at the disposal of the town authorities, have since been reduced to two.

It will thus be seen that, in its first year, the Bolag voluntarily abandoned 18 of its public-house licences and commenced operations with one public-house to every 1,172 of the population. Twenty-eight years later, when the population of Gothenburg had more than doubled, the number of public-houses had been further reduced by one, being in 1896–7 at the rate of one to every 2,798 of the population. In many countries there have been sudden reductions in the number of licensed houses, but the point of special interest in the above figures lies in the evidence they afford of a persistent progressive policy maintained over a long term of years. The Bola also holds 30 Retail ("Off") licences, 7 of which are used by itself and 23 sub-let to wine merchants. The licence of the latter does not permit the sale of bränvin within the city of Gothenburg in a smaller quantity than 55 gallons.[1] The number of "Retail" licences in relation to the population is considerably less than it was in 1874, when the Company first obtained possession of them.

(b) *Character of the Drink Shops.*

The ordinary dram shops of the Bolag are plainly

[1] The intention of the licence was to forbid the sale of bränvin in the city except at wholesale, whilst allowing the sale of wine and "Superior Spirits." The present writers, in the course of their investigation, were informed that the terms of the licence are evaded and that the "cognac" sold by the wine merchants in litre bottles is the native spirit, coloured and strengthened. The litre bottles are sold at 1 kr. 65 öre (1*s.* 10*d.*). This sale is named as an important factor in the drunkenness of the city. If the facts are as thus represented, they call for the attention of the authorities of the Bolag. Bränvin is sold at 1 kr. 10 öre (1*s.* 2⅔*d.*) per litre, the customer supplying the bottle.

PLATE XXI.

Photograph of a Bolag Spirit-Bar in Gothenburg, Sweden.

furnished. There are no flaring gas-lights or brilliant mirrors; externally, many of the houses might be mistaken for offices, and even the stranger inquiring into the system may not infrequently pass them by without recognition.

Mr. Chamberlain, referring to his own visit to Gothenburg in 1876, writes:[1]

"It would be impossible to imagine a greater contrast than is presented by the gin-palaces in some of our large cities and the unpretending buildings in which the trade is carried on in Gothenburg. After visiting a number of these houses, and finding them all of the same character, I said to the Chief of Police who was accompanying me: 'I have seen enough of this sort of house. Now take me, if you please, to the worst house in the worst corner of Gothenburg.' 'You are there now,' was his reply. 'This house is on the quays frequented by the lowest grade of the maritime population. In old days it was the haunt of prostitutes and bad characters of every kind, and a constant scene of riot and disorder. You can judge for yourself of the change effected.'

"I can only say that the place in which I was then would compare favourably with any average public-house in any of our great cities. I gather from Dr. Gould's report that the state of things has certainly not altered for the worse during the last eighteen years, for he says that gambling and immorality have been entirely disassociated from the public-house."

Upon this last point, which is of great importance, the evidence is decisive, and it applies equally to Norway and Sweden. Dr. E. R. L. Gould, in referring to the matter, says: "To say positively, without fear

[1] Introduction to *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic.*

of controversion in the smallest detail, that gambling and sexual immorality have been entirely disassociated from the public-house under the Scandinavian system, is to sound no uncertain note of praise." [1]

(c) *Reduction in the Hours of Sale.*

While the law allows the sale of brandy over the bar to continue until 10 p.m., the Gothenburg Company closes its bars at 6 p.m. in winter and 7 p.m. in summer. The higher-grade divisions of the Company's shops remain open two hours later, during which time non-native spirits only are supplied, and then only with food. All serving of brandy on Sundays and holidays, and after 6 p.m. on evenings preceding such days, is prohibited, with the exception of one dram if served with a meal at the eating-houses between 1 and 3 p.m. The Retail ("Off") shops are open from 9 a.m. till 6 p.m. They are closed during the whole of Sunday. The importance of this early closing will be evident from the fact that in the large cities of our own country a considerable proportion of the trade is done after 7 p.m. Observation of certain public-houses in a West London street in a poor district showed that upwards of 40 per cent. of the total number of persons entering the house in the course of the day entered after 7 p.m.[2]

(d) *Sale of Liquor to Young People.*

The law forbids selling brandy to persons under the age of 15, while the Company has voluntarily raised the age limit to 18, thus excluding young persons from the licensed houses three years longer than is prescribed by law.

[1] *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, p. 19.
[2] See *Life in West London*, pp. 130–136.

(e) *The Establishment of Eating-Houses.*

The Company has established four eating-houses, which cater almost exclusively for working men. They are large, well-conducted and very popular. The writers visited the principal one, near to the Docks, on June 8th, 1898, and were informed that on the previous day 964 portions of food had been sold. In consequence of this great demand, this place was to be enlarged and another opened near at hand. One dram of spirits only is allowed (on paying for it) with each meal. When these houses were first opened, nearly every customer took a dram with his meals, but now not more than one-half of the customers do so. The loss on the Company's eating-houses in 1897 was £381.

(f) *The Establishment of Reading Rooms.*

Seven free Reading-Rooms have also been provided by the Company, in which no intoxicants except small beer are sold. They are well supplied with papers and books. Tea, coffee, milk, aerated waters and light refreshments are sold at low rates. These unpretending but useful rooms,[1] which in 1897 cost 11,684[2]

[1] Referring to their notebooks, the present writers find the following entries: "The room (*i.e.* the one first visited) measures approximately 27 feet by 24, and is bright and attractive; it is well supplied with papers, viz., 4 daily, 9 weekly, 4 fortnightly, 8 monthly, and 1 quarterly. The library has 273 volumes. Writing materials are supplied free. The room is open from 7 a.m. to 8 and 9 p.m. The attendance in winter is from 6,000 to 7,000 a month; in summer from 4,000 to 5,000." Another Reading-Room subsequently visited was equally attractive, and similar in its general equipment.

[2] The seventh Reading-Room was opened in May, 1898, and for this purpose the annual grant was increased to 16,000 kroner.

kroner (£649) to maintain, and have an annual attendance of over 300,000, are altogether distinct from the excellent Free Library of Gothenburg, which may be compared with the free libraries of English cities. The case of the Reading-Rooms is interesting as being an early suggestion of the right method of appropriating such portion of the profits of the Trade as is not paid into the national exchequer. They are here used in directly combating intemperance, through satisfying, to some extent, the craving for recreation apart from the public-house.

(g) *The Consumption of Spirits.*

It is impossible to state with entire accuracy the effect that has been produced on the consumption of spirits by the population of Gothenburg through the action of the Bolag. The Company's sales consist of the "Bar" or public-house trade, and the Retail or "Off" sale. But Gothenburg is surrounded by a prohibition zone, and large Retail ("Off") sales are made to the villagers who come into the town. It is therefore evident that the total sales represent far more than merely local consumption.[1] The most certain test of the influence of the controlling system in reducing consumption is that furnished by the bar sales, and these show a remarkable reduction in the 25 years from 1875 [2] to 1899, as will be seen from the

[1] It is estimated by the Bolag authorities that at least one-half of the Retail ("Off") sales represent extra-local consumption.

[2] "In the Act of 1855 an unfortunate clause had given all shopkeepers with a general trading licence the right to sell spirits for "off" consumption in quantities of not less than half a gallon. To put it briefly, every shopkeeper could sell for 4*s.* 6*d.* half-gallon bottles of spirits. It was thought that this

following figures taken from the last report of the Gothenburg Bolag:—

Year.	Bar sale of spirits in Gothenburg. Litres per inhabitant.
1875	12·99
1876	13·18
1877	14·06
1878	13·61
1879	12·58
1880	11·11
1881	10·13
1882	9·12
1883	8·60
1884	8·55
1885	8·44
1886	8·12
1887	7·65
1888	7·46
1889	6·50
1890	6·43
1891	6·69
1892	5·90
1893	5·27
1894	4·91
1895	4·98
1896	4·94
1897	5·12
1898	5·45
1899	5·95[1]

quantity was large enough to prevent spirits being bought retail for immediate consumption. But the workmen clubbed together, bought at this wholesale rate, and consumed it on private premises, thus defeating the law and the Company. In 1874 the law was altered, and the whole retail spirit traffic transferred to the Company. The record of its achievements, therefore, really dates from that year."—Workman, *What is the Gothenburg System?*

[1] In connection with the statistics of consumption Mr. Whyte justly points out that in 1876 trade was prosperous and wages high, and that some reduction in consumption, in the dull years following, would, under any circumstances, have taken place. For a consideration of the facts bearing upon this the reader is

This reduction of 54 per cent., although remarkable, is perhaps not more than might have been expected. For not only has the inducement to push sales been removed by the elimination of private profit, but the whole conduct of the trade has been guided by men desirous of lessening intemperance, and able, without hindrance, promptly to adapt regulations to the requirements of the place and time. In the reduction of the number of public-houses, in the shortening of the hours of sale, and in the refusal to serve persons under eighteen years of age, it has not been necessary to waste years in an attempt to obtain Parliamentary sanction. In a later chapter,[1] detailed figures of the consumption of spirits in Gothenburg are given.

Consumption of Beer.

The value of the licensing experience offered by the towns of Sweden is increased by the fact that there are two systems in force at the same time, viz.:—restriction under the Companies, as regards spirits; and something approaching to free trade, under the customary stimulus of private gain, as regards beer. Thus, in Gothenburg, for every place where brandy can be bought for consumption on the premises, there are between four and five where beer can be bought,[2] and for the 30 shops where brandy is sold for consumption off the premises there are about 660 where beer

referred to the Appendix, p. 727, where a similar question in connection with Norway is discussed.

[1] See Appendix, p. 717.

[2] In 1899 the number of "on" beer licences was 174, of which 75 were "privileged," being conferred for the lives of the present holders. *Göteborg's Stadsfullmäktiges Handlingar* (1900), No. 32, p. 47

can be bought.[1] Every shopkeeper in Gothenburg who possesses a trader's licence can, if he or she think fit, sell wine and beer for consumption off the premises.

There is some discrepancy between the different estimates of beer consumption in Sweden, but absolute agreement as to its enormous growth in recent years.[2]

The following table, which is compiled from the Report of the Massachusetts Legislative Commission (1893) and the Board of Trade Return (No. 57, 1900) gives the official estimates of beer consumption since 1875:—

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[2] On making inquiry upon the point at the Bureau of Statistics in the Department of Finance, Stockholm, the attention of the writers was directed to the following paragraphs in the *Svensk Kemisk Tidskrift* bearing date 17th March, 1898:—

"Malt liquors not being taxed in any way, the material for statistical researches is very fragmentary. Good basis, is, however, to be found for the years 1880 and 1890; the material for these years having been collected for the special needs of the Royal Commission of 1881 and 1891, appointed for the purpose of proposing a law of taxation on malt liquors. Otherwise one has no other way than that of indirectly ascertaining the quantitative development of the business by the tables of imports of hops.

"In 1880 one kilogram of hops was estimated to be used for four hectolitres of malt liquors. *In* 1890 *the amount of hops for a hectolitre had decidedly gone down, which was a natural consequence of the weaker kinds of malt liquor having increased considerably.*

"Basing the estimate on the import of hops, the quantity of malt liquors for sale in 1896 can be calculated safely to have amounted to 2,400,000 hectolitres, out of which one-half may be said to have been beer and porter, and the other half small beer."

The gratifying fact brought out in these extracts is the growing proportion which the weaker kinds of malt liquor bear to the total consumption.

Year.	Consumption of Beer in Sweden. Litres per head of the Population.
1875–1879	17·2
1880–1884	17·6
1885–1889	24·1
1890–1894	30·7
1895	35·5
1896	42·4
1897	45·0[1]

Effect of Beer Consumption upon Drunkenness.

The effect of an unrestricted sale of beer is strikingly shown in the analysis of arrests for drunkenness made by the authorities in order to ascertain at which place the intoxicated person drank last. In the annexed table the five years commencing with 1875 are compared with the five years ending 1899.

Analysis of Arrests for Drunkenness in Gothenburg.

Years.	Number who drank last at								
	Bars of the Company.	Percentage of total.	Beer Saloons.	Percentage of total.	Home or from a bottle purchase.	Percentage of total.	Place not reported.	Percentage of total.	Total.
1875–79 Annual Average . .	1,038	42%	253	10%	332	13%	861	35%	2,484
1895–99 Annual Average . .	973	18%	1,556	28%	1,314	24%	1,633	30%	5,476

The decline in the number of arrests of those who drank last at the Company's bars, from 42 per cent.

[1] The figures at first sight might seem to lend colour to a suggestion recently made that the decline in the consumption of spirits in Gothenburg is due to a change in the national taste from spirituous to fermented drinks, and is not to be attributed to the operations of the Bolag. The argument, however, is found to have little force when closely examined. See Appendix, p. 718.

of the entire number in the first quinquennial period to 18 per cent. in the later period, speaks powerfully for the restrictive influence exercised by the Bolag. Almost equally suggestive is the increase in arrests of those who drank last at the beer saloons—an increase from 10 per cent. in the first period to 28 per cent. in the last.

Mr. Elliot, who has been Chief of Police in Gothenburg since 1882, and in the force for thirty years, informed the present writers that he attributed "very much" of the drunkenness in the city to beer, either to beer by itself, or to beer in combination with spirits. When asked whether he thought there would be less drunkenness if there were no Bolag, he smiled at what he evidently regarded as the absurdity of the question. He expressed himself as absolutely convinced of the superiority of the Company System.

ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS.

The arrests for drunkenness in Gothenburg since 1875 have been as under:—

YEAR.	Per 1,000 of Population.
1875–1879	39
1880–1884	34
1885–1889	34
1890–1894	42
1895	33
1896	37
1897	47
1898	57
1899	58

The figures are undoubtedly high, and, as in the case of the prohibition towns in America, greatly in excess of corresponding figures for the United Kingdom. But, as has already been pointed out, the statistical test of drunkenness is an extremely mis-

leading one, and affords no decisive evidence of the relative value of different licensing systems. It may be questioned, moreover, whether any great improvement in this direction is possible so long as the sale of beer remains practically free.[1]

It should, however, in fairness, be stated that at the time of the writers' visit to Gothenburg in June, 1898, very little drunkenness was visible—certainly far less than is to be seen in an English city. Visiting the quay sides and back streets on Saturday evening (the arrests on Saturday are nearly double those made on any other day) only one drunken person was seen.

[1] It is difficult to understand the argument sometimes used that the increase of drunkenness in Gothenburg is due to the Company System. The question may be asked: What part of the Company System is thus responsible? Is it the fewness of the public-houses (one to every 2,798 of the population), or the severe limitation of the hours of sale, or the refusal to supply young persons under 18, or the non-giving of credit, or is it the reduction of 54 per cent. in the bar sales of spirits between 1875 and 1899? If, as seems probable, more than 5,000,000 litres of beer are sold annually in Gothenburg, and if the sale is rapidly growing, and is caried on with few of the wise restrictions that attach to the Company sale of spirits, there seems no occasion to seek further for an explanation, or to resort to a hypothesis so extravagant as that under consideration. The elimination of private profit from the sale of drink is the principle which underlies the entire Company System in Scandinavia, and it is instructive to note that the success or otherwise of the Company System, whether in Gothenburg or elsewhere in Sweden and Norway, appears to be almost exactly proportionate to the completeness with which this principle is carried out. The uncontrolled sale of beer in Gothenburg and the sub-letting of retail spirit licences to the 23 wine merchants are obvious violations of the essential principle of the Gothenburg System. If the argument under consideration merely implies that through these violations the Company System fails of its full result, an unqualified assent may be given to the proposition.

The greatest amount of drunkenness observed was on a Tuesday evening, in a Bolag shop near the quay, shortly before seven, the hour of closing. The place was busy, and the staff of attendants at the time was too small to observe, with any care, the condition of the customers. An additional male attendant, to act as inspector, is certainly needed in some of the shops. But such an appointment is unlikely so long as the Bolag pays the manager a fixed sum for staff expenses, and leaves him to appoint his own attendants. This system is obviously vicious, and calculated to interfere with the full possibilities of the Company system.

The increase of drunkenness in Gothenburg in 1898-9 induced the Town Council in 1899 to appoint a committee to find out the real cause of the increase and to propose means for bringing about a reduced consumption of alcoholic drinks.[1] Their Report, which is dated 14th March, 1900, is a document of great interest and value.

The committee directed their inquiry to two main points :—

(*a*) The causes of the increase of drunkenness in Gothenburg.

(*b*) The action that should be taken by the community to lessen intemperance.

Light and guidance was sought from various bodies ; among others, from teachers in public schools, from Temperance societies and trade organizations, from the masters and workmen in certain trades, as well as from brewers, hotel-keepers, etc. The two latter deny

[1] The appointment of the Committee is said to have been primarily due to the petition sent by the Bishop and clergy of the city and district to the Royal Governor of the Province. See page 466.

that there is an increase in drunkenness, but the fact is not questioned by others.

"Good times," with their higher wages, and the increasing consumption of beer are assigned as principal reasons. Attention is called to the vast number of places for the sale of beer—834 in all—and to the inadequate control of this traffic, especially of the "off" trade. Sales are made to intoxicated persons, to children, and often on credit. In the case of the "off" trade there is no limit to the hours during which the sale may be carried on. The beer sold in the city is moreover stated to be of great alcoholic strength.

It would seem that the framers of the Report are conscious that the true cure for this state of things would be found in bringing beer under Company control. They point out, however, that under the existing Swedish law relating to branvin bolags (a law which differs from the Norwegian) it is not possible to include beer within the scope of their operations.

In the meantime the committee make various suggestions for controlling the beer trade of a kind with which we in England are familiar, and from which we should expect small results. Their recital serves as a reminder of the insuperable difficulty of exercising effective control over a trade carried on by those whose interest is to extend it. Happily there is reason to believe that early legislation will remove the difficulty which now keeps the sale of beer outside Company control.

The workmen, in their replies, urge the necessity for better economical and social conditions, for shorter hours, and for better workmen's houses for both married and unmarried, urging that the city should itself build healthy dwellings. The teachers also speak of

the need of healthy dwelling-houses. They advise that instruction should be given in schools upon the effects of alcohol; also that the teaching of cookery should receive greater attention. They further recommend that more support be given to Temperance societies, and that the teachers be liberally supplied with literature to aid in Temperance teaching. Other replies dwell upon the absence of adequate opportunities for recreation to brighten the "grey monotonous lives" which are the lot of many.

The replies as a whole, as well as the Report of the Committee, are marked by breadth of outlook. They recognise that in the struggle with intemperance due place must be given to each of three factors:—

(*a*) To improved economic conditions; (*b*) to effective control of the traffic; (*c*) to direct Temperance teaching, and to a strengthening of moral and religious forces.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Report is its emphatic and repeated insistence upon the need, in Temperance effort, of giving full place to those constructive agencies which meet the legitimate craving for recreation and social intercourse apart from the public-house.

The Report speaks of the need of "cultural recreation" for the general public, and especially for the working classes; and urges that these recreative agencies should be of a good kind and of a sufficient number. It states that experience of such existing agencies shows decidedly that they are the means of lessening drunkenness, and it points out that if the demand for recreation is not rightly met it will seek satisfaction in injurious forms and in drunkenness. To this end the Committee specifically recommend—(1) Free music in parks and other public spaces; (2)

concerts indoors, with merely a nominal fee for admission; (3) people's theatres, circuses, and the like, the theatre also to be used for lantern exhibitions, lectures, and concerts; (4) local branches of the Gothenburg Public Library; (5) additional Bolag reading rooms, with larger supplies of books; (6) the opening of the Gothenburg Museum, free of charge, on certain evenings of the week; (7) increased facilities for athletics, and specially for making use of a certain neighbouring park.

The Committee believe that the financial sacrifices involved in carrying out these proposals will bear good fruit in the future. They suggest that a portion of the Bolag profits should be appropriated for these ends.

The general esteem in which the system is held by disinterested citizens is shown by the fact that in November, 1898, the Bishop and the Dean of Gothenburg, together with thirty clergymen in active service in and around the town "concerned with the evil consequences caused by the beer houses," petitioned the Royal Governor of the province that various restrictions might be applied to the sale of beer such as have been applied, by the Bolag, to the sale of spirits. The special importance of the petition lay in its concluding words, which were as follows:—"Finally we should recommend as a suitable measure that the present number of beer licences should be successively reduced, whenever the present holders, owing to death or other causes, cease to use them; *so that eventually all these licences, with the exception of those connected with the serving of food, should come under the control of the Gothenburg Public-House Licensing Company,—conducted according to the Gothenburg system.*" [1]

[1] The petition is given *in extenso* at p. 719.

The petition is manifestly of great evidential value as showing the estimation in which the Gothenburg Bolag stands with thoughtful and intelligent men who are concerned for the moral progress of the community.

STOCKHOLM.

Population—(1877-8) 153,528, (1898-9) 291,580.

Detailed statistics of the working of the Company System in Stockholm will be found in the Appendix, and only a few facts need be mentioned here.

The Company commenced operations on October, 1st, 1877, when 261 "On" licences were handed over to it by the town.

The Company made use of them as follows:—

Appropriated for public-houses	87	
Transferred by Company to hotels, restaurants and coffee houses	113	
Provisional and other special licences	37	
	237	being 1 to every 648 of population,
whilst the number not used was	24	
	261	

In 1898-9 the number of "On" licences held by the Company was 150, which were made use of as follows:—

Appropriated for public-houses	58	
Transferred by Company as above	82	
	140	being 1 to every 2,083 of population,
whilst the number not used was	10	
	150	

Thirty Retail or "Off" licences were handed over to the Company in 1877. In 1898-99 the number of the Retail licences was 80, of which 27 were used by the Company, 51 were transferred, and 2 were not used. In 1877 there was one "Off" licence to every 5114 of the population; in 1898-99 there was one to every 3738.

Minors up to the age of 15 are forbidden by law to enter saloons; but the Brandy Company has here, as elsewhere, voluntarily raised the age to 18. The effect of the Company System in restricting sales in Stockholm is shown by the fact that while in 1877-78 the Bolag bar sale of spirits was 13·82 litres per head of the population, it had fallen in 1898–9 to 7·56 litres.

Weak Points in the Swedish System.

There is much to be learnt from an examination of the weak points in the Company System in Sweden, which have been brought to light during the past 20 or 25 years. Such an examination leads to the conclusion that the defects are almost wholly traceable to deficiencies in the statutory law under which the companies worked.

Firstly, the legislature, having failed to realize what the present writers believe to be the right appropriation of the surplus profits, gave its sanction to the use of the profits in aid of local rates, an appropriation full of danger.

Secondly, no adequate provision was made to guard against ordinary abuses of administration.

To deal with the last point first. It is clear that

in some small places the essential principles of the system were very imperfectly realized, and abuses were allowed to creep in which could have been effectually prevented had the provisions of the law been more skilfully drawn. These abuses formed the subject of official inquiry in 1894–5, and are unsparingly set forth in the Report issued by the Swedish Bureau of Control (Finance Department, Stockholm)—a report which prepared the way for the excellent law of May 24th, 1895. Under this law, little loophole would seem to be left for a recurrence of irregularities. The accounts of the companies have now to be kept in the manner and after the formula provided by the Bureau of Control and Assay of the Royal Department of Finance. Another clause provides for the yearly examination of the accounts of the companies by five auditors, one of whom is to be appointed by the Governor, representing the Crown. The auditors' report has, moreover, to be published before the end of February in each year in some of the local newspapers.

It may be asked what were these "abuses" and "irregularities"? The answer is exceedingly suggestive. They consisted in carrying on the local drink trade more or less for profit, instead of with a view to restriction and control. That is to say, the "abuse" of the Company System in Sweden was identical with the ordinary trade methods in non-company countries.

In the large towns the administration of the Bolags is both able and honest. The directors have honourably administered their responsible trust. In Gothenburg, as has been shown, they have steadily kept down the number of licensed houses; they have

shortened the hours of sale; they have raised the age at which young persons may be served, and have opened eating-houses and reading-rooms. But the full success of the enterprise has been impaired by the appropriation of the profits of the Company towards the reduction of rates, an appropriation unfortunately made possible under the statutory law. Hitherto, this use of the profits may have resulted in nothing worse than a failure to bring into play the great forces in favour of Temperance which are possible under an enlightened disposition of the funds. But a real danger must lurk in any system which gives the ratepayer a direct interest in the profitable carrying on of the trade. In 1897 the share of the profits of the Gothenburg Company received by the municipality was not less than £36,899,[1] an amount equal to 31 per cent. of the total municipal revenue raised by rates.[2]

It has often been matter for surprise that men so enlightened as the original founders of the Company should have adopted a method fraught with so much peril. What the present writers believe to be the true explanation has not, so far as they know, been hitherto placed before English readers. But it is an interesting fact that the directors had originally planned to devote the profits of the Bolag to "some

[1] The items of the profit are made up thus:—

Fixed payment to the City Treasury for Bar Sale and Retail Licences	£15,230
$\frac{7}{10}$ths of the Bolag profits (£30,956)	21,669
	£36,899

[2] The amount raised by rates in Gothenburg (1898) was £118,013

purpose conducive to the welfare of the working classes." Why was this intention abandoned? Apparently because the promoters were threatened with the formation of a rival company prepared to offer better terms to the town. The hands of the original directors were thus forced, and in order to keep the experiment under their control they were compelled to offer terms equal to those made by their competitors. The incident is noteworthy as a further illustration of the necessity of dealing with this crucial question of the distribution of the profits by clear statutory law.

For supplementary evidence upon the working of the Company System in Sweden, see Appendix, p. 716.

NORWAY.

The licensing system in Norway has been conducted under conditions of population and economic development similar to those which have obtained in Sweden. The number of persons to the square mile in 1896 was only 17, and of the total population of 2,081,800, 26 per cent. belonged to the urban and 74 to the rural population.[1] Both Norway and Sweden are lands

[1] Proportion of Urban and Rural Population in Norway.

	Population.	Percentage of Urban	Total Population Rural
1825	1,051,318	11%	89%
1855	1,490,047	14%	86%
1875	1,813,424	18%	82%
1891	2,000,917	24%	76%
1896	2,081,800	26%	74%

In

of peasant proprietors. In 1875 the owners of real estate in the rural districts of Norway numbered 173,183.[1] The total number of small freehold proprietors in Sweden in 1880 was 224,569.[2] In one respect there is a wide difference between the two countries. The traditions and *régime* of Sweden are aristocratic; the atmosphere of Norway is essentially democratic. But in the Temperance history of the two countries there is a remarkable similarity—each experienced the tremendous peril of free distillation, while each has adopted local option in the rural districts and the controlling system in the towns.

Free Distillation.

In 1816, the Norwegian Storthing granted every one the right to distil brandy from grain or potatoes raised on his own land. The consequences were startling. During the ensuing 20 years the consumption more than doubled, reaching 16 litres of bränvin (50 per cent. alcohol) per inhabitant. In 1833, when distillation was unrestricted, the number of stills in Norway was 9,727; viz., 9,576 in the country districts and 151 in the towns. This free distillation reduced the country to a fearful condition. Referring to this

In 1896, Christiania and Bergen accounted for nearly one-half (46%) of the town population.

Density of Population in Norway.

1825	8	persons to square mile
1855	12	„ „ „ „
1875	15	„ „ „ „
1896	17	„ „ „ „

[1] *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "Norway."

[2] Parliamentary Return C—6250.

period, Mr. Lars O. Jensen, the leader of the Norwegian Good Templars, in a paper read before the International Temperance Congress at the Hague in 1893, stated that in some parishes,—as, for instance, in Tônset—"even the women could no longer go to church on Sunday without having their bottle of brandy with them, while it was not unusual to find a great part of the congregation lying dead drunk outside the church walls, when the service was over. Brandy was given to babies, while it was considered quite a necessity for nursing mothers. So brandy was on the fair way to ruin the Norwegian people."

The country became alarmed. By 1840 the number of stills had been reduced to 1,387, and, under the operation of the law of 1848, the number was, in 1850, brought down to 40. At the present time there are 21 distilleries in Norway.

Reduction in Number of Licences in Rural Districts and Local Control of Traffic.

Other legislation of an important character was adopted, especially the Act of 1845, two clauses of which produced a great effect.

By Section 5 it was enacted that "In the country districts, bar trade in brandy must be carried on only at such inns as are necessary for travellers, and which on this account shall be given a licence to conduct this bar trade, yet it shall be forbidden to serve brandy to any persons living or staying nearer than 3½ miles (English) to the inn."[1]

[1] Dr. E. R. L. Gould, *The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic.*

But even this restricted number of licences was subject to a local veto. For, under Section 7, it was provided that "In the country districts permission to carry on a bar trade in brandy shall not be granted to innkeepers, nor permission to retail it granted to country merchants, unless the local governing body have recommended the establishment of such retail or bar trade places."

The Company System in Norway.

The introduction of the Company System in Norway, authorized by the Act of May 3rd, 1871, was due to the example afforded by Gothenburg in 1865. The Norwegian system was, however, no mere copy of that existing in Sweden. Norway had the immense advantage of availing itself of the experience of Sweden, and of thus avoiding some of the mistakes made by the pioneers in an untraversed field. "Norway began where Sweden left off." It has been pointed out that the defects in the Company System in Sweden—especially the appropriation of the profits to the reduction of rates—were due to the absence of proper statutory law. About twenty words in the Act of May 3rd, 1871, sufficed to make any such appropriation of profits in Norway impossible. A lax administration of the Bolags, such as obtained in some of the small towns of Sweden prior to the Act of 1895, was also guarded against; for, "while the law of 1871 does not expressly imply it, the final decision in all matters relating to the Companies rests with the Department of the Interior. Its powers are nearly absolute."

The Norwegian law of 1871, under which the Com-

panies were established, expressly provided that the net profits of the Samlags should be devoted to objects of public utility, and this was interpreted as referring to objects which the municipality is not, by law, already obliged to support.

Christiansand, a town of 12,000 inhabitants, was the first to adopt the Company System, and others followed. In 1875, 15 societies had been established, in 1880, 41, and in 1891, 51, out of a total of 59 towns with a licensing authority.[1]

It may be well to point out here that the licensing authority in every town may or may not grant licences at its discretion, as will be seen from the fact, stated below, that in five small towns the retailing of intoxicating liquors was entirely prohibited. The same may be said of rural districts; "in them local option exists, and is practised in its most complete forms; in some places a few licences are granted, in others none at all, depending on the discretion of the communal body of representatives, which is the licensing authority."

The following table gives the *per capita* consumption of Bränvin and Beer in Norway :—

[1] It must be kept in mind that the right to establish a Samlag or Controlling Society was conferred upon towns only, and was not extended to the rural districts. In five of the eight other towns (with an aggregate population of 9,900) licences for retailing spirits had up to the end of 1895 been refused to all applicants. In three other small towns, with an aggregate population of 1,280, the retailing of spirits was, up to the same date, conducted by private licensees. In every other town in Norway with a licensing authority a Controlling Society had been formed by 1889.

Consumption of Bränvin and Beer in Norway.

	Bränvin of 50 per cent. alcohol. Litres per head of the Population.	Proportion of national sales of Bränvin made by Samlags.[1]		Beer. Litres per head of the Population.
	Estimated.			
1833	16·0		In 1833 the number of stills was 9,727; reduced in 1840 to 1,387, and in 1850 to 40.	
1843	10·0		By the law of 1845 bar trade in Bränvin in the rural districts was confined to inns necessary for travellers; but, without permission of the local governing body, even this sale was not permitted.	
	Actua			
1849–50	5·4			
1851–55	6·3			
1856–60	5·5			
1861–65	4·4			
1866–70	4·8			
1871	5·3		. . . . .	12·3
1872	4·5		. . . . .	13·0
1873	5·3		. . . . .	16·1
1874	6·6		. . . . .	19·0
1875	6·5		. . . . .	23·2
1876	6·7	8·3	. . . . .	21·1
1877	6·0	14·8	. . . . .	21·4
1878	4·5	22·2	. . . . .	20·7
1879	3·3	24·5	. . . . .	20·1
1880	3·9	21·0	. . . . .	15·3
1881	3·0	30·1	. . . . .	16·1
1882	3·8	25·5	. . . . .	16·2
1883	3·3	34·1	. . . . .	17·7
1884	3·5	34·1	. . . . .	16·9
1885	3·5	32·1	. . . . .	17·1
1886	3·0	41·4	. . . . .	13·5
1887	2·8	43·2	. . . . .	13·3
1888	3·1	40·1	. . . . .	15·5
1889	3·2	41·8	. . . . .	15·5
1890	3·1	49·1	. . . . .	18·8
1891	3·7	42·9	. . . . .	21·7
1892	3·2	51·3	. . . . .	20·6
1893	3·5	45·6	. . . . .	20·8
1894	3·8	39·7	. . . . .	19·8
1895	3·5	41·2	. . . . .	17·7
1896	2·3	56·4	The law of July 24th, 1894, came into force January 1st, 1896.	16·2
1897	2·2	60·5	In 1896–7 Norway flooded with laddevin.[2]	17·8
1898	2·6	56·1	. . . . .	21·6
1899	3·3	—	. . . . .	23·2

[1] The Norwegian word "Samlag" corresponds to the Swedish word "Bolag."

[2] Common wine mixed with Bränvin. For the causes which led to its manufacture and introduction into Norway see pp. 495–498.

An examination of the foregoing table (for the basis of which see Appendix, p. 725) shows that in a period of about twenty years, from 1833 to 1851–55, the *per capita* consumption of spirits in Norway was reduced from 16 to 6·3 litres. After this followed a period of more than twenty years in which the consumption was almost stationary, and it was not till the Samlags had been introduced, and a material portion of the trade had been brought within their control, that any further reduction was effected. In connection with these figures it will hardly be necessary to point out that it is comparatively easy to reduce a drink bill when it is at an altogether abnormal height. To strike off a single litre from a *per capita* consumption of three litres would be harder than it was to strike off eight or ten litres sixty years ago.

The controlling system as it was first introduced into Norway, while agreeing in its main outlines with that of Sweden, had important points of difference. These differences are clearly seen in the regulations of the Bergen Samlag, which is often named as that in which the Norwegian controlling system finds its fullest expression.

THE COMPANY SYSTEM IN BERGEN.

Population—(1877) 40,760, (1897) 65,500, (1899) 70,000.

Bergen, the chief port and second city of Norway, is familiar to English and American travellers as the usual place of arrival and departure in the Norwegian tour.

(a) *Reduction in the number of Licences.*

In this town the Controlling Society commenced operations on January 1st, 1877. The municipality

had suppressed some of the licences that were in actual operation in 1876, and transferred the rest, viz. 16, to the Samlag. In the case of those suppressed no compensation was given, the practice in this respect, so far as ordinary licences are concerned, being uniform throughout Scandinavia.[1] Of the 16 licences transferred to the Company, 12 were used as Bar and 4 as Retail ("Off") licences. In 1880 the Bar licences were reduced to 11, in 1889 to 10, in 1897 to 9, and from April of 1898 to 8. In 1877 there was one Bar licence to every 3,396 of the population; in 1898, one to every 8,187. The "Off" licences have remained throughout at 4, being now at the rate of one to every 16,375 of the population. Small as is the number of these licences, they serve the purpose of a safety-valve. There is no club difficulty in Bergen, and no driving of the traffic below the surface.

(b) *Hours of Sale.*

The times and hours of sale are more severely restricted in Norway than in Sweden. In Bergen, for example, no sale of drams is allowed on Sunday or on festivals. The spirit bars close at 1 p.m. on Saturday, and do not open till 8 a.m. on Monday. On week-days the general hours of sale are from 8 a.m. till 12 at noon, when they are closed till 1.30 p.m.; they are opened again from 1.30 to 7 p.m. On days before festivals (*i.e.* Christmas Eve, New Year's Eve, Easter Eve, and Whitsun Eve) both bar and retail shops are closed all day. They are also closed on Constitution Day (May 17th) and on election days, and

[1] In the case of "privileged" licences—*i.e.* those held upon a term of one or more lives—compensation upon the basis of recent profits was given.

whenever the chief of police requires. The closing from 12 to 1.30 is especially enacted to protect working-men from the temptation of dram-drinking during the dinner hour, a striking reversal of the ordinary English idea.

(c) *Character of the Drink Shops.*

The following description of the Bergen spirit shops given by a Committee of the United Kingdom Alliance a few years ago, is so clear and marks so well their present characteristics that it may be reproduced here:—

"The Bergen bars offer no attractions whatever, except drink. They have no resemblance to bright gin-palaces, nor to bright coffee taverns, nor yet to 'snug' public-houses. They are not places of resort for social intercourse. There is nothing—save the drink—of the 'working-man's club' about them. Food is not provided in them. They are neither comfortable nor spacious. Accommodation or arrangement for either indoor or outdoor games has not been so much as thought of in connection with them. Newspapers are not supplied. Indeed, seats are not provided. There are no private apartments to be obtained in them for business or other purposes. People don't meet in them to do business, to discuss politics, to play cards, or to discuss and bet on races. Indeed, customers are not permitted to loiter on the premises. They must consume their dram at once and leave immediately."

(d) *Hotels and Sub-Licensing.*

A distinctive merit of the Norwegian system is that sub-licensing (such as we have seen exists in Sweden)

is generally kept within narrow limits. In cases where the public convenience demands it certain privileges are granted to hotel-proprietors, etc., for the sale of spirits, but even in such cases an arrangement is generally made that the proprietor of the hotel or restaurant shall become the salaried agent of the Company, which undertakes all risk, and receives the whole of the profits on the spirits sold.

The Bergen Society, however, has persistently refused to grant sub-licences to the proprietors of hotels, restaurants, and clubs. Both travellers and club-members must, therefore, either supply themselves with private bottles or visit the spirit bars of the Company in order to procure a supply.

(e) *Special Police Inspection.*

In order to guard against violations of its bye-laws for the control of the traffic, the Bergen Samlag pays the municipality 1,200 kroner a year for the exclusive services of a police officer to watch the bars and retail shops.

(f) *Waiting-Rooms for Workmen.*

Another good feature of the Bergen Society's administration is the provision of four waiting-rooms for workmen. The rooms, which are in separate buildings, and in no way connected with the Company's shops, are warmed and supplied with newspapers; no charge is made for their use, and smoking is allowed. The cost of maintenance of these rooms was, in 1897, 5,500 kroner (£305).

(g) *Other Regulations.*

In Norway, as in Sweden, no credit is given by any

PLATE XXII.

Photograph of a Samlag Spirit-Bar in Bergen, Norway.

of the Companies. "You can no more buy drink on credit than you can buy postage stamps or railway tickets on credit."

In Bergen there are no female attendants in either the Bar or Retail ("Off") shops belonging to the Samlag. It was probably this example that induced the Bergen municipality, ten years ago, to pass a regulation precluding women from being employed as bar-tenders in places where beer and wine was sold—these being outside the control of the Samlag—the only exception being in the case of the landlord's wife. The incident indicates the influence which Temperance sentiment exerts in Bergen, and is one of a multitude of illustrations to show that the Samlags, so far from lowering the tone of thought on matters connected with the drink traffic, act as a distinctly educational force.

Reduced Sale of Spirits.

In estimating the consumption of spirits in Bergen it is important to remember that the sales of the Company, which form the only available basis of calculation, represent other than purely local consumption. The fact that Bergen is the principal port of Norway and the chief centre of trade on the western coast necessarily furnishes the city with a large floating population whose drinking habits considerably affect the statistics of sale. In Bergen, as in Gothenburg, the truest index to the effect of the controlling system upon the local consumption is to be found in the record of the Bar sales. The following table shows the average consumption of spirits at bars,

per inhabitant, from the formation of the Bergen Company :[1]—

Year.	Bar Sale of Spirits in Bergen. Litres per inhabitant.
1877	2·45
1878	2·11
1879	1·68
1880	1·53
1881	1·61
1882	1·64
1883	1·63
1884	1·67
1885	1·68
1886	1·67
1887	1·65
1888	1·57
1889	1·56
1890	1·56
1891	1·65
1892	1·69
1893	1·60
1894	1·46
1895	1·35
1896	1·02
1897	·99
1898	1·01
1899	·96

From these figures it will be seen that the reduction in bar sales between 1877 and 1895 was not less than 44·9 per cent.[2] But the actual reduction effected by the Samlag was probably much greater. It is unfortu-

[1] Detailed figures of the Consumption of Spirits in Bergen are given in the Appendix, p. 733.

[2] If the comparison had been made with 1899, the reduction would have been one of 61 per cent., but, as will be explained later, the flooding of the country with "laddevin" since 1896 renders many of the statistics subsequent to 1895 of uncertain value.

nate that in Bergen, as elsewhere, exact statistics of consumption are not available for the years immediately preceding the establishment of the Samlag, so that the real extent of the reduction effected by the controlling system cannot be fully shown.

If, however, we take as the basis of comparison the advance-estimate of probable consumption in 1877, an estimate made by the Excise Authorities and based upon the figures for 1876, there must have been a total reduction of consumption of 43 per cent. as the result of the Society's operations *in the first year of its existence.*

Arrests for Drunkenness.

The apprehensions for drunkenness in Bergen from 1877 to 1899 were as under. The full particulars are given elsewhere.[1]

	Per 1,000 of the Population.
1877–1881	20·6
1882–1886	15·7
1887–1891	16·4
1892	12·1
1893	14·1
1894	15·9
1895	22·1
1896	29·1
1897	27·3
1898	27·8
1899	25·9

The explanation of the extraordinary increase in the arrests since 1895 is given later in this chapter.[2]

[1] See Appendix, p. 733.

[2] See pp. 495–498

Appropriation of Profits.

The profits of the Bergen Samlag available for distribution for the 21 years 1877 to 1897, have been 2,652,723 kroner (£147,373), or a yearly average of 126,320 kroner (£7,018). They have been appropriated as under:—

	Kroner.	Percentage of total appropriation.
Hospitals, Refuges, Homes . . .	827,640	31
Museums, Libraries and Exhibitions	620,391	24
Tree-planting, Parks, Public Baths and Recreation Grounds . . .	409,178	15
Various Educational Institutes . .	216,148	8
Bergen National and New Theatres	126,000	5
Workmen's Waiting-Rooms . . .	101,500	4
Various Christian Missions . . .	85,200	3
Temperance Societies and Inebriate Homes	75,950	3
Sundry Charities	61,400	2
Summer Excursions for Children and poor Seamstresses	28,000	1
Sundry objects, including Free Concerts in Park, Boys' Training Ship & Birds' Protection Society	101,316	4
	2,652,723	100

With the wide extension of municipal action now obtaining in this country, some of the above items would be paid for out of the rates, and it may be urged that in Norway a corresponding enlargement of the sphere of municipal activity would include such objects as tree-planting, public baths and recreation grounds. Looking to the future, this may be true, although it is doubtful whether, up to the present, Norwegian municipalities would have expended the rates upon objects of this kind. An equally cogent

criticism may be offered upon the appropriation of £45,980 for hospitals, refuges and homes. Those who, in this country, have served upon the committees of such institutions, and have realized how much could be accomplished with ampler funds—often so difficult to obtain—will question the wisdom of making the maintenance of the income of these institutions dependent upon an undiminished drink traffic. It may be doubted also whether, in the long run, the efficiency of Temperance organizations will be advanced by participation in these profits.

Considerations of this kind appear to have influenced the Temperance reformers who drafted the Bill of July 24th, 1894, under which 65 per cent. of the profits will go to the State. Whether the provisions for the appropriation of the remainder are equally wise may be doubted.

If the Norwegian appropriation of profits is a great improvement upon the Swedish method, a still greater advance will be made by any country that realizes the imperative need in the struggle with intemperance of varied counteracting agencies, and regards the profits of the trade not as a dangerous thing to be got rid of as best may, but as an instrument, if rightly used, of enormous and beneficent power.

Reality of the Control.

The chief interest to the English observer of the Bergen experiment lies in the evidence which it affords of the reality of the control exercised by the Companies. The Bergen Samlag may be condemned by some as being too high-handed in the restrictions which it imposes upon the sale of spirits; no one can

complain of any want of thoroughness in its policy. It is almost superfluous to point out how absolutely impossible it would be to exercise any similar control under private licence.

In an interesting Report by a Committee of the United Kingdom Alliance upon the Scandinavian Licensing systems, the writers, after speaking of the controlling system in Bergen "as the most successful system of local control in existence," add: "But if the Bergen system can do but little to prevent men who are already victims of the 'drink crave' from getting drunk, there is great probability that it is doing a good deal to prevent the drink crave from being formed. It seems probable that at present the Bergen bars are not nurseries of drunkenness, as are the highly respectable, comfortable and attractive public-houses of this country, to which young men and women who have no special liking for intoxicants do *not* at first go 'to drink for the sake of drinking,' but because of one or more of a vast variety of inducements, not one of which is offered by the managers of the Bergen bars."

The accuracy of these statements was impressed upon the present writers as a result of personal investigations in Bergen in June and July, 1898. Interviews with the Chief of the Police and others elicited strong testimonies to the value of the controlling influence exercised by the Company.

The extent to which the Bergen Controlling Society has won the respect and support of the most influential citizens was strikingly shown in a series of letters addressed a few years back to Mr. T. M. Wilson (the well-known author of *Local Option in Norway*) in

response to inquiries made by him. The questions put by Mr. Wilson, together with a number of the replies, are given later.[1]

CHRISTIANIA

Population—(1885) 128,300, (1890) 143,347, (1897) 192,141, (1898) 203,000.

The essential principle of the Gothenburg system—the elimination of private profit from the sale of drink—has been less fully carried out in Christiania than in the other large towns of Norway and Sweden. It is true that there is only one "On" licence to every 5,970 of the population, but there are at the present time 29 retail shops where common bränvin, as well as superior spirits, is sold.[2] To 25 of these the Samlag issues sub-licences, while 4 are privileged retailers. Each of these 29 shops pays the Samlag 10,000 kroner (£555) annually. That such a payment should be made shows the magnitude of the trade which these shops carry on. It will not excite surprise that in a city in which the stimulus of private gain has such ample scope[3] there is much intemperance. Thus in 1897 the arrests for drunkenness were 17,992,[4] or 94 per 1,000 of the population. No doubt laddevin is responsible for the great increase in the last two or three years, but before its introduction the arrests were 78 per 1,000, a

[1] See Appendix, p. 734.

[2] The retail shops holding sub-licences under the Bolag in Gothenburg may only sell "superior spirits"—they are precluded from selling bränvin. But see footnote, p. 452.

[3] In his *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, Dr. Gould states that the Christiania Company "dispenses barely 40 per cent. of the spirits sold in bottles and over the bar."

[4] The number of separate people arrested for drunkenness in 1896 was 8,428.

number as great as in 1884, before the Company had been formed.[1] It is also to be noted that Christiania is the centre of the brewing industry, and that in 1898 it had 239 "On" beer licences, while the number of "Off" beer licences (in 1896) was 1,877.

THE NORWEGIAN LAW OF JULY 24TH, 1894.

(*The Law came into force January 1st*, 1896.)

ATTENTION in this country has been directed to the Norwegian law of 1894 as constituting an important landmark in the history of temperance legislation in Norway. The provisions of the Act are so remarkable, and the results flowing from it have been so unexpected, that a few pages must be given to an examination of the measure and of its working.

The law gave expression to the advanced temperance opinion of the country; it was drafted by the Temperance leaders[2] and carried by Temperance support.

To understand its leading provisions it is needful to look at the position of the town and rural populations respectively prior to 1894. In the rural districts, containing three-fourths of the population, local option prevailed, and under its operation the Bar ("On") and Retail ("Off") trade had been practically suppressed, and there remained only 29 privileged licences, each dependent upon the continuance of one or two lives.[3]

[1] The Christiania Samlag commenced operations July 1, 1885.

[2] The law of 1894 was drawn by Mr. Aarrestad, leader of the Temperance party in the Storthing, together with Mr. Berner, a prominent and influential member of the Temperance party, and Mr. Jensen, Chief Clerk in the Department of the Interior. —*Foreign Office Report. Miscellaneous Series, No.* 349, 1895.

[3] A Report presented to the Norwegian Storthing in 1898

But any distiller or wholesale dealer was at liberty to take orders for quantities of not less than 40 litres ($8\frac{4}{5}$ gallons) of spirits and send it, in one vessel, to any one buyer living within a prohibition district. A keg of spirits containing 40 litres could be purchased for £4 10*s.* or less, and it was a common thing for persons to club together and order this quantity for their joint use.

An official inquiry for the six years 1884–1889 showed that 59 per cent. of the total national consumption of spirits was represented by sales of 40 litres and upwards, and only 41 per cent. by sales in small quantities.[1]

One object, then, of the Act of 1894 was to do away with this wholesale trade, and, for this purpose, the minimum of a wholesale sale was raised from 40 litres to 250 litres; *i.e.* from $8\frac{4}{5}$ to 55 gallons—a purchase which would cost about 500 kroner (£28). And, further, every wholesale dealer was required to pay yearly a licence tax of 1,000 kroner (more than £55).

gives the number of privileged brandy sellers in the rural districts of Norway as twenty-nine, of whom nineteen sell "On" and "Off," while nine sell only "Off" and one sells only "On."

[1] The present writers were informed, in the statistical and other Government departments, that no figures exist to show the proportion of the national consumption of spirits which belongs to the rural districts. In a communication since received, Mr. Berner states that the wholesale sales of 40 litres and upwards in 1884–89 were not made exclusively, perhaps not mainly, to the rural districts, but that large sales were made to sailors and fishermen. Mr. Berner adds that the consumption of brandy in most of the rural districts is really small, except at festivities and especially at Christmas time, when the farmers, in accordance with old Norwegian custom, use a large quantity.

But the aims of the Temperance party went further than this. They knew that by the action of a popular vote licensed houses for the sale of spirits had, in the rural districts, all but ceased to exist; and it was believed that by the same means they might be closed in the towns. The Temperance leaders were not hostile to the Samlags, but the Company System was regarded by them as a stepping-stone to something beyond. If the sale of spirits was to continue at all, it was better that it should be under the Samlags than free, and hence it was desired to narrow the alternatives to a choice between the Samlags and prohibition. To give effect to these views, the Act provides that in towns all trade in spirits, other than wholesale, whether on or off the premises, must be put under the control of the Samlags. But the most notable feature of the new law was the proviso that the establishment of a new Samlag, or even the continuance of an old one, should be dependent upon a general vote of all residents in the district over twenty-five years of age, men and women alike, a bare majority of those entitled to vote being sufficient for the suppression of a Samlag and the consequent establishment of prohibition. The decision come to is binding for five years.

This Act came into force on January 1st, 1896, but the licences in the 51 towns having Samlags terminated in different years. By the end of March, 1899, the whole of these towns had voted upon the question of the continuance of their Samlags; 13 of these towns voted in 1895 in anticipation of their action in 1896.

The voting in each of the five years has been as follows:—

Year.	Number of Towns in which a vote was taken.	Number of possible votes.	Number of votes for Samlag.[1]	Number of votes against Samlag.[2]	Number of Towns in which Samlag has been retained.	Number of Towns in which Samlag has been abolished.[2]
1895 .	13	23,791	9,682	14,109	2	11
1896 .	9	45,197	21,437	23,760	4	5
1897 .	11	41,984	24,266	17,718	8	3
1898 .	12	43,983	25,855	18,128	8	4
1899 .	6	108,130	86,677	21,453	3	3
	51	263,085	167,917	95,168	25	26

In 1897 two new Samlags were established.

There are two points to note in these returns. Some English Temperance reformers have been fearful that the Company System would necessarily bar the way to more advanced legislation. It has now been seen that the fear is groundless. Not only has the Norwegian Parliament passed an Act with provisions of extraordinary stringency, but the ratepayers in 26 towns have, wisely or unwisely, availed themselves of the power of local veto conferred upon them and have established prohibition.

Secondly, there is the striking change in the character of the voting. In 1895, only 2 towns voted for the Samlags, whilst 11 voted against them. In 1896 the numbers were nearly equal, but in 1897, 8 towns out of 11 voted for the Samlags, and in 1898, 8 towns out of 12 so voted.

[1] As a majority of those *entitled to vote* was necessary for the suppression of a Samlag, those who abstained from voting were counted as having voted for its continuance.

[2] The names of the towns which have voted upon the retention or suppression of the Samlag will be found in the Appendix, p. 737.

It may be too soon yet to express any decided opinion upon the results of this suppression of the Samlags by the 26 towns. When travelling in Norway in June of 1898, the present writers elicited the opinion of many persons in responsible positions both in Christiania and Bergen. The great majority of those consulted believed that the abolition of the Samlags had been a mistake, and would lead to disappointment. This anticipation has received considerable confirmation from the increase of 50 per cent. in the *per capita* consumption of bränvin in Norway between 1897 and 1899.[1] Some of the more important facts gathered in visits to four towns in which Samlags have been suppressed are set forth in the annexed table.

It will there be seen that in Stavanger and Skein the bottle trade is regularly carried on, whilst in Brevik it is only necessary to go across a narrow strip of water in order to get spirits at bar or in bottle. It is also to be borne in mind that in these, as in all the other towns in Norway, beer and wine can be freely purchased.

The great increase in the arrests for drunkenness in Stavanger and Skein will be noticed. Mr. S. Urdahl, a well-known Temperance leader in Norway, wrote to the police authorities in the 16 towns where the Samlags were closed in 1896 and 1897, inquiring as to the effect of the suppression upon sobriety. He received answers from 15 towns. None of the reports received from the different police officers shows that sobriety has been improved; most of them point in the opposite direction. It is, however, to be remembered that this increase in drunkenness in the prohibition towns was coincident with a general

[1] See p. 476.

Facts relating to four Towns in which the Samlags have been suppressed.

Town.	Population.	Date of Suppression of Samlag.	Spirit Licences before Suppression.		How Spirits are now obtained.	Arrests for Drunkenness.		Impression of general results, as gathered on the spot.
			"On."	"Off."		Before Suppression.	After Suppression.	
Skein .	10,000	Dec. 31, 1895	1 4 hotels 1 restaurant	2	Through revival of a privileged Retail ("Off") licence and from neighbouring towns	Average of years preceding suppression "about 350" [1]	(1896). . 485 (1897). . 554	Unfavourable
Porsgrund	4,000	Dec. 31, 1897	2 2 hotels	none	From neighbouring towns	For six months 29	For six months 35	Favourable
Brevik. .	2,100	Dec. 31, 1895	1 1 hotel	none	From Samlag in neighbouring village (across a narrow strip of water) established when Brevik suppressed its Samlag, and from neighbouring towns	For two years Arrests . . 91 Fined . . . 138 Punished . 42	For two years 61 41 11	Unfavourable (see note below [2])
Stavanger	24,000	Dec. 31, 1896	3	1	By the splitting of wholesale purchases, (see note below,[3]) and from neighbouring towns	(1896). . . 595	(1897). . 885	Unfavourable

[1] British Vice-Consul.

[2] In a half-hour's walk, from 6.30 to 7 on the evening of June 24th, 1898, a public holiday, one of the writers saw at least a dozen drunken persons, half of whom were youths of about 18. Later in same evening—8.45 to 9—saw 10 or 12 drunken men, most of them badly drunk, different persons from those seen earlier in the evening. Apparently no arrests. Subsequent inquiry showed that only two persons were arrested for drunkenness on that evening. There was more evidence of drunkenness here (Brevik) than in any other town visited in Norway or Sweden.

[3] An open sale of spirits in bottles is carried on in Stavanger by a tradesman who procures the liquor in the statutory quantities from a duly licensed wholesale dealer and then bottles it and retails it to his clients; the only inconvenience which the latter experience resulting from the fact that they have to give their orders a day or two beforehand. This dealer was prosecuted by the late chief of police, but the prosecution failed, the judges both in the local court and in the court of appeal at Christiania holding that the sale as carried on was not contrary to the terms of the law.

increase throughout the country, and is equally noticeable in Bergen and Christiania. The explanation universally given is that it is due to "laddevin" and "good times."

As an indication of the trend of opinion upon the question of the suppression of the Samlags, it may be mentioned that, as early as March 20th, 1896, Mr. S. Urdahl, writing in support of the Bergen Samlag in the *Bergens Aftensblad*—stated that since the suppression of the eleven Samlags in the previous year, there had been sure signs that already a reaction of public sentiment had set in, and, he added, "we may be pretty sure that if not this year, then in a future parliament, proposals will be made for the requirement of a two-thirds majority to secure the suppression of a Samlag, instead of a simple majority as at present, and that the suppressionists in that case will, in most of the towns, be in a minority." [1]

On a recent page it has been stated that official inquiry had shown that in the six years 1884–1889, 59 per cent. of all the spirit sold in Norway had been sold at wholesale, *i.e.* in quantities of 40 litres and upwards. It was therefore to be expected that when the wholesale limit was suddenly raised to 250 litres, and an annual licence tax of about £55 imposed upon the wholesale dealer, the sales would show a great reduction, and such has been the case.

Taking the official estimates of spirit sales in Norway from 1890 to 1899 (on the basis of 50 per cent. of alcohol) the figures are as follow:—

[1] Had a two-thirds majority been necessary for the suppression of a Samlag, they would only have been suppressed in 5 towns which together recorded 6,737 votes against the Samlags

	Litres.	Per Inhabitant.
1890	6,206,000	3·1
1891	7,328,000	3·7
1892	6,438,000	3·2
1893	7,142,000	3·5
1894	7,628,000	3·8
1895	7,110,000	3·5
1896	4,827,000	2·3
1897	4,637,000	2·2
1898	5,566,000	2·6
1899	7,247,000	3·3

It will be seen that in 1896 there was a sudden drop of 2,283,000 litres in the national consumption, representing a reduction at the rate of 32 per cent., whilst the figures of *per capita* consumption fell from 3·5 litres to 2·3 litres. At first sight, then, it might seem that the new legislation had achieved a signal success, and the more so when it was seen that the consumption of beer in 1896 was less than in 1895. But a great and unexpected danger suddenly appeared. From 1891 to 1894 the annual importation of wine averaged 2,320,300 litres; in 1895 the quantity was 2,967,300; but in 1896 it rose with a bound to 4,943,500 litres; in 1897 to 5,606,600; in 1898 to 5,876,750, and in 1899 to 5,009,673.[1] There was thus a rise in a single year of 1,976,200 litres, being at the rate of 67 per cent. This sudden inrush of "wine" is

[1] The importations of wine per head of the population in recent years have been as under:—

	Litres.
1895	1·44
1896	2·38
1897	2·66
1898	2·75
1899	2·31

one of the strange incidents of fiscal history. The three separate and unconnected causes which conspired to bring it about may be described in a few sentences.

(1) In 1895, Norway entered into a new treaty of commerce with Portugal, under which Portuguese wines, up to 21 per cent. of alcoholic strength, were allowed to enter at the same low duty as the light French wines.

(2) At the same time, an advance took place in the price of brandy, owing to an increase in the excise duty of 27 per cent.[1] In consequence of this increase in duty the Bergen Samlag, in 1896, raised the price of spirits in bottle 20 öre per litre, and made the dram glasses smaller.

(3) At the same time also, through the advance in the minimum of a wholesale sale from 40 to 250 litres, and through the abolition of the Samlag in certain towns, many spirit drinkers found their accustomed supplies shut off, or only to be had at greater trouble and expense.

The distillers of Norway (or some of them), who must have been hard hit by the Act of 1894, saw in this conjunction of circumstances, and especially in the new treaty with Portugal, under which wines with a high degree of alcoholic strength could be admitted at a low duty, an opportunity of getting back a portion of their trade. If bränvin could not be sold as bränvin, could it not be sold as "wine"? The experiment was facilitated by the Norwegian

[1] In 1888 the duty on Spirits (100 per cent. alcohol) was fixed at 1 kr. 60 öre (1*s.* 9½*d.*) per litre. In February, 1894, the duty was advanced to 1 kr. 90 öre (2*s.* 1⅓*d.*) per litre. In May, 1895, the duty was further advanced to 2 kr. 40 öre (2*s.* 8*d.*) per litre.—*Statistical Abstract for Norway*, 1897, p. 166.

Customs Regulations, under which a drawback was allowed upon exported spirit which, as in the case of the drawback upon beet sugar in France, worked out to more than the original tax. Large quantities of spirit were then sent to Hamburg, and smaller quantities to Copenhagen, where it was mixed with exceedingly common wine, and otherwise doctored and re-exported to Norway as "Oporto Wine." Through the negligence of the Norwegian Customs large quantities were at first admitted with an alcoholic strength of as much as 23 degrees. This has now been stopped, and considerable consignments have since been refused admission at the low rate.[1] In 1896 and 1897, this imitation wine—known in Norway as "laddevin" —swept over the country as a flood, and being sold at one-third of the price of brandy, was accessible to all classes. No stringent restrictions interfered with its sale. The Act of 1894 was confined to liquors of over 21 per cent. of alcoholic strength. Wine and beer were outside the Company System. The enactment which provided that every town should have either a Samlag or prohibition, left the sale of wine and beer untouched. To take Bergen as an illustration. The Samlag has only eight places for the bar sale, and four for the retail ("Off") sale of spirits; that is, 12 places in all where spirits can be bought. But there are in the town 62 places where beer and wine can be obtained for consumption on the premises, and about 600 where it can be

[1] Referring to the increased importation of wine in 1898, the Secretary of the Statistical Bureau, Christiania, in a letter to the present writers under date May 31st, 1899, says:—

"The wine imported in 1898 has most likely for the most part been natural wine from wine-producing countries, while in 1896–1897 a very great part of the wine was an artificial product, imported from Hamburg and Copenhagen."

obtained in bottle. The facilities, therefore, for obtaining these doctored "wines" are practically unlimited.

That this unchecked sale of laddevin has caused a great outbreak of drunkenness is universally admitted. The Committee of Revision, in their Report of February, 1898, say: "That the great import, and the increasing consumption, of laddevin leads to a sad retrogression in the sobriety of the people is clear—laddevin contains the greatest danger for the inhabitants of the country, especially the working class, in respect of economical, moral, and social conditions." To draw any inference, therefore, from the increased drunkenness in Norway during the past three years, without taking the scourge of laddevin into account, is to ignore what the Norwegians themselves regard as the most potent factor. How the nation will deal with the difficulty is not very clear. Commercial treaties stand in the way of an alteration in the Customs duties, and the chemists of the Customs department report that no sufficiently clear and easily recognisable line can be drawn between highly brandied Portuguese wines and laddevin. The remedy which meets with most acceptance is to require with each import a declaration of origin, *i.e.* a declaration of the place from which the wine was exported.

Appropriation of Profits under the Act of 1894.

One other important section of the Act of 1894 remains to be noticed. The Norwegian method for the appropriation of the profits earned by the Samlags, although far better than that adopted in Sweden, was justly regarded with apprehension by the Temperance party. If ordinary charities—hospitals, dispensaries,

etc.—and valuable town improvements, such as public parks, were supported by or dependent for their carrying out upon the profits of the local drink trade, then it was only too likely that the effort of the community to restrict the trade would in time be checked. To guard against this danger, the Temperance party were able to embody in the Act of 1894 a most important change in the method of appropriating the profits.

The new method of division, which was to be introduced gradually, commencing in 1896, but coming into full operation in 1901, is shown in the table below:—

Year.	Share of Profit appropriated to		
	The Municipality.	The Samlag.	The State.
1896	15% + 15%	20% + 50%	—
1897	15%	20% + 40%	25%
1898	15%	20% + 30%	35%
1899	15%	20% + 20%	45%
1900	15%	20% + 10%	55%
1901	15%	20%	65%

The 15 per cent. to the municipality is merely an allowance in lieu of the much larger sums previously derived from the licence tax now abolished. The important change is in the appropriation by the State of 65 per cent. of the Samlag profits. This proportion is to be paid into the State Exchequer to form a special fund, the employment of which is hereafter to be determined by the Legislature. It is generally assumed that the moneys so appropriated will ultimately be applied to a scheme for granting Old Age Pensions. The 20 per cent. remaining to the Samlag is to be divided "among the abstinence associations and other

institutions and societies, in the town and neighbouring districts, of which the aim is to promote objects of general utility."

We cannot examine the Act of 1894 without being impressed by the strength of the Temperance sentiment in Norway which made the adoption of such a measure possible. It has already been pointed out that the Company System facilitates progressive Temperance legislation. But it may be worth while briefly to consider why and in what way the Company System exercises such an influence. In chapter II. of the present volume, evidence has been given of the enormous power which in this country the drink interest is able to exercise upon parliamentary and municipal elections.

In Great Britain and Ireland this influence is primarily exerted through the 126,131 holders of "on" licences, who are "local instruments" of singular efficiency. Their trade interest is the same as that of the brewer or distiller, and they have become increasingly willing to carry out the electoral instructions of the great trade organizations. Deprived of these "local instruments," the brewers and distillers would lose most of their electoral force—they would be in a position analogous to that of a parliamentary candidate without a body of active workers. The legitimate influence of the Trade through public meetings and the press would remain, but that which makes it so portentous and threatening a power in the State would have ceased to exist. Now under the Company System there are no "local instruments." The managers of the Company shops are not, as in tied houses, dependent upon any brewer, nor are their interests at all bound up with the trade. The interest

of a bar manager, both in Sweden and in Norway, is to stand well with his committee; and if a manager ever did attempt to influence an elector, he would run the risk of immediate dismissal.

One cannot be surprised that American writers, familiar with the corrupting influence of the saloon in politics, should single out this feature of the Company System for especial praise. Dr. Gould writes: "A conspicuous merit is the complete divorcing of the liquor traffic from politics. In these countries the elimination of the liquor element as a political power is complete." And again: "In Norway every vestige and semblance of political influence is eliminated. Indeed, to my mind, this absolute separation which has been practically effected between liquor and politics is a conspicuous merit."

These statements must be received with one important qualification. It is the *spirit* traffic that has been divorced from politics, not the traffic in *beer*. The distiller has no "local instruments" through whom to work, but the brewer has thousands of such "instruments." Therefore, whilst the political power of the distiller is a thing of the past, that of the brewer remains intact. One is continually reminded of this when travelling in Scandinavia. The necessity of bringing beer under Company control is admitted on all hands; but when inquiry is made whether legislation in this direction is likely to be passed, one is told that the brewers are very wealthy and very powerful, and the change can only come after a fierce struggle.

The Samlags and the Temperance Party.

The attitude of the Temperance party in Norway towards the Company system may be clearly seen in

the following passages written by Mr. Sven Aarrestad, the leader of the Temperance party in the Storthing and in the country.

The extracts are taken from the minority report of the Committee of Revision, drawn up by Mr. Aarrestad, and bearing date March 1st, 1898:—

"As to beer, monopolizing must present itself as desirable. It appears that the breweries more and more gather within their sweep, and get under their control, both hotels, inns, and restaurants, and all kinds of places of public entertainment, in order to have the greatest possible power over all the channels through which beer can flow to the public; in the greater towns especially it has come to this, that the breweries stand behind most of the businesses where beer is sold or drunk. The nominal owner is only a man of straw acting for the brewery. The brewery furnishes the premises, pays the rent, and supplies the necessary capital to start the business—if the man of straw can only get the licence. As to the rural districts, it is not a rare case that breweries in the towns are the real owners of tourist hotels, sanatoria, and such places, for which licences are asked. The breweries are businesses with very great capital, and as there are comparatively few of them, they can easily form a 'ring' and there is already such a combination. How this 'ring' might act in certain contingencies is clear from various indications,—among others, from a statement which has not been contradicted, that all the breweries have agreed not to furnish beer to the Samlags as cheaply as to private dealers, and this of course, in order, if possible, to prevent the sale of beer being monopolized by the Samlags.

"Another argument in favour of monopolizing is the fiscal consideration. Both the wine trade and the beer trade are good objects for taxation by the Exchequer. In our time, strong claims are made on the Exchequer from all directions, and it is often rather difficult to get a sufficient income. It seems, then, to be very feasible to lay a heavier tax than before on the beer and wine traffic—especially upon the wine traffic. Comparatively, the wine ought to be at least as expensive as brandy, and an increased taxation on wine can in the easiest way be obtained by monopolizing its sale through a Samlag.

"*On the whole, it must be said that all trade with intoxicating drinks is fit for monopolizing. This is valid equally with the wine trade as with the brandy trade, and it holds good also as to the beer trade—at least as to the stronger beer.*"

The Act drafted by Mr. Aarrestad, to give effect to his views, would allow either of the adding of wine, beer, etc., to the existing Samlags, or of the creation of new Samlags for these special drinks. Mr. Aarrestad further explained that whilst he considered the people had a right to vote upon the question of the establishment or continuance of these beer Samlags as much as upon the establishment and continuance of the spirit Samlags, he did not, on grounds of expediency, recommend that the power of so voting should be conferred at present.

To any in this country who ask whether the Controlling System, as carried out in Norway, is an influence for Temperance, this memorandum supplies the answer, unequivocal and decisive, which the leader of the Temperance party in Norway would give to such a question. The contrast is evidently clear in his

mind between the aggressive action of the Trade, ever seeking new avenues for sale, and the restrictive influence of a controlling society. He marks and understands the instinctive hostility of the brewers to the Samlags, and deliberately, in this parliamentary report, expresses the opinion that "all trade with intoxicating drinks is fit for monopolizing." And it is not without significance that after three years' experience of the working of the popular vote upon the question of the suppression of the spirit Samlags, he does not, on grounds of expediency, recommend that the beer Samlags should at present be subject to such vote.

The English student of the Controlling System may distrust arguments based upon figures which require to be studied in the full light of local conditions and used with the qualifications which only local knowledge can supply, but he cannot be mistaken as to the conclusion respecting it which has been formed by Mr. Aarrestad, himself a prohibitionist, armed with a knowledge of the actual facts probably equal to that possessed by any other living person. It should be clearly understood that the Temperance reformer in this country who alleges the failure of the Controlling System in Norway takes a view in direct opposition to that of the leader of the Temperance party in Norway.

The evidence of Mr. Lars O. Jensen, Right Worthy Grand Templar for Norway, is also valuable in this connection. Speaking at the International Alcoholic Congress at the Hague, in 1893, Mr. Jensen said:—

"The Samlag system of Norway has been an improvement when compared with the old drinkshop system:—

"(1) It offers no inducement for the bar-tender to push the sale of intoxicants as much as possible.

"(2) It secures comparatively easy obedience to the liquor laws.

"(3) It does not allow sale on credit.

"(4) It secures an early closing of the drinkshops; and really many Samlags close their premises of their own accord when it is to be feared that people will indulge more than usually in spirits.

"(5) It hinders the formation of an organized liquor party; because the money derived from the traffic is used for charitable institutions and for the public benefit, and does not go to the liquor-dealers.

"When the Gothenburg system was introduced, it was feared that this system would throw an air of respectability about the drinking customs. This has not been so. On the contrary, it is regarded as a far greater shame to enter a Samlag shop than to enter an ordinary drinkshop or restaurant." [1]

The position of the Temperance party with regard to the Samlags may be summed up by saying that its members universally prefer the Samlag to private licensing, but many of them regard the Samlag as a half-way house towards prohibition.

CONCLUSION.

We are now in a position to consider the defects and the advantages of the Company System, as carried out in Sweden and Norway.

Defects of the Company System.

(1) The most obvious and glaring defect is the

[1] *Report of the Hague Congress*, 1893 p. 277.

method adopted in Sweden of appropriating the profits to the relief of rates. The ultimate danger of such a system must be insisted upon whilst giving full recognition to the intelligence and honesty with which the system has hitherto been conducted in the large towns.

(2) The scheme for the appropriation of the profits adopted in Norway since the Act of July 24th, 1894, came into force, has few of the dangers which attach to the Swedish plan. There is, however, in the provisions of the Act an imperfect recognition of the need for providing counter-attractions to the public-house.

(3) The method of sub-licensing which gives the licensee a direct interest in the extension of his sales, runs counter to the central principle of the Gothenburg system, and when largely practised, as in Christiania, goes far to neutralize the restrictive influence of the Company as carried out in its own shops.

(4) The non-inclusion of beer and wine within the scope of the Companies has been a most serious obstacle to their success in combating intemperance.

Advantages of the Company System.

(1) Alone of all the systems that have been adopted, it secures a divorce between politics and the drink traffic.[1] Drink-selling once divorced from politics can no longer serve as an instrument of corruption, and one of the greatest obstacles to social reforms is thus overcome.

(2) When no political party is fettered by Trade

[1] M. G. Blomquist, of Stockholm, speaking at the Hague Congress, after alluding to Sunday closing and the shortening of hours of sale, added: "But these legislative reforms have been possible by the introduction of the Gothenburg system in Sweden, *because the publicans no longer have the slightest influence in the political life of Sweden.*"

support, and the vested interests now associated with it are destroyed, a large body of Temperance sentiment is set free and the way made easy for progressive Temperance reforms.

(3) A trade universally recognised as dangerous is taken out of the hands of the private dealer, who naturally seeks to extend it, and is brought under effective restriction and control.

(4) This restriction, being locally applied under local representative authority, keeps pace with the Temperance sentiment of the locality. "The end sought is the reformation of popular habits, and it is reached by a series of evolutionary stages, each of which finds its sanction in advancing public sentiment."

(5) If, as seems clear, prohibition is at present impossible in large towns, the Controlling System provides what is incomparably the least harmful safety-valve. In Scandinavian towns there is no club difficulty, and no driving of the traffic below the surface.

(6) The number of licensed houses can be reduced to the lowest limits which public opinion will support, while the difficulty that exists under private ownership in singling out any particular house to be closed is avoided.

(7) Sales on credit and all the adventitious attractions of the public-house are done away with.

(8) Gambling and all the immoral accessories of the public-house are abolished.

(9) Bye-laws for the regulation of the Trade can be readily enforced and quickly adapted to the special needs of the locality.

(10) The Controlling System secures for the community the vast monopoly profits which now go to those interested in the Trade, and makes it possible to

use them for the establishment of adequate counteracting agencies.

(11) The system enlists the active co-operation of good citizens, and is responsive to an enlightened public opinion.

If, then, it be asked to what practical conclusions of value to this country the experiments in Scandinavia point, we reply that there are two which far exceed all others in importance. The first, the bed-rock upon which any fabric of effective licensing reform must be built, is to take the trade out of private hands. So long as the private interest of the seller runs counter to the interest of the State, so long will the effort of the State to restrict and control the traffic be baffled.

The second is that the Trade, when taken out of private hands, should be worked locally, not by the State, and should be subject to no other State control than that which is necessary to secure honest administration and the complete carrying out of the conditions determined by statutory law, under which the localities carry on the traffic.

For supplementary evidence upon the working of the Company System in Norway, see Appendix.

CHAPTER IX

The Solution of the Problem

Part I.

Introductory.

THE concluding pages of the preceding chapter indicate what the present writers regard as the essential principles of successful Temperance reform. Before proceeding to consider how these principles can be practically applied to this country, it is necessary to take account of certain specific proposals upon which Temperance workers have arrived at a general agreement.

Ratio of Licences to Population.

There is no single proposal upon which fuller agreement exists than that after a certain fixed date the number of licensed houses shall, by the action of Parliament, be considerably reduced. For the last thirty years the proposal chiefly in view among Temperance reformers in this country has been a statutory limit of one public-house for each 1,000 of the population in any urban area, and not more than one for each 600 of the population in any rural area.[1] More recently, however, the modified proposal em-

[1] This proposal, first suggested by Mr. Bruce, is embodied in the United Temperance Bill, the Church of England Temperance Society's Bill, the Bishop of Chester's Bill, and the Manchester Bill. In the Westminster Bill the proposal is

bodied in the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, of one "On" licensed house for each 750 of the population in towns, and one for each 400 of the population in rural districts, has won widespread acceptance among Temperance reformers, and may now be accepted as the authoritative suggestion of the Temperance party in this country. But this reduction cannot be effected until the question of compensation has been dealt with.

Compensation.

As far back as 1871, Mr. Bruce, in the great Licensing Bill which he brought forward on behalf of the Government of the day, provided that, at the expiration of ten years from the passing of the Act, all licences existing at its commencement should absolutely determine. That is to say, he gave a ten years' notice, and no money compensation. Sir William Harcourt's Liquor Traffic (Local Control) bill of 1893, and his Intoxicating Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill of 1895, both gave what was practically a three years' notice and no money compensation.

The Bishop of Chester's Authorized Companies Liquor Bill provided (Clause 3) that, "After the expiration of *five years from the date of the establishment of an Authorized Company in any district*, any licence not held by the Company shall not, save as in the Act provided, be renewed, and shall expire at the close of the period for which it was granted." There is a further provision that if a licence is surrendered before the expiration of the five years, compensation shall be paid for the unexpired period.

1 per 1,000 in the urban centres, and 1 per 500 in the rural districts.

The proposals for compensation brought forward by Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Goschen in 1888 and 1890, on behalf of the powerful Government of which they were members, had, in both cases, to be withdrawn before the storms of opposition which they created.

Referring to this in the House of Commons on April 28th, 1891, Mr. John Morley said: "I will express my doubt whether any Minister will ever again stand at that box and propose compensation by way of money payment." On the ground of abstract right, strong reasons may be urged against any form of compensation for the non-renewal of a licence after the expiration of the period for which the licence was granted. The risk of non-renewal is the condition under which this monopoly trade, carrying monopoly profits, is conducted. But with a view to the practical settlement of an urgent national question, we think it is clear that the line of least resistance will be a short-time notice, accompanied by a provision for money compensation (raised from the Trade) if the time period should be anticipated by the action of the community.

Local Veto.

Preceding chapters will have indicated the belief of the writers that a prohibition policy is not likely to be permanently adopted in the large towns or cities of the United Kingdom. But the experience of the United States of America, Canada, Norway, and Sweden, extended over many years, indicates that the power of local veto would be successfully exercised in many rural and suburban districts, and, possibly, in some small towns. The sphere of its possible application can, however, only be determined by expe-

rience. The principle of local veto has been accepted by one of the great parties in the State, and has been embodied in two separate measures brought forward by the Government of the day. It enlists the enthusiastic support of a large majority of the Temperance party, and must necessarily form part of any great measure of licensing reform which is to receive their united support.

If any village, town, or city, or any district of a town or city,[1] wished to be without a public-house, it should be able by a popular vote to give effect to its wish, independently of any previous decision of the licensing authority. The majority required to give effect to the veto should, however, in no case be less than two-thirds of those voting. If one or more wards in a city vetoed the placing of any licensed house within its limits, such licences should be actually cancelled, and not added to the number allotted to the other wards.

[1] In Sir William Harcourt's Intoxicating Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill of 1895, it was provided (Clause 9) that "the areas for the purposes of this Act shall be:—

(*a*) in the case of a county or other municipal borough or urban district not divided into wards, that borough or district.

(*b*) in the case of a county or other municipal borough or urban district divided into wards, a ward of that borough or district;

(*c*) in any rural district a parish; or where such parish has been divided into wards for the purpose of the election of a council, a ward of that parish;

(*d*) in London a sanitary district within the meaning of the Public Health (London) Act of 1891, or if such district, being outside the city of London, is divided into wards or comprises several parishes, then any such ward or parish, or where such last-mentioned parish is divided into wards, then any such ward."

Part II.

THE PROBLEM OF THE TOWNS.

The foregoing proposals, it will be seen, are of a far-reaching character, and, if adopted by the legislature, would unquestionably lead to important reforms. But there is this to be said concerning them: that they contemplate only *restrictive* and *administrative* action, and contribute nothing to that positive and constructive policy which is so imperatively needed.

For the purposes of practical discussion let us assume that agreement has been come to upon the foregoing proposals, and that *inter alia* the number of public-houses in the United Kingdom has been reduced to the suggested statutory limit. How far, we may then ask, have we actually travelled in the direction of permanent reform?

It is estimated that a reduction in the number of licensed houses to a proportion of not more than one to each 400 of the population in rural districts, and to not more than one to each 750 of the population in the towns, would reduce the number of "On" licences in the United Kingdom by nearly one-half, that is to say, from 126,000 to 65,000 or 70,000. If we make the fullest allowance for a still further reduction as the result of the operation of the popular veto—a reduction that probably would not be very great in the first instance—the number of licensed houses that would remain would still be very considerable. Now the question at once arises, What should be the policy and aim of Temperance reformers in respect of these? It cannot for one moment be supposed that the State would consent to make a gift

to the owners of these houses of the enormous addition to their value—amounting to several millions per annum—that would accrue from the closing of competing houses. Clearly, therefore, the nation would be compelled to adopt one of two alternatives. It must either agree to establish a system of High Licence (*i.e.* by allotting the permitted licences—as was proposed in Mr. Bruce's Bill [1]—to the person or persons tendering the highest licence fee, or, if this method be disapproved, by drastic revision of the present statutory fees); or it must provide a scheme for taking the Trade out of private hands.

Under a system of High Licence certain important results would undoubtedly be achieved. The houses would be better conducted, and the licensing laws would in all probability be more easily and fully carried out, but *the menace of the Trade to the public life of the country would remain*; for, although the licensed houses would be fewer, they would be in the hands of wealthier and abler men, capable as an electoral force of more perfect organization and power. Moreover, the Trade would be left in the hands of those who would have every inducement to extend it.

[1] The Clause in Mr. Bruce's Bill bearing on this point was as follows: *Clause* 13.—"Where a new publican's general certificate is to be granted for any licensing district, the same shall be granted to the person who offers by tender, made as hereinafter mentioned, to pay for the same during the continuance of the certificate, the highest annual percentage on the annual value of his premises (in this Act referred to as a licence rent), and conforms to the provisions of this Act with respect to such tender and certificate, and the other matters hereinafter contained, and such certificate, when granted, may be attached to any premises selected by the grantee, and approved by the licensing justices."

Not only so, but that liberation of the latent progressive resources of each community which, as we have seen, is the all-important principle of reform, so far from being facilitated, would encounter even more determined opposition from the interests involved in the traffic that remained.

The Elimination of Private Profit.

It remains, therefore, to consider whether the first step towards an ultimate solution of the problem in the towns does not demand the complete elimination of private interest from the conduct of the traffic? The question may best be answered by a rapid survey of the chief objections to the present system.

(a) *Monopoly Values.*

Let us take the financial aspect of the question first. One of the most obvious of the drawbacks to the present system is the loss which the community suffers through the private appropriation of the "values" created by a monopoly licence.

The matter, it is true, is of less moment to the community than are the moral and political evils that result from the private conduct of the liquor traffic; but it is, nevertheless, of such enormous public importance as to make it almost incredible that the nation should so long have been indifferent to it.

Under the present system, a licence to retail alcoholic liquors carries with it a huge monopoly value, amounting frequently to thousands of pounds, to which the recipient has absolutely no claim. In other words, the State, in conferring a licence, bestows upon the licensee at the same time a huge monetary gift, in the shape of an "unearned increment," to

which he has not the smallest title, and for which he makes no return.

The absolute folly of the system can be best exposed by a few well-authenticated illustrations. In 1897 the Wharf Hotel premises, Sowerby Bridge, were sold by public auction for £4,150. Subsequently the licence was transferred to new premises in the neighbourhood, and the former building, stripped of its licence, was resold in November, 1898, for £785.[1] The licence, therefore, in this case clearly added £3,365 to the value of the house.

An even better illustration is that given by Mr. E. R. Pease in his recent pamphlet on *Liquor Licensing at Home and Abroad.*[2] "An acquaintance of mine is proprietor of an old-established, eminently respectable hotel, which for years had been unlicensed. A few years ago he obtained a licence, and speaking of it to me he said: 'It is worth £10,000 to me, and I got it for the asking.' Can any method of managing a public trust be more absurd? A monopoly worth £10,000 is granted for the asking, simply because the asker is eminently respectable!"[3]

The following additional illustrations—which the

[1] *Yorkshire Evening Post*, November 3rd, 1898.

[2] *Fabian Tract*, No. 85.

[3] A similar case was described in the House of Commons by Mr. W. S. Caine on May 12th, 1890: "A man built a house a short time ago, close to Burscough Junction, a country station near Ormskirk, in Lancashire. It cost him £400. He applied for and got a beer licence; then he got a spirit licence; then he sold the house for £4,000. He walked into court worth £400; he walked out (with a certificate, for which he had paid nothing) worth £4,000. What did the brewer, who bought his house for £4,000, get? Bricks and mortar worth £400, and the purely speculative chance—no doubt a good chance—of getting a twelve months' licence renewed.

"MASONIC HOTEL" (LIVERPOOL).

Sold for £28,300. (*See page* 517.)

present writers have been careful to authenticate—are equally suggestive of the folly that characterizes the present system. Eight years ago, a public-house was built in a northern colliery village, from which the traffic had hitherto been excluded. The actual cost of the building, exclusive of the land, was £6,500, but when licensed its rental value was immediately fixed at £1,000 a year, while at the present time it is let at a rental of £1,800 a year. Owing to an extension of the village—the population of which at the present time is about 12,000—a second and larger public-house, in the form of a fine hotel, has since been built, and this was recently sold for no less than £40,000—a price that was considered low!

In another small northern town a new licence was granted in 1897 to a small house valued at £3,500. On receipt of the licence the owner immediately sold the house for £24,500! This sum was stated as the purchase price by the purchaser's solicitor when appearing before the licensing justices in 1898 in opposition to applications made on behalf of the late owner for two fresh licences in the neighbourhood of his client's house.

It would not be difficult, if space permitted, to multiply evidence on the point, but three further illustrations must suffice.

On August 11th, 1896, a property known as the Masonic Hotel, situate in Lark Lane, Liverpool, with a dwelling-house and shop and two rear cottages adjoining, was sold at public auction for £28,300! The property, as will be seen from the accompanying photograph (Plate XXIII.) is a comparatively small public-house, and has no monopoly of trade, there being several other licensed houses in the neighbourhood.

The *Liverpool Courier*, in reporting the sale, said: "The sale of a public-house in the suburbs of Liverpool for no less a sum than £28,300 is a unique event. The Masonic Hotel, in Lark Lane, Sefton Park, was sold on Tuesday by auction at the price mentioned. Several instances might be cited of still higher prices having been paid in London, but this is probably the largest amount ever given for a public-house in Liverpool. . . . One remarkable feature of the sale was the circumstance of the price being upwards of £15,000 beyond the expectations of the vendors. The reserve on the property was about £12,500, and the fall of the hammer at £28,300 naturally caused a sensation amongst the numerous company assembled."[1]

But this is not an isolated case.

On July 1st, 1896, the "Crooked Billet," a fully licensed house situate in Scotswood Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne, with cocoa rooms and dwelling-house adjoining, was sold at public auction. The house (see Plate XXIV.) is one of the oldest hostelries in Newcastle, and stands immediately opposite one of the entrances of the Armstrong-Whitworth Company's Works. The area of the property was stated to comprise 450 square yards. The attendance at the auction was very large, and the value of the house as licensed property was quickly demonstrated by the keen competition which characterized the bidding. Competition began with a bid of £10,000, and this was quickly followed by two advances of £1,000 each. The ultimate price reached was £15,800. The same house had been sold forty years earlier for £900, and no important structural alterations had been made in the interval. The house has since been pulled down and rebuilt.

[1] *Liverpool Courier*, August 14th, 1896.

"THE CROOKED BILLET" (NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE).

Sold for £15,800. (*See page* 518.)

The "Ord Arms" (see Plate XXV.) is another Newcastle house, situate in the same road as the "Crooked Billet," about a mile outside the boundary of the city, but opposite the gateway of a new yard that the Armstrong-Whitworth Company are intending to open. The house, a plain and unpretentious building, with about half an acre of land adjoining, was sold in 1898 for £28,100—a sum which the auctioneer afterwards acknowledged to be *twenty times its value without the licence.* The full extent of the monopoly value is easily realized when it is added that the Twizell estate in Northumberland, comprising a mansion and 700 acres of land, was sold by auction in the same week for £25,000! It is surely impossible to require a more scathing exposure of the folly of our existing licensing arrangements! It may be urged, of course, that the cases quoted are exceptional, but it is difficult to believe that this is so in face of evidence that is everywhere available. The London *Daily Chronicle*, in its review of the Property Sales of 1897, described the competition for licensed property as follows: "The extraordinary prices which are realized for licensed property may be said to have reached their maximum when such sums are paid as £80,000 for a freehold ground rent of £8 per annum, secured on the Royal Oak public-house, Bayswater, with reversion to the premises in eight years; the Liverpool Arms and Royal Oak, Barking Road, £112,000; the Red Lion public-house, Walworth Road, Camberwell, held on a term of forty-nine years' lease at a rental of £500 per annum, £50,000; the Freehold of the French Horn and Half Moon public-house, East Hill, Wandsworth, with possession, £56,000; the Pontefract Castle public-house, Marylebone, with sixty years' lease, at a rental of £300

per annum, £49,500; the Crown, Lavender Hill, 49½ years, at £150 per annum, £46,850; and numerous others, ranging from £30,000 to £50,000."[1]

The anomaly is intensified by the reluctance to grant new licences, which happily characterizes the policy of many local licensing authorities in England, since by concentrating the traffic it increases the competition for existing licences, and in this way greatly enhances their monopoly value. The full importance of this fact is sufficiently indicated by the growth in value of licensed property in London since 1850.

In his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1854, Mr. Alderman Wire, the Secretary of the Licensed Victuallers' Association, stated that there were 6,000 licensed victuallers in the metropolitan district, the average value of whose houses could not be put down at "less than £1,000." The aggregate value of the licensed property in London he estimated at £6,000,000.[2]

In 1872, according to the estimate of Professor Leone Levi,[3] the number of public-houses and beer-shops within the metropolitan area had risen to 10,000, and their average value to £1,500.

In 1897, on the other hand, according to the esti-

[1] The London City Mission in its Sixty-third Annual Report (published in 1898), in referring to the work of one of its agents in a poverty-stricken district near the docks, makes mention of two public-houses in the district which sold for £45,000 and £60,000 respectively.

[2] *Evidence of the Select Committee on Public-houses*, 1854, qq. 10,065–6.

[3] *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, vol. XXXV., part 1.—In his evidence before the Lords' Committee, five years later (*i.e.* in 1877), Professor Levi estimated the average value of public-houses in the metropolis at £2,500.

THE "ORD ARMS" (NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE).

Sold for £28,100. (*See page* 519.)

mate of Mr. E. N. Buxton, a partner in one of the largest brewery firms in the country, the aggregate value of the licensed houses in London (including fully-licensed houses, beer-houses, "on" and "off," and refreshment houses, but excluding the large hotels) was, at a low estimate, £60,000,000[1]—a sum which, divided among the whole of the public-houses, beer-shops ("on" and "off"), and refreshment houses in the Metropolitan Police area, gives an *average* value of between £5,000 and £6,000 per house.[2] The average value of a fully-licensed house in the metropolis (excluding the large hotels) is, of course, very much higher than this, and amounts, according to Mr. Buxton, to between £10,000 and £11,000.[3]

It will thus be seen that the value of licensed property in London has increased fourfold within the last twenty-five years, while it is six times as great as it was in 1850.

That the anomaly should have gone so long unremedied is the more remarkable from the fact that considerable emphasis was laid upon it by the Lords' Committee on Intemperance in 1879. In referring to the matter in their Report, the Committee state: "Much evidence was given in favour of increasing the duty on excise licences for consumption of liquor on the

[1] *Evidence of the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, vol. III., p. 283.

[2] The *total* number of public-houses, beer-shops ("on" and "off"), and refreshment-houses in the Metropolitan Police area in 1897 was 11,411.

[3] The statement may be given in Mr. Buxton's own words: "I have taken out the actual value at the present time of about 500 licensed houses, large and small. The value of those 500 houses, which are certainly a fair sample, is £5,367,000." (Average £10,734.)

premises. It has been already stated that one effect of the changes made by the Act of 1872 in the manner of granting such licences has been practically to prevent the increase of their number, while the operation of the Act of 1869 had been considerably to decrease the number of beer-house licences. The effect of this legislation has been largely to raise the value of this property, and it would seem but just that the public should receive a greater portion than hitherto of the profits of a monopoly thus artificially created."

The importance of the question is at last beginning to be realized, and the fact that it has been publicly referred to in more than one licensing court in the course of the last few months is in itself a notable sign of an impending change.

Lord Provost Mitchell Thomson, addressing the Edinburgh Licensing Court on April 12th, 1898, occasioned some sensation by his pertinent remarks on the subject. "The dealing in licences," he said, "had become notorious. Grocers' licences were now sold at an average price of £1,000, and public-house licences realized, on an average, from £6,000 to £10,000. That money, he contended, belonged to the public. As the law stood, however, the Court had no right to any portion of these sums, but he intimated that in future he should be exceedingly jealous of granting new licences unless perfectly satisfied of the urgent need for the same." [1]

The Chairman of the West Castle Ward Bench (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in his address to the Court in August last, was even more explicit. Referring to the new applications then before the Court, he said: "There are over twenty applications for new licences

[1] *Daily News*, April 13th, 1898.

in the West Castle Ward, and the Bench is again face to face with a question which I submit should not in its present form be left to them to decide. As I ventured to point out last year, by the steady limitation of the number of licences, a monopoly has been established which causes such licences to become of very substantial value indeed. I suppose that each licence now applied for may be worth over £5,000, or, in other words, the Bench to-day is to be asked to grant licences worth £100,000; that is to say, to make a present of £100,000 to certain parties for whose claim, in preference to others, there is no valid reason. Moreover, while the community gets no adequate *quid pro quo* for this, the erection of a public-house not infrequently reduces the value of the neighbouring property. In one case which has been named to me, an owner of a house in a suburban district found that his property was reduced £1,500 in value by the granting of a licence, which licence was shortly afterwards sold for more than £10,000. The magistrates of this county are here to administer justice. Can it be justice to rob Peter in order to pay a licensed victualler, who, though he may be a most worthy individual, will probably not even claim to be an Apostle Paul? . . . I stated this time last year, that the aggregate value of the licences in the city of Newcastle alone was probably £2,000,000, but it has been represented to me that £3,000,000 would be within the mark, and further, that the value is daily increasing. If this be the case, some conception may be formed of the huge vested interest, so to speak, which is growing up in our midst. You will find that the figures, as applied to the whole United Kingdom, mount up to a sum approaching in amount

the National Debt itself. Another way of realizing what these figures mean, would be to say that a tax of 5 per cent. only upon the monopoly would pay off the whole debt of Newcastle City in from ten to fifteen years. Or, again, that 5 per cent. upon the value of the licences would pay more than half all the rates."[1]

In the face of figures such as these it is almost superfluous to urge that no reform of the licensing system can pretend to be final which does not grapple with and solve this problem of monopoly values. The values are State-created values, accidentally conferred upon private individuals in the effort of the State to safeguard a dangerous trade. Equity and reason, therefore, demand that they shall be appropriated for State or public ends.

(b) *The Pushing of Sales.*

But although the private appropriation of State-created values is a serious defect of our present system, it is of less importance to the community than are the moral and political evils that spring from a liquor traffic conducted for private gain. If the ultimate intent of a licensing system be, by limiting competition, to reduce to a minimum the evil consequences of the traffic, it is easy to see that our present system is fundamentally defective and vicious. It is, to begin with, difficult to diminish the evils of intemperance while we persist in giving the man who sells the liquor a direct pecuniary interest in the extent and value of his sales. The private interest of the publican demands that he shall push his trade by every device and attraction that can be brought within the letter of a curiously ambiguous law; while the

[1] *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, August 27th, 1898.

interest of the State, on the other hand, requires that his trade shall be restricted and discouraged at every possible point. Sooner or later these opposing ideas must inevitably come into collision, and that they have already done so, with disastrous results to the community, is matter of widespread experience.

That the danger is not a new one, but one inherent in every licensing system that sanctions the principle of private profit, is clear from the concurrent testimony of widely divergent authorities. As far back as 1850, a Select Committee of the House of Lords—appointed to inquire into the operation of the Acts for the Sale of Beer—reported:—"It was already sufficiently notorious that drunkenness is the main cause of crime, disorder, and distress in England; and it appears that the multiplication of houses for the consumption of intoxicating liquors, which under the Beer Act has risen from 88,930 to 123,396, has been thus in itself an evil of the first magnitude, not only by increasing the temptations to excess, which are thus presented at every step, but by driving houses, even those under the direct control of the magistrates, as well as others originally respectable, to practices, for the purpose of attracting custom, which are degrading to their own character, and most injurious to morality and order."

Referring to the extreme difficulty of controlling the traffic, the Committee continue: "But, perhaps, the evil of all the most difficult to deal with, is the absence of all control save by legal conviction; a result, by the common consent of all the witnesses who have spoken on the subject, almost impracticable to attain; the parties who frequent the beer-house being usually unwilling to give information of what

passes within; and if they do, being met by other witnesses in contradiction, who are always ready for such a purpose, and who are sufficient to prevent the facts from being ascertained. The only fact of disorder, which is open to observation, is irregularity of hours, and for this only are they practically amenable to the law."[1]

Four years later, another Select Committee—appointed by the House of Commons to examine into the system under which public-houses, hotels, beer-shops, etc., were then sanctioned and regulated—reported:—"There are no doubt many publicans and beer-shop keepers who exercise the utmost vigilance to prevent drunkenness on their premises, and to keep bad characters out of their houses, and who spare no pains to conduct their business with respectability; but the temptation is strong to encourage intemperance, and a vast number of the houses for the sale of intoxicating drinks live upon drunkards and the sure progress of multitudes to drunkenness, whilst numbers of them are the habitual haunts of the idle and abandoned, of thieves, prostitutes, and the adepts and learners of crime." Twenty-three years later the mischievous results of the existing system were once more brought before the attention of Parliament. The occasion was the memorable debate which took place in the House of Commons on March 13th, 1877, on Mr. Chamberlain's motion in favour of permissive powers for the municipalization of the liquor traffic. In describing the defects of the present system, Mr. Chamberlain said:—

"Two hundred thousand licensed victuallers in this country were legitimately engaged in more or less

[1] For illustration of this, see p. 448.

successfully trying to increase their business. The result was seen in gin palaces blazing with gas, and decorated with a splendour which compared inversely with the squalor and misery of those who frequented those places; and when it was also seen that the old respectable public-houses were being transformed into spirit vaults and saloons, everybody must feel that this expenditure must have sufficient motive, and that excessive drinking returned a sufficient dividend upon the investment thus made. Again, excessive competition almost forced the Trade against their will to wink at abuses. . . . It was said that the existing law contained sufficient provisions for the regulation of the traffic and the prevention of excess. These provisions, however, absolutely broke down in practice, and so it happened that in Birmingham, Liverpool, and other large towns, while there was an enormous number of persons convicted and punished for drunkenness, hardly any of the owners of public-houses were ever brought up for supplying them with drink. . . . The only way, therefore, to secure the observance of existing regulations, or of any which in future might be devised, would be by making the interests of those who made the regulations and those who carried on the trade identical." [1]

In other words, the first principle in licensing reform must be the entire elimination of private profit from the conduct of the traffic. Until this has been effected, the public-house will continue largely to be what it admittedly often is at the present time, a nursery of drunkenness and crime, not only opposed to, but absolutely incompatible with, good morals and pure government. As matters stand at present, the

[1] *Hansard's Debates*, vol. 232, pp. 1864-5.

lucrative character of the traffic "defies all precautions and all restrictive legislation." [1]

(c) *Evasion of Law.*

That this statement is not an unjust criticism of the present system is apparent from the evidence of those who are charged with the administration of public justice and law. Mr. Justice Grantham, speaking at the Liverpool Assizes in 1888, showed himself keenly alive to the disastrous social consequences that result from a traffic conducted for private gain. "I will do all I can," he said, "to take some steps to have houses dealt with where men who are served with liquor afterwards go out and half murder people. These publicans seem to serve men up to the last possible moment in order to make unholy profits out of this horrid traffic."

Reverting to the subject at the Liverpool Assizes in the following year, he said: "I cannot help thinking that those who have the control of public-houses

[1] The importance of this reform is beginning to be widely recognised. A recent writer, in discussing the problem of the slums in Leeds, says: "It is pretty clear, therefore, that public-houses exist as conveniences for sober people, but it is also clear that the system of payment by profit on liquor sold tends to encourage the publican in converting his customers into drunkards. My reason for dwelling so much on this point is to bring out the fact, that the management of public-houses by men who are interested in the sale of drink must ever tend to make licensed premises mere drinking-dens, and that, until this element of personal gain is eliminated, drunkenness will continue to be the natural outcome of attendance at the public-house. As I have already shown, the habit of attending these places is most prevalent in our slum districts, and, therefore, this question of management must form a very serious element in the production of the excessive drinking and drunkenness which there prevails."—D. B. Foster, *Leeds Slumdom.*

do not put the law in force as it exists at present; or, if they do, it is quite clear we want some more drastic law, which will enable us to punish those who have it in their power to withhold drink from these people, but who, for the purpose of ill-gotten gain, go on giving drink so long as they can get people steady enough to give them money for it."

The question received special emphasis at several of the licensing courts in 1898. The Chairman of the Birmingham Licensing Sessions, in discussing a number of cases where publicans had been convicted of serving drunken persons, said: "Why do publicans draw the line so fine? They supply these people who a moment after are so drunk that they are fighting every one, and are a public nuisance, and yet these persons who are supposed to be skilled in the trade do not see it. Mr. Ansell gave an instance which had come under his personal observation of the manner in which a drunken person steadied himself when entering a public-house for more drink. . . . It was only occasionally that such matters came to the knowledge of the police and the justices, and they had to consider how difficult it was to hear of one hundredth part of what occurred. There would not be so much drunkenness in the town if licence-holders would only do their duty." [1]

The Stipendiary of Leeds, in discussing the same question in September, 1898, spoke with equal plainness and force. "These provisions (*i.e.*, those relating to the permitting of drunkenness on licensed premises)," he said, "are the cardinal provisions upon which the whole machinery of our licensing administration is hinged, and if they could be enforced

[1] *Birmingham Daily Post*, August 26th, 1898.

with rigour and determination by a vigilant executive, and administered by an impartial tribunal, we should, as I believe, hear little of the necessity for licensing reform. Now, I am satisfied that in a certain number of public-houses and beer-shops—that is to say, in a comparatively small, though I am sorry I cannot add insignificant, number of such places—there is a systematic disregard of these provisions. I am satisfied that drunkenness there prevails systematically and extensively. I arrive at this conclusion not merely on the evidence given directly before me in connection with charges of robbery committed on these premises, but also, and indeed, more especially, as the result of careful investigation as to the whereabouts of criminals immediately prior to the commission of crimes committed by them when in a state of intoxication, and in particular crimes of violence committed within a few minutes of the hour of closing, and within a few yards of the doorway of a licensed house." [1]

Such statements could easily be multiplied, but it is hardly necessary to do so. They are simply referred to here to illustrate a condition of things to which no social worker can be indifferent, and which must be regarded as almost inevitable under a system of private licence.

(d) *Opposition to Reform.*

If further evidence of the failure of the present system were required, it could easily be found in the attitude of licensed liquor-dealers towards simple but important reforms. The avowed policy of the

[1] *Leeds Mercury*, September 22nd, 1898.

"Trade" is, indeed, one of determined and organized hostility to proposals for reform.

Mr. Charles Walker, Chairman of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London, speaking on November 6th, 1899, said:—

"That it [*i.e.*, the Central Board] *was* a force every one admitted, especially those who attempted to pass legislation opposed to Trade interests. . . . The United Parliamentary Council would meet next week, and it would probably formulate a programme that would be in its terms clear and unmistakable." He added:—

"The time had arrived when the Trade must put down its foot, and their organizations must be maintained and strengthened." [1]

The same speaker, in presiding, a week later, over the autumn conference of the United Parliamentary Council of the Retail Liquor Trade, said:—

"Gentlemen, the time, in my judgment, has now arrived for the Council to determine on a plan of decided action. A period has been reached in the affairs of the Trade when it has become imperative for the Council to seriously consider its function. . . . To-day should mark an epoch in the history of this Council. The Council should at once proceed to formulate a defensive programme in clear and unmistakable terms, and to accompany it with a corresponding demand to all sections of the Trade to give to it a rigid observance and support. Let the death knell of irresolution be sounded far and near, and thereby notify to the Trade that a policy of united, active, and determined opposition to the Trade's traducers and to the Trade's enemies has been entered upon." [2]

[1] *The Licensing World*, November 11th, 1899.
[2] *The Licensing World*, November 18th, 1899.

The *Licensing World* of November 25th, 1899, in referring to the prospective action of the Trade in reference to proposals based upon the Reports of the Royal Commission, said: "It is quite true . . . that the United Parliamentary Council has determined to formulate a plan of decided action. Mr. Walker advised the adoption of this course, and it will undoubtedly be taken. It is quite possible that we may have to fight through a General Election next year, and in any case this struggle cannot be postponed much longer after that date. The time for preparation is none too long, and our contemporary can scarcely be surprised that the responsible leaders of the Trade should be making ready for a great emergency. Perhaps it would like to know what our plan of campaign is to be. Well, we can only refer it to the reported proceedings of the United Parliamentary Council. As Mr. Walker declared, and as the Council decided, the Trade will oppose to the utmost any further limitation of the hours of opening on Sunday. Nothing in the nature of a systematic reduction of licences will be accepted unless accompanied by a fair and adequate scheme of compensation. The suggested abolition of a licence-holder's right of appeal against the decision of possibly biassed magistrates will be resisted as unfair. The question of serving child-messengers is regarded as affecting the public quite as much as the publicans, though some form of legislation on this point may prove acceptable; any attempt to impose illegal conditions at present will be opposed, and the proposal to make sixteen the limit of age under which no young person can be served as a messenger is palpably absurd."

An even graver indication of the policy and methods

of the Trade was given by Mr. E. Johnson, a Trustee of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London, when addressing the Annual General Meeting of the South East London Society on January 10th, 1900. The following is an extract from his speech :—

"The Bills affecting the Trade which were likely to be introduced during the coming session of Parliament would relate to Sunday closing, sale to children, and the limitation of licences. These were matters to the injustice of which it was the duty of the licensed victualler to educate the people in the district in which he lived. *The voting power of a licence-holder was nothing near so important as the influence which he was able to bring to bear upon those by whom he was surrounded.*" [1]

Finally, the Secretary of the National Defence League, speaking at the Annual Dinner of the Metropolitan Beer and Wine Trade Protection Society on February 6th, 1900, said :—

"It was a matter of extreme importance that they should carefully watch all Parliamentary procedure. For instance, a Bill was down to be introduced into the House on Friday which had for its object to prevent a child of sixteen and under being served with alcoholic beverages. Organizations such as theirs not only were beneficial to the members of the Trade, but also to the public generally. They might depend upon the efforts of the combined protective machinery throughout the country being put forward at full pressure in the event of any attempted interference with their just rights or best interests."

What these "just rights" and "best interests" are

[1] *The Licensing World*, January 13th, 1900.

conceived to be may be shown by two simple illustrations. On March 9th, 1900, a Bill forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors to children under the age of sixteen passed its second reading in the House of Commons. On the following Wednesday (March 14th) a meeting of the United Parliamentary Council of the Retail Liquor Trade (convened by telegram) was held, at which the Bill was warmly discussed, and resolutions were unanimously adopted in favour of substituting fourteen years as a limit for "on" consumption, and abolishing *all limit* in the case of sales for "off" consumption.

Mr. Charles Walker, Chairman of the Central Board, referring to the Bill at the Annual Dinner of the Marylebone and Paddington Licensed Victuallers' Trade Protection Society on the following evening (Thursday, March 15th), said :—

"At the present time the Trade had to pay increased income tax as well as extra duty on beer and spirits, but in spite of this the Government which they supported and sympathised with had allowed to pass a second reading *a Bill which was a disgrace to the country*. . . . In the near future there would be a General Election, and they would then have to measure out their Parliamentary support in accordance with the support this Government had granted them. That would be the time to show in what way the Government had attempted to fulfil their promise, and also to ask whether they had been as generous to the Trade as the Trade were to them in 1895." [1]

[1] *The Licensing World*, March 17th, 1900. Another representative of the Central Board (Mr. E. Johnson), speaking at Kennington on March 21st, said :—"The Central Board were alive to the importance of its being rejected, and had done and were doing all that was possible to defeat it."

A similar pronouncement was made when, on March 14th, a Bill to extend the Welsh Sunday Closing Act to Monmouthshire (a proposal recommended by both sections of the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws) passed its second reading. In a leading article published in the *Licensing World*, the official Trade organ, on the following Saturday (March 17th), it was stated that:—

"This is scarcely the return which the Trade is entitled to expect for the great services it rendered in helping to place the present Administration in power."

The same organ had declared a month earlier (February 17th) that, "both as a matter of principle and for the sake of our brother traders in Monmouthshire, we must see that the voice and the vote of the Trade are adequately represented, and that the fight, if it comes on, shall result in victory"; while the Chairman of the United Parliamentary Council of the Retail Liquor Trade had publicly stated that "any further limitation of the hours of opening on Sunday the Trade will oppose to their utmost."[1]

But these are not the only proposals for reform that have encountered, or are threatened with, the active opposition of the Trade. Others, including some about which good citizens of all classes may be said to be equally agreed, are threatened with the same uncompromising hostility. The Chairman of the Westminster and District Licensed Victuallers' Trade Protection Association, speaking at the Annual General Meeting of the Association on Friday, January 26th, 1900, made several references to the recommendations of the Royal Commission.

[1] *The Licensing World*, November 18th, 1899.

"He pointed out that in connection with the recommendations of the Royal Licensing Commission, for one thing, wide discretion was given to magistrates in imposing conditions. He need scarcely remark that the unanimous feeling of the Trade on that question was that discretion should have no place in the licensing courts, except when dealing with the subject of a new licence and the personal character of the applicant. . . . Any attempt to widen their discretion, which would tend to give additional power in the question of refusing the renewal or transfer of existing licensed premises which had not come within the prohibitionary clauses of the Act, should not be permitted without a most determined protest from the entire Trade."

In referring to the further recommendation of the Commission, that "the licensing authorities should have in their own service one or two officers of high rank to visit and occasionally report to them upon the general condition of licensed premises," he stated that "to subject our Trade to any such abominable proceedings would be a gross injustice, and one that would meet with the united condemnation of our customers and ourselves." [1]

Again, in referring to the proposal made by both sections of the Licensing Commission to establish a new licensing authority composed of Justices and County Councillors properly selected and not constituted by the chance attendance of Justices, the *Licensing World* said:—"We have a strong objection to the importation of a popularly elected element into the constitution of a Licensing Authority." [2]

[1] *The Licensing World*, February 3rd, 1900.
[2] *The Licensing World*, February 17th, 1900.

A week later (February 24th, 1900), in defining the attitude of the Trade towards the Reports of the Royal Commission, the *Licensing World* stated:—"As we have already said, neither report is acceptable to the retail Trade, whose statement of policy must be sought for only in the reservations signed by Mr. Charles Walker and Mr. Samuel Hyslop."

The Trade attitude was expressed more frankly still in a resolution which was unanimously adopted at the annual conference of the Beer and Wine Trade National Defence League in Sheffield on March 28th, 1900. The resolution was as follows:[1]—

"That this Conference, having considered the majority and minority reports of the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, while appreciating the efforts of the Commission to provide the public with information as to the working of the present licensing system, is of opinion that the evidence given before the Commission is not of a character such as would justify any drastic alteration of the law; and further, since there exists no demand on the part of the vast majority of the public who consume alcoholic liquor, for any change in the conditions under which the trade is at present conducted, this Conference protests against and will use every effort to frustrate any attempt by the so-called temperance reformers—mostly non-consumers—and the prohibitionists, to interfere with the existing state of things."

Finally, the report of the League called upon the affiliated societies to "do everything in their power to increase the number of their members and strengthen their organization, so that for political and general purposes the League might be in a

[1] Sheffield *Independent*, March 29th, 1900.

position to exert the greatest possible influence on all occasions when it might be necessary to defend the interests of the Trade." [1]

These extracts make painful reading, for they are additional evidence of the bitter and uncompromising determination of a powerful and well-organized trade to oppose the most necessary and reasonable reforms. But deplorable as such hostility is, it is the natural product of the system we have created. So long as the publican has an interest in his sales, so long—human nature being what it is—is he bound to oppose himself to every reform that threatens to diminish his sales. The instinct of progress in a community is not only challenged at every point by a monopoly which the State itself has *accidentally* created, but is reduced to virtual impotence by an invincible desire for gain.

(e) *The Tied House System.*

The evils of the present system are still further intensified by the Tied House System, to which reference has already been made. The mischievous features of that system have been so often described that they need not be detailed here, but it is impossible to overlook the effect of the system in intensifying the evils of private profit, and so increasing the social and political menace.

Under this system the great liquor "Rings" have become gigantic monopolies with well-nigh absolute powers—at least so far as their tenants are concerned—whose methods, according to the report of a Special Committee of the Chester Quarter Sessions, have "a direct effect upon the character and conduct" of the

[1] Sheffield *Independent*, March 28th, 1900.

"tied" houses. "In the case at least of the lower public-houses, the publican is driven, by the terms of his relation to the brewer, in the matter of the supply of liquor, to make a livelihood as best he may, is under pressure to sell drink, by legitimate or illegitimate means, cannot afford to turn away any customer in order to keep his house respectable, but is led to admit every one, though already in liquor or disorderly, or of known bad character. It is clear from the whole scope of the Licensing Acts that the main object of the Legislature was to secure the responsible conduct of a public-house by a person responsible to the justices, and to the justices alone. . . . But where the Tied House System prevails, the provisions of the Licensing Acts relating to the record upon or endorsement of the licence are rendered nugatory; the series of clauses relating to repeated convictions are set at nought, and these guarantees relied upon by the Legislature for the regulation and orderly conduct of the licensed houses entirely fail of effect." [1]

These statements, let it be noted, are not the criticisms of Temperance advocates, but are the deliberate and careful pronouncements of responsible magistrates possessed of full knowledge of the working of licensing law.

It was this feature of the system which led *The Times*, when referring to the matter in 1891, to say: "Some may perhaps think that, in the interests of the community, complete control of a house by a prosperous and respectable brewer is better than

[1] *Report of the Committee appointed at the Easter Quarter Sessions* (1891) "*to examine into the state and effect of the Law relating to the Licensing of Houses for the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors*," p. 12.

the more or less independent discretion of a needy tradesman. The objection is that the natural tendency of a brewer is simply to push the sale of his beer. Provided no forfeiture of licence be incurred, the especial manner in which the business is conducted does not matter much to him. His main desire is that the neighbourhood shall drink as much as possible. His servant the publican, who has little or no property invested in the premises, has no strong personal motive for caution. He wishes to ingratiate himself with his employer by promoting a liberal consumption. The fear of risking the licence affects him far less than if it meant for him positive commercial ruin. From the point of view even of the customers, it has been felt that a spread of the monopoly of the brewers is inconvenient. . . . Practical experience, at all events, has created a keen jealousy of the system of tied houses, and a determination to make a stand against its unlimited predominance."[1]

To revert, then, to the point from which we started, and to which an examination of the evidence has recalled us at every turn, it is the deliberate judgment of the present writers, founded upon careful and exhaustive examination of the facts, that complete and satisfactory reform of the liquor traffic is impossible so long as it is organized and conducted from motives of private gain.

It is unfortunate that, hitherto, in the discussion of proposals for taking the trade out of private hands, emphasis has been laid upon non-essential points, to the neglect of the main principle involved. A great principle of practical politics must, however,

[1] *Times*, September 12th, 1891.

be judged "not by the way in which men have only half applied it, or have applied it amiss, but by its value when properly applied and safeguarded." Under the present system there exists a monopoly trade admittedly dangerous, which it is the interest of the State to restrict, but the profits and conduct of which are put into the hands of those who have every inducement to extend it. "Two such powerful passions as the lust for money and the craving for spirits are allowed so to combine, that the force of each is increased to unnatural proportions."

While it is in the interest of the State that there should be a progressive advance in Temperance sentiment and practice, it establishes in each licensed house a centre of opposition to such advance. The observance of the regulations required for the safeguarding of a dangerous trade is, in practice, left in the hands of those who have a direct pecuniary interest in evading them. Finally, under the existing licensing system, the liquor monopoly has been made so powerful that it not only plays an important part in determining the results of municipal and political elections, but threatens to dominate the British Parliament as the slave power dominated the Legislature of Washington.

Surely the evils of intemperance, taken alone, are sufficient without adding to them those which are the creation of law.

It is upon these broad and far-reaching considerations that we desire to concentrate attention. The suggestions contained in a particular scheme may, or may not, be found defective; but if the thought be once accepted that the trade cannot safely be left in private hands, the English people, with their

practical sagacity, will not be long in discovering a method for carrying it into effect.

It was of a proposal embodying this principle that Mr. Gladstone wrote, in September of 1894: "In principle you are working upon the only lines either promising or tenable."

He added: "I am friendly to Local Option, *but it can be no more than a partial and occasional remedy.*"

Writing later in the same month, he said:—

"I have in no respect receded from former declarations as to Local Option. My opinion in its favour remains unaltered, but I hope more may be done for coping with the frightful evil than Local Option, if it stand alone, seems likely to effect."

On another occasion, speaking in the House of Commons, he said: "Why is it that the position of the public-houses in this country of ours is different from and lower than it is in any country in Europe? That is the result of the management which we have followed, and the number [of public-houses] does not in the slightest degree tend to mitigate that statement. I am one of those who see the utmost, incurable, radical, and profound mischief from what is called the publican's monopoly, and not through any fault of the publican or, indeed, of any one. *My firm belief is that as long as the monopoly connected with private interests belongs to the Trade, you will never have true and efficient police supervision exercised over the public-houses*, and without that they must continue to hold the disparaged and unsatisfactory position which they do hold now, and have held for many generations." [1]

[1] Speech on the second reading of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties Bill. May 15th, 1890. *Hansard's Debates.*

In 1877, Mr. Chamberlain brought before Parliament a resolution affirming it to be "desirable to empower the Town Councils of boroughs under the Municipal Corporations Acts to acquire compulsorily, on payment of fair compensation, the existing interests in the retail sale of intoxicating drinks within their respective districts ; and thereafter, if they see fit, to carry on the trade for the convenience of the inhabitants, but so that no individual shall have any interest in nor derive any profit from the sale." In submitting his resolution, Mr. Chamberlain explained that the Birmingham Town Council, by a majority of forty-six to ten, and the Board of Guardians unanimously, had passed resolutions in favour of the proposal. The clergy of the city, also, with one dissentient, had passed a resolution approving the principle of the scheme, while it had also been submitted to the Wesleyan ministers of the town with a similar result. Moreover, he had that day "presented a petition in its favour from the Birmingham branch of the United Kingdom Alliance." Mr. Bright, Mr. Samuel Morley, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir John Kennaway, Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff, and Mr. Leonard Courtney were among those who voted in favour of the resolution.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, while admitting that he could not agree with everything in the resolution, nevertheless asserted that "it would, if passed, be the most deadly blow which this generation has seen struck at the liquor traffic as it at present exists." The present licensing system, he urged, had "failed utterly ; and why? Because every individual trader in this business is paid by results. He is paid exactly in proportion to the amount of drink which he can

get his fellow-creatures to consume." He added: "I support this resolution because, with all its drawbacks, it strikes a deadly blow at the present licensing system, and because, although that is not its direct object, it does place the power of prohibiting the liquor traffic in the hands of 200 municipal councils, representing 6,000,000 of inhabitants. And, therefore, although I know that many of my best friends and supporters will say I am wrong in taking the course I propose to do, yet I cannot resist on this occasion doing what little there is in my power to support an earnest, honest, and able attempt to deal with the greatest evil of our day and generation."[1]

Mr. Chamberlain, as is well known, is as firm a believer in the system he then advocated as ever. Lord Aberdare, formerly Mr. Bruce, who prepared the great Bill of 1871, was a supporter of the principle. The same principle forms the basis of the scheme advocated by the Bishop of Chester, who has done so much to familiarize the public mind with its nature and importance.

But how is the realization of this principle to be effected? Probably the most suggestive experiment in this direction is that represented by the Norwegian Company system, which has already been described. That this system would need modification in any attempt to apply it to this country will be apparent from what has already been said in criticism of the system in the previous chapter, but, in its fundamental principle, it undoubtedly furnishes the most valuable practical suggestion for effecting the reform in question. It would therefore seem to be important that the first step in the direction of reform

[1] *Hansard's Debates*, vol. 232.

should be to confer upon localities the power of granting a monopoly of the *entire* retail traffic within their borders either to companies formed for that purpose upon which the municipal councils shall be directly represented, or, under clearly defined safeguards, to the councils themselves.

The Need for Constructive as well as Controlling Reforms.

But it is important here to urge—what is too often forgotten by those interested in this question—that the adoption of the controlling system, while effective in withdrawing the traffic from private hands, would not, by itself, adequately solve the problem. For what is the problem? Men go to the public-house—young men especially—quite as much for social intercourse, and for escape from their surroundings, as for drink. The love of drink—as the *Times* pointed out twenty-seven years ago[1]—"is a symptom only: it is not the disease, and we should be wrong to deal with it as if it were. A man drinks, not only because his brute nature is strong and craves the stimulus, but because he has no other interests, and must do something; or because his home is uncomfortable and his life dull, and he needs some real enjoyment; or because he is fond of company, and only wishes to be like the rest."

A writer already quoted,[2] in describing the slums of Leeds, puts the matter with admirable clearness and force. "Most of the men," he says, "have some particular public-house to which they go nearly every night in the week—it is their sitting-room—their own

[1] October 10th, 1873.

[2] D. B. Foster, *Leeds Slumdom.*

home being a sort of kitchen where the servant (the wife) does the household drudgery. When tea is over the man retires from the kitchen to the *sitting-room* (as men in higher society do) to spend the evening with his friends.

"The publican (whether it be a tied house or his own) secures his remuneration for the convenience from the profits made on the liquor sold. This being well understood, 'the good of the house' is not easily overlooked. . . . It cannot be denied that many of these men become so fond of the drink for its own sake, that this idea of payment for convenience never enters their minds. Nevertheless, in the earlier stages of their public-house-going, and amongst those who have never allowed the drink to get the master over them, no doubt this thought is often present, and consequently is a force to be reckoned with."

It is this aspect of the question which gives the problem its great urgency, as well as its great difficulty, in the towns and cities of the United Kingdom. To realize it fully, one needs not only an intimate acquaintance with present social conditions, but also a knowledge of the effect which such conditions undoubtedly have in vitiating the tastes and habits of many who suffer from them.

The moral and social problems are inextricably related, and can hardly be separately discussed. We are not here concerned to fix the extent of the relation, but simply to recognise it. Such recognition is not difficult when one considers the tyrannous sordid circumstances that govern the lives of vast numbers of our town populations at the present time. For them life is too often a maimed existence, a cruel, unceasing struggle for bare subsistence, or at best "a

dull monotonous *chiaroscuro*," which, if not distressing, is utterly joyless. It is no wonder if, dulled and half stupefied by the close air and ill odours of the slum tenement or workshop, they should turn to the beer-house or gin-shop for temporary excitement and relief.

Mr. Robert Blatchford, author of *Merrie England*, than whom few have a more intimate knowledge of the lives of the poor, has recently summed up the situation in words which we cannot do better than quote. "Imagine," he says, "for a moment the common lot of our London poor. Ignorant and untrained minds, weary and unhealthy bodies, gloomy and demoralizing environment, monotony and weariness of life, out of these evils spring the seeds of vice. Drudging in their vile stews day after day, night after night . . . always with the black future, like an ominous cloud, casting its chill shadow on their anxious hearts; always with the mean walls hemming them in, and the mean tasks wearing them down, and the mean life paralysing their sick souls; with no pleasure but drink, with no club but the public-house, with work precarious and wages low, in hateful and cheerless surroundings, and with faint hopes ever narrowing, the toiling millions bring their worn bodies and bewildered souls to fight against the devil and all his works—and the devil, amongst other weapons, uses gin. Out in the horrible East the women drink. What wonder! If you go amongst these poor women you will feel suddenly stricken old. . . . What culture have these poor creatures ever known? What teaching have they had? What graces of life have come to them? What dowry of love, of joy, of sweet and fair imagination? Think what their lives are, think what their homes are,

think of the darkness and confusion of their minds, and then say, is it a marvel if they take to gin?"[1]

The analysis of the problem in that statement may not be quite exhaustive; there may be, even in the lives of the poor, aspects of invincible cheerfulness of which it takes no account; but its general penetrating truthfulness no one with knowledge can impugn.

It will help to a clearer view of this aspect of the problem if we consider the actual life circumstances of those for whom the public-houses to a large extent exist.

The Problem of Poverty.

We select, first, the problem of poverty. In reporting on the economic condition of the working classes in 1885, the Royal Commissioners on Housing say:—

"Apart from the demoralizing influence of the surroundings in which their lives are passed, it must be borne in mind that the work and wages of a large proportion of the dwellers in the poorest quarters are most precarious, and the uncertainty of their incomes is sufficient cause to discourage them from struggling after better homes. It has been said of them that 'they are never a shilling ahead of the world'; they have just enough to get through the week, and in the best of times are sure to be a week in arrear in purchasing power. . . . Evidence has been given to show how uncertain is the employment of the majority, how a period of comparative prosperity may be followed by a period of enforced idleness, and how consequently their existence and subsistence can only

[1] *Morning Leader*, September 2nd, 1898.

be described as from hand to mouth. But even if employment were regular, the wages are so low that existence must be a struggle at the best of times. A large class of persons whose earnings are at the lowest point are the costermongers and hawkers, whose average appears to be not more than ten or twelve shillings a week. This represents continuous toil, and although the income is a most precarious one, yet it is not rendered so by days and seasons of idleness, as is the case in occupations about to be mentioned, but it is dependent upon the state of the market. . . . The average of labourers' wages among the residents in Clerkenwell is said to be about sixteen shillings a week, and this, of course, means that there are many who earn less. This, also, is about the figure at which labour is said to be obtainable at Bristol. Sack-making and slop-tailoring are two occupations carried on to a great extent in the homes of the poor, and they are both remunerated at starvation wages. Artizans, of course, command a higher wage, and twenty-five shillings a week seems to be an ordinary rate for many of that class who inhabit tenement houses."

But these particulars, depressing as they are, give a very inadequate idea of the problem. In East London alone—as Mr. Charles Booth has shown us—no less than 314,175 persons, or 35 per cent. of the total population, belong to families whose weekly earnings amount to less than a guinea a week. In the central districts of South London, comprising a population of 390,000, matters are even worse, no less than 47 per cent. of the population being below the poverty line. In St. Pancras, again, out of a population of 234,379 persons, 30 per cent. are poor. Further West, in the

neighbourhood of Lisson Grove, there are 50,000 persons, *half* of whom are poor.

It will be urged, and rightly, that the appalling character of these figures only intensifies the folly and wastefulness of excessive indulgence in drink. That is a proposition which does not admit of discussion. But from another point of view—the point of view of the people themselves—the figures have another significance. They show, oppressively and powerfully, how inevitably narrow the lives of the people are, and how strong must be the craving for expansion and excitement. So long as the community in its social arrangements refuses to recognise this, so long will the public-house continue to exert its baneful and demoralizing influence.[1]

The Housing of the People.

A closely related problem is that presented by the sanitary and other conditions under which so many thousands of the people live. The gravity of this problem cannot well be exaggerated. As the *Spectator* recently pointed out[2]: "A large part of the population of London and of all our large cities live in dwellings which keep down the level of civilization. The conditions of decent and healthy life are not to be

[1] In answer to this line of argument, it is sometimes said, "Induce a man to give up the drink, and he will soon better his surroundings." This is often true, especially with men of force of character; but how many of the 1,246,615 persons living two or more to a room in London are likely, amidst surroundings which depress health and weaken the will-power, to give up the drink when they are unable to find social enjoyment except in connection with its sale.

[2] December 10th, 1898.

had in them. They are overcrowded, they are underventilated, they are wanting in the most elementary requirements of decent sanitation."

The terrible truthfulness of these statements it is only too easy to show.

(a) *Density of Population.*

A healthy city—according to the late Sir B. W. Richardson—should have a density of population not exceeding 25 persons to the acre. What are the actual facts? In 1896 the population of the Administrative County of London was 4,433,018, distributed at the rate of 59 persons to the acre. These figures, however, are deceptive, and give no true idea of the actual density of population in the industrial districts of the city. In St. George's-in-the-East, with 47,506 inhabitants, the density of population in 1896 was 199 persons to the acre; in Whitechapel (population, 35,111), 202; in St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark (population, 60,278), 212; in St. Anne, Soho (population, 12,048), 227; while in Mile End, New Town (population, 12,816), and Christchurch, Spitalfields (population, 23,055), the figures reached the almost incredible density of 305 and 316 persons to the acre respectively.

In the principal provincial cities, the figures, although not equalling those of London, are nevertheless excessively high. In Manchester, for example, while the average density of population is comparatively low, being at the rate of 40 persons per acre for the whole of the city, there are districts so crowded as almost to rival the central districts of London.

The following may be taken as illustrations of these :—

Ward.	Population. (1891.)	No. of Persons per acre.
SOUTH MANCHESTER :		
All Saints	23,609	104
Medlock Street	32,827	167
NORTH MANCHESTER :		
New Cross	45,982	130
Harpurhey	37,050	192

(b) *Overcrowding.*

Even these figures, however, give a very inadequate idea of the evil. A much clearer view is presented in the statistics of overcrowding. In order to understand these, let us once more start with a standard. The late Professor Huxley, in describing the conditions of health, laid down the principle that "to be supplied with respiratory air in a fair state of purity, every man ought to have at least 800 cubic feet of space to himself." This amount of space—the minimum required for health—would represent *for each person* a room ten feet by ten feet and eight feet high.[1] Now with this standard in our minds let us examine the actual figures.

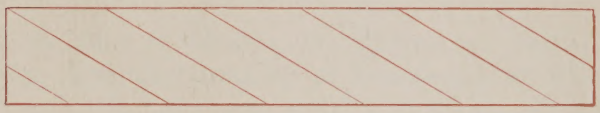
In 1891 there were in England and Wales no fewer than 3,258,044 persons, forming 11·23 per cent. of the entire population, living under crowded conditions, *i.e.* in tenements containing *more than two persons per room.*

[1] In the poorer parts of London, according to Mr. Charles Booth, the rooms range in size from fourteen feet by twelve feet to eight feet by eight feet, the height from floor to ceiling varying from eight to ten feet.

PLATE XXVI.

DIAGRAM

Showing the Density of Population in certain London parishes, as compared with Sir B. W. Richardson's standard for a healthy city.



SIR B. W. RICHARDSON.
25 persons to the acre.

ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST and WHITECHAPEL.
Total population, 82,617. 200 persons to the acre.

[56 lines.]

ST. GEORGE THE MARTYR, SOUTHWARK, and ST. ANNE, SOHO.
Total population, 180,326. 215 persons to the acre.

[60 lines.]

MILE END, NEW TOWN, and CHRIST CHURCH, SPITALFIELDS.
Total population, 35,871. 312 persons to the acre.

[87 lines.]

Of these overcrowded persons:—

357,707	lived	in	one-room	tenements.
1,124,056	„	„	two „	„
951,877	„	„	three „	„
824,404	„	„	four „	„

If we turn to London, the figures are very much worse. The total number of tenements[1] of all kinds in London in 1891 was 937,606, of which 172,502, or 18 per cent., were *one*-room tenements; 189,707, or 20 per cent., *two*-room tenements; 153,189, or 16 per cent., *three*-room tenements; and 115,171, or 12 per cent., *four*-room tenements. In other words, more than two-thirds of the tenements in London consist of from one to four rooms only.

It is almost impossible to realize the terrible import of these figures. To deal with one-room tenements only, the figures show that *one in every eleven of the population in London* is either a solitary occupant of a one-room tenement, or a member of a family which has but one room for all the purposes of life. In that one room the entire family—father, mother, sons, and daughters—has to sleep, wash, dress, cook, and eat its meals, and find its social life. The room, in short, in sickness as in health, has to be bedroom, kitchen, sitting-room, and—in thousands of cases—workroom combined.[2]

[1] By a "tenement" is to be understood any house or part of a house separately occupied either by the owner or by a tenant.

[2] The following instances of overcrowding—by no means exceptional—were reported at a recent meeting of the London County Council. In St. George's-in-the-East a man and his wife and their family of eight occupied one small room. This family consisted of five daughters, aged twenty, seventeen,

The thought is appalling; but it does not cover the facts. The statement is far from complete. The proportion of one-room tenements, although an important test of overcrowding, is not an exhaustive one, inasmuch as many of the occupants of two, three, and even four-room tenements live under crowded conditions. While, for example, 386,489 persons, or 9 per cent. of the total population of London, lived in one-room tenements in 1891, more than 830,000 persons, or 20 per cent. of the population, lived under crowded conditions (*i.e.*, *more than* two persons to a room).

The actual conditions that prevail can be more readily seen from the following table, which includes tenements containing *two persons and upwards* to a room. The total number of persons living in such tenements was 1,246,615, of whom:—

762,417	lived	two	and under	three	persons	to	a room.
298,994	„	three	„	four	„	„	
114,714	„	four	„	five	„	„	
43,443	„	five	„	six	„	„	

while 27,047 lived in tenements containing *from six to twelve persons to a room.*

If we turn to the provinces, a very similar condition of things appears. The following table gives

eight, four, and an infant, and three sons, aged fifteen, thirteen, and twelve. In Whitechapel a man and his wife and their three daughters, aged sixteen, eight, and four, and two sons, aged ten and twelve years, occupied a smaller room. In Bethnal Green a man and his wife, with four sons, aged twenty-three, twenty-one, nineteen, and sixteen years, and two daughters, aged fourteen and seven respectively, were also found in one room.—*Daily News*, January 18th, 1899.

particulars of overcrowding in several provincial towns:—

Town.	No. of Persons living more than Two to a room.	Proportion of Total Population. Per cent.
Gateshead	34,943	41
Newcastle-on-Tyne	65,347	35
Sunderland	43,038	33
Plymouth	22,128	26
Halifax	19,147	21
Bradford	44,598	21

If we include the larger cities, the numbers are considerably increased. In Birmingham no fewer than 68,221 persons live in tenements containing more than two persons to a room; in Leeds, 60,482; in Liverpool, 56,765; in Manchester, 41,718; and in Sheffield, 37,552.

The Effects of Overcrowding.

The physical and moral effects of such overcrowding can be better imagined than described, but we have a few broad clues to guide us.

Professor Huxley, in describing the physical results of breathing impure air, said: "In the case of breathing the same air over and over again, the deprivation of oxygen and the accumulation of carbonic acid cause injury long before the asphyxiating point is reached. . . . It need hardly be said that the persistent breathing of such air tends to lower all kinds of vital energy and predisposes to diseases." If there were any disposition to doubt this statement, a moment's analysis of the death rates in crowded districts would effectually dispel it.

The "corrected" death rate of Hampstead (a wealthy suburban district) for the ten years 1886–1895, was

14·3 per 1,000; for Lewisham (also a suburban district), 15·4; and for St. George's, Hanover Square (a wealthy West End parish), 18·1. The death rate for St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark, for the same period, was 28·5; for St. George's-in-the-East, 29·9; and for the Strand division (including Soho), 30·0. In the provinces the figures are much the same. Taking the same period (*i.e.* 1886–95) the death rate in Leeds was 23·5; Sheffield, 24·0; Salford, 28·0; Liverpool, 28.5; and Manchester, 29·0. In his "Report on the Health of Greater Manchester," in the years 1891–93, Dr. Tatham says: "We are almost forced to the conclusion that in Manchester men grow old sooner than in the country as a whole. The vitality of men at fifty-seven in Manchester is about equal to that of men at sixty-five in England; and the expectation of life at fifty-eight-and-a-half in Manchester is equal to that of men at sixty-five in England." That a part, and perhaps a great part, of the excess of mortality which the figures for Manchester show, is inseparable from life and work in a great manufacturing town, Dr. Tatham admits to be "possible and even probable." But to discuss that is to open up a question with which we at present are not concerned. Our immediate purpose is simply to illustrate the depressing and demoralizing conditions under which the people who crowd the public-houses live.

In referring to this aspect of the problem, the Royal Commissioners on Housing (1885) say:—

"In considering what are the effects moral and material of the present conditions of the housing of the working classes, especially in the Metropolis, it will be convenient still to deal with overcrowding as

a centre evil around which most of the others group themselves. . . . If there has been some attempt to throw doubt on overcrowding and the single-room system being the immediate cause of immorality, no one has ventured to express an opinion that they are not most destructive to bodily health. . . . Even statistics of actual disease consequent on overcrowding would not convey the whole truth as to the loss to health caused by it to the labouring classes. Some years ago the Board of Health instituted inquiries in the low neighbourhoods to see what was the amount of labour lost in the year, not by illness, but from sheer exhaustion and inability to do work. It was found that upon the lowest average every workman or workwoman lost about twenty days in the year from simple exhaustion, and the wages thus lost would go towards paying an increased rent for a better house. There can be little doubt but that the same thing is going on now, perhaps even to a greater extent. That overcrowding lowers the general standard, that the people get depressed and weary, is the testimony of those who are daily witnesses of the lives of the poor."

It is for these "depressed" and "weary" ones that what Lord Randolph Churchill called the "fatal facility of the public-house" is so perilously attractive, since it appears to offer them the easiest way of escape from the oppressive circumstances of their lives.[1]

[1] For a statement of the relation of overcrowding to intemperance, see Appendix, p. 738. In this connection it is interesting to note that at the Seventh International Temperance Congress, held in Paris in April, 1899, one of the items on the agenda was "Tenements for Workmen, and their Influence on Habitual Inebriety."

Conditions of Employment.

But the problem has not yet been fully stated. To understand the measure of the appeal which the public-house makes to the industrial classes it is necessary to realize not only the conditions under which the people *live*, but also those under which they *work*.

That the conditions of labour have been made less arduous in recent years is happily indisputable. But when all changes and improvements have been allowed for, the fact remains that the conditions of labour are still extremely irksome, and often painfully exacting. The introduction of the factory system and the more extensive use of machinery, while they have lessened the physical burden of work, have added to it a nervous tension and an extreme monotony which are not only harmful to health, but in some cases so depressing as to be positively destructive of mental development. If to these conditions be added the incessant noise and whirr of the machinery, the noxious heat and dust-laden air of the workshops and factories, and the close and continuous confinement, the attractiveness of the public-house in the hours of relaxation can easily be realized.

(a) *Mortality Statistics.*

Some idea of the effect of these conditions upon the workers may be gathered from the mortality statistics for various industries. Speaking generally, the mortality of occupied males in industrial districts exceeds by one-third the average for all occupied males at the age-groups 45–55, and 55–65.[1]

[1] *Supplement to the 55th Annual Report of the Registrar-General for England and Wales.*

The average mortality of textile workers at the ages 15–20 is 33 per cent. above the standard for all occupied males, and 11 per cent. above the standard at ages between 25 and 65. Among metal workers, of whom there were nearly three-quarters of a million above the age of 15 in England and Wales in 1891, the comparative mortality figure at ages 25–65 is higher than the standard by 18 per cent. Among general labourers in industrial districts the comparative mortality figure exceeds the standard for all occupied males by 58 per cent.; while among potters and earthenware workers it exceeds the standard by no less than 79 per cent.

(b) *Relation of Employment, etc., to Drink.*

That conditions which are so fatal to the physical well-being of the workers must also play an important part in their demoralization will be too apparent to need much illustration, but a not unimportant clue to the relation which such conditions bear to drink is afforded by the statistics of deaths from alcoholism.

The following table[1] gives the particulars of mortality from alcoholism in a simple comparative form. The mortality of all occupied males has been expressed as 100, and the mortality in each of the separate classes compared has been reduced to a figure proportional to that standard :—

	Deaths from Alcoholism. Ratio.
All Occupied Males (England and Wales) . .	100
Occupied Males, Agricultural Districts . . .	54
„ „ London	138
„ „ Industrial Districts	146

[1] Compiled from the *Supplement to the 55th Annual Report of the Registrar-General.*

It thus appears that the mortality from alcoholism is nearly 50 per cent. higher in the industrial districts than the average for the kingdom generally, and 170 per cent. higher than the average for the agricultural districts.

THE NEED FOR RECREATION.

Now it would be idle to suppose that the problem which the foregoing facts and figures unitedly represent could be effectually solved by any scheme of temperance reform. That is not here suggested. But it cannot be doubted that a scheme of reform which frankly recognised the existence of these conditions, and sought to counteract their demoralizing influence by providing new opportunities of healthful recreation —cheerful, joyous, attractive—would do much to hasten the solution of the problem. In any case these facts and figures have a serious and urgent importance for the temperance reformer. They show how natural is the mental recoil of the people from the irksomeness and sordidness of their daily lives; how insistent must be the appeal of their natures for relaxation and change, and how almost irresistible, in the absence of other adequate arrangements for their recreation, must be the meretricious attractions of the public-house. It is this aspect of the question that appeals so strongly to those who have intimate knowledge of the lives of the poor. They see that at bottom the Temperance question is largely "an entertainment of the people" question, and that, as things are now, the publican finds his great opportunity in a serious deficiency in our public arrangements for the pleasures and recreations of the people. In a recently published

article on "Settlements and Recreations," the late Secretary of the Mansfield House Settlement, Canning Town, has put the matter so clearly that we venture to quote at some length. After a brief reference to the "homes" of the people in East and South London, the writer proceeds :—

"So much for a bare suggestion of the conditions, wonderfully different from those of most of the readers of this book. But is human nature in Deptford, Bermondsey, or Bethnal Green as strikingly different from that in Hampstead, Kensington, or Clapham? Not at all. In all, man is a social being, desiring converse with his fellows; in all, his constitution demands the alternation of work and play, of strain and relaxation, of expenditure of effort and renewal of power—in a word, that continual *recreation* that is necessary to restore the elasticity of life. The difference is not in the need, but in the means of satisfying it.

"How, for instance, can a man invite a few of his 'pals' to spend a social evening at his house, when he has no house but a tenement that will not hold himself, his 'missus' and the 'kids,' without grave discomfort, and the one room must often serve as kitchen, wash-house, sitting-room, nursery, and bedroom, if not workroom as well? Even with the better-off, who have three whole rooms to themselves, the sitting-room is much too small for anything like social purposes. It is wonderful what a steady man and a clever managing wife can do with such places, but there are limits the best can never pass, and we have to deal in these matters with the great mass, who cannot rise superior to their upbringing and surroundings.

"Now contrast this, not with any kind of mansion,

but with the suburban villa, where a snug meal waits the home-coming of the city man; and the children, after their welcome kiss, are packed off to bed or play-room; where pictures are on the walls and books on the shelves; where arm-chair and slippers are ready for the tired back and feet, with innumerable little luxuries that are taken as a matter of course; where half a dozen friends can come in for a smoke and chat, or the piano is ready in the drawing-room for a musical evening; where there is perhaps a bit of garden at the back, or a glass-house in which to spend spare hours in the summer.

"All these things are *recreative*, and are taken without thought of extravagance. If they do not minister to your life, why do you have them? If they do, if without them you would lose your force, become worn out, what of those who are compelled to go without? As a matter of fact, there are in poorer London any number of places where men may meet with their fellows, in good light, genial warmth, and with elbow room; places that are attractive by their superior size, their striking decorations, and the strong glare that is thrown by their windows and outside lamps across the dull and murky street. But there are drawbacks to these places. They are called public-houses, gin-palaces, beer-shops, and a man who frequents them overmuch gets a light pocket, a heavy head, and a damaged character. I do not want to lay stress on the bad side of these places; we are all sufficiently familiar with that. What I do wish to emphasize is the point that with all their faults they fulfil a most necessary function in social life, and that the only genuine reform must take heed of this. . . . The places of intercourse are of prime importance; and the

problem is to provide such as will be free from the noxious action of intoxicants, and at the same time will afford the discipline of character that is necessary to all permanent reform."[1]

There are, it is true, many places of amusement in East and South London, as well as in the principal provincial cities, but these are chiefly music-halls, where the entertainment, although far less vicious than is commonly supposed, is too seldom of the kind that is really needed for the recreation of the people. The true criticism of these places is not that they are vicious—in that respect the End-End music-halls certainly compare most favourably with similar halls in the West—but that they are deficient in healthy stimulus, and are too often connected with a public-house, or have drink within their own precincts. But "apart from all question of these places and their control, there is evidently a big field for the provision of good, clean and easily accessible entertainment, both to lighten the lives of those who do not care to frequent the ordinary music-hall, and to win away as many as possible from the opposing delights of the drinking-shops. . . . Pictures, books, good music, clear laughter, heart fellowship—are not these true aids to life? Is it not worth while to bring them within reach of the docker, the coal-heaver, the artisan and the common labourer; nay, right down into the 'doss-house,' where the broken ones of society get their precarious lodging night by night? For never will the evil spirits be permanently cast out until the empty house is tenanted by such as these; no reform was ever achieved by mere destruction and prohibition; the hovel must be replaced by a healthy

[1] Reason, *University and Social Settlements*, pp. 74–5.

home; the 'boozing-shop' by a centre of true fellowship; mischievous books by clean literature; coarse ribaldry by pure fun."[1]

It is not, of course, suggested that adequate arrangements of the kind here contemplated would instantly and entirely solve the problem of intemperance. What *is* suggested is that their influence would go far towards solving the problem by attacking it at one of its primary sources. As Mr. John Burns, M.P., has admirably put it: "Anything that will give working people more pleasure will help in the way of temperance. Let those who want to make the people more temperate provide games and libraries and opportunities for social enjoyment. Give them pleasures, and they will not seek the public-house."

The discovery is not a new one. The need has been emphasized again and again in the course of the last sixty years. So far back as 1834 a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in reporting on the "Causes and Consequences of Intoxication among the Labouring Classes," recommended, among other things, "The establishment, by the joint aid of the Government and the local authorities and residents on the spot, of public walks and gardens, or open spaces for athletic and healthy exercises in the open air, in the immediate vicinity of every town, of an extent and character adapted to its population; and of district and parish libraries, museums and reading-rooms, accessible at the lowest rate of charge, so as to admit of one or the other being visited in any weather and at any time; with the rigid exclusion of all intoxicating drinks of every kind from all such places, whether in the open air or closed."

[1] Reason, *University and Social Settlements*, pp. 74–5.

Twenty years later—in 1854—another Select Committee of the House of Commons reported :—

"*Your Committee are fully impressed with the importance of as far as possible dissociating places of public entertainment from the sale of intoxicating drinks.* Dramatic and musical performances have a tendency, under strict censorship, to raise the character of the people, and there is evidence of a growing taste for such entertainments amongst the working classes, and which it appears to your Committee may be made to serve as a powerful counter-attraction to the public-house.

"Your Committee have been impressed with the good effects of the Saturday evening concerts, such as take place at the Lord Nelson Street Rooms, Liverpool, which, on all occasions, are presided over by some person of note or respectability; and they are satisfied that were the example followed, and the means provided *independent of public-houses*, for the working classes to gratify their taste, especially for music, the result would be a diminution of intemperance and the refinement of the popular taste."

Six years later still, the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the sale of Exciseable Liquors in Scotland, in discussing the causes of "a marked improvement in the habits of the people of Scotland in regard to sobriety," declared that "The spread of education and the extension of a cheap literature adapted to the wants and requirements of the people, aided by the establishment of lectures, reading-rooms and schemes of rational recreation, have done much to withdraw the operatives from the public-house."

Nineteen years later—in 1879—a Select Committee

of the House of Lords made a still further reference to the subject. In discussing the question of "Counter-Attractions" the Committee report:—

"The Committee have observed with great satisfaction the efforts which are being made in many parts of the country, and especially in London, Liverpool and the larger towns, to provide, *on a scale far more extensive, and in a form much more attractive than hitherto*, for the physical refreshment and rational recreation of the working classes. . . . These experiments are too recent, and, in spite of their rapid increase, too partial and limited, to enable the Committee to pronounce with confidence on their ultimate success, or on the extent of the influence they may exercise in diminishing intemperance; but they desire to express their strong opinion that, if generally prosecuted and conducted with due regard for the wants and comforts of a population among whom education is gradually diffusing a taste for enjoyments far less coarse and gross than in the past, they are destined to have an important influence for good. It is obvious that the desire for recreation is felt by all classes alike; it cannot but be strong among those whose life is one of continual labour; and it is of the highest social advantage that such recreation should be of an innocent and refining character, free from the temptations with which it has hitherto been accompanied, and which such vast numbers are unable to resist."

This repeated emphasis of a great social deficiency by a succession of Parliamentary Commissions since 1834 is especially impressive in the light of existing needs. That it has not been altogether unfruitful the varied social activities of the present time sufficiently attest. In the multiplication of mechanics' institutes,

polytechnics, art galleries, and museums, and public parks and libraries, there is important evidence of the great advance in social activity that has marked the last fifty years. The educational and moral value of the work done by these agencies cannot well be exaggerated; but apart from the fact that the most important of them aim at the *education* rather than the *recreation* of the people—a consideration of especial importance in London and the larger cities—it must be admitted that in their utmost achievement they still leave a serious deficiency in our social life. The real need to be met is indeed beyond their scope.

The existence of this deficiency in our social arrangements is, of course, as natural as, under present conditions, it must be held to be inevitable. It is due to simple historical causes, the chief of which has been the unprecedented growth and development of our modern towns and cities. No one who considers for a moment what this growth and development have been will be at a loss to understand the naturalness, as well as the extent, of the deficiency to which we have referred. The population of London, for example, has increased in fifty years by no less than 117 per cent.; the population of Liverpool, by 81 per cent.; Manchester, by 97 per cent.; Leeds, by 141 per cent.; Birmingham, 153 per cent.; Sheffield, 192 per cent.; Bradford, 198 per cent.; Burnley, 355 per cent.; Croydon, 516 per cent.; Birkenhead, 732 per cent.; while the population of Cardiff and West Ham have increased by no less than 1,027 per cent. and 1,509 per cent. respectively.

It is almost impossible to realize the full significance of these figures and the revolution which they mark in the social life of the people. One thing, however,

they serve to establish, and that is the practical *inevitableness* of the present deficiency in our public arrangements for the recreations and pleasures of the people. It was hardly possible, the growth of urban populations being what it has been, that social arrangements could keep pace with the need, nor—let it be frankly recognised—is there any hope that the need can be overtaken through the ordinary channels in the immediate or near future. Local communities, already heavily burdened with ordinary municipal charges, are not likely to be willing to further burden themselves with the enormous additional expense which an adequate provision for the recreations of the people would involve. Nor can we look with greater hopefulness to the resources of private philanthropy. Those resources, happily, are far from being exhausted at the present time, but they are not inexhaustible, and even at the most sanguine estimate they fall immeasurably short of the full extent of the work that waits to be done. Here and there, doubtless, wealthy corporations, or even private individuals, may do for separate localities what the Goldsmiths' Company has done for New Cross, and the Drapers' Company for Mile End. But the number of these is limited, and there is no reasonable ground for hope that their utmost generosity could meet more than a very small part of the need in the country as a whole. So far from this being the case, experience has shown that the multitudinous work that has been initiated and maintained by ordinary philanthropic enterprise has been persistently hampered and restricted by the want of adequate funds for its support. Mechanics' Institutes, University and Social Settlements, and the manifold

recreative agencies of the Christian Churches, excellent as their work is, are all illustrations of this fact. For all such voluntary agencies, as every one who has been associated with them knows, there are well-defined limits beyond which development is impossible.

It was probably the perception of this fact that led the Bishop of Chester, who, more than most, has realized that the public-house question is an "entertainment of the people question," to include provision for recreation and amusement in his scheme of Public-house Reform. In his letter to *The Times* in August, 1892, the Bishop pointed out that ordinary proposals for Temperance reform "fail on the constructive side. Their aim is to restrict, or even to abolish, the sale of alcoholic beverages. They do not contemplate the counter-provision of such houses of refreshment as may wholesomely meet, and, while meeting, cultivate and refine, the established needs and tastes of the people. And yet in such a climate as this, and with the hours of labour shortening and the hours of leisure lengthening, the demand for such entertainment cannot wisely be ignored or discountenanced. . . . I would, therefore, submit that the reformation so undoubtedly and imperatively demanded must, to be really effective, take the shape of a complete reconstruction of our existing public-house system. Licensed victualling must change hands. Experience has abundantly shown that private enterprise cannot bear the weight of this vast national responsibility. The State, through its local authorities and instrumentalities, must with a firm and liberal hand undertake the provision of houses of refreshment for the people, in which alcoholic bever-

ages, though frankly recognised, will be deposed from their aggressive supremacy and supplied under less seductive conditions. These conditions would, for example, be comfortable, spacious, well-ventilated accommodation; temperance drinks of every kind brought well to the front, invested with prestige and supplied in the most convenient, attractive, and inexpensive way; the pecuniary interest of the managers (*e.g.* in the form of bonus) made to depend entirely on the sale of eatables and non-alcoholic beverages; alcoholic liquors secured against adulteration; newspapers, indoor games, and, where practicable, outdoor games and music provided; while the mere drink-shop, the gin-palace, and 'the bar'—that pernicious incentive to drinking for drinking's sake—would be utterly abolished."

Let us try to realize what this proposal means. Put briefly—we quote the words of an official manifesto issued by the Public-house Reform Association in 1895—it "goes frankly upon the assumption that the public-house of entertainment is necessary for the comfort, recreation, and social intercourse of the people; and that reform rather than abolition must be the aim of a sound Temperance policy." The suggestion, in short, is to substitute a *reformed public-house* for the present gin-palace. The frequenters of the old houses would, therefore, constitute a large portion of the customers of the new, and would continue in the new houses to take substantially the same drinks that they had been accustomed to take in the old. The man who had taken spirits would, as a rule, continue to take spirits, and the man who was accustomed to beer would, as a rule, continue to take beer. Whatever place the temperance drinks and other refreshments

might occupy, and whatever was the reduction of sale of liquor attendant upon the effort of the salesman to sell as little, instead of as much as possible, the consumption of intoxicants would still remain the dominating and prevailing feature of the new houses, and it is to these places, which must for many years be largely "drink-shops," that people are to be attracted by music, newspapers and games.

With the main principle that underlies the Bishop of Chester's proposals—namely, the elimination of private profit—there can be nothing but cordial agreement, and certainly no one in England has done more to point out its supreme importance and value. But this particular proposal for associating amusement and recreation with the sale of intoxicants is not only opposed to the express recommendations of the Parliamentary Committees already quoted,[1] but is clearly prejudicial to the best interests of the community, and calculated to hinder, rather than to facilitate, the object it seeks to attain. Its importance can be illustrated by a single consideration. Practically all disinterested citizens are agreed that the consumption of intoxicants in the United Kingdom is at present so excessive as to be dangerous to morality, prosperity and health. Temperance workers, realizing this, and knowing how hard it is to break an established habit, have tried to save the children from acquiring the habit of drinking. It is stated that in 1897 the Bands of Hope and other juvenile Temperance associations in the United Kingdom had a total membership of nearly three millions (2,800,000), and that in addition to the ordinary work done by these societies, lectures on the subject of Temperance were

[1] See pp. 564–566.

delivered to no less than 403,320 children in public elementary schools.[1] Do we want these boys and girls when they leave school, with no acquired fondness for drink, and the young men and women in shops and factories, to be attracted by "comfortable, spacious, well-ventilated" rooms, in which games, music and newspapers are directly associated with the sale and consumption of intoxicants? Do we not rather want, by a strong and decided change in our national arrangements, to break the continuity of the drinking habit, and so reduce to reasonable limits our present stupendous consumption of alcohol? If we do wish this, what could be more ill-judged than deliberately to attract young men and women to places where, in seeking recreation, they will perpetually have before them an example which we desire they should *not* imitate?

The Bishop justly points, in support of his major propositions, to the example of Sweden and Norway. But in neither country is there any attempt to attract people to the public-house. In the Bergen bars, as we have lately shown, seats even are not provided, nor are customers permitted to loiter on the premises.

A PRACTICAL SUGGESTION.

If we start from the position that we want to attract the young *away from* places where intoxicants are sold, rather than attract them *to* such places, the alternative policy to that suggested by the Bishop of Chester is not far to seek.

The first practical step in the direction of reform is, as we have already shown, to confer upon localities

[1] *National Temperance League's Annual*, 1898, pp. 55, 56.

the power of granting a monopoly of the entire retail traffic within their borders, either to companies formed for that purpose, upon which the municipal councils shall be directly represented, or, under important safeguards, to the councils themselves. The second step, and that upon which we would now lay special emphasis, is to establish and maintain *out of the profits of the traffic* efficient and attractive social institutes or "People's Palaces," in which full and even elaborate provision could be made for the most varied forms of healthful recreation, but in which no intoxicants would be sold. The attractions which we dread for the public-house should there be freely supplied, and the utmost enlightened effort be concentrated in an endeavour to meet the true recreative needs of the people. Parks and open spaces are invaluable in the warm summer evenings, but the peculiarities of the English climate seriously detract from their usefulness at other times, and make them practically unavailable as places of popular recreation for more than four or five months in the year. What are wanted are "winter parks" in the form of People's Palaces, in which rational recreation could be combined with full opportunity for cheerful intercourse and healthy mental stimulus.

In these People's Palaces the needs and tastes of all sections of the local communities should, as far as possible, be consulted, and while ample provision would be made for recreations of the simplest and least exacting kind, such as would specially appeal to those to whom the stress of their daily lives leaves little inclination for anything more than physical relaxation and cheerful intercourse, careful attention would be paid to the more complex needs of the less

physically enervated and the young. The entire scheme of work, in short, would be made subsidiary to the highest interests of the individual and the loftiest aims of the State.

(a) *Recreative Features.*

The purely recreative features would include winter gardens for free promenade and music; indoor concerts and entertainments; rooms for games, reading, etc. The appeal which such agencies would make to large numbers of the workers in our overcrowded towns and cities is no longer matter of conjecture. The experience of Social Settlements, "People's Drawing-Rooms," the Social Institutes' Union, and separate institutions such as the People's Palace in East London, has shown how great is the response to work in this direction. One of the present writers has vivid reminiscences of visits paid at different times to the People's Palace in East London, and of one visit especially on a recent Bank-holiday, when the whole of the spacious buildings seemed alive with eager and glad-hearted east-enders. In one part of the buildings a large hall temporarily devoted to an exhibition of local handicrafts and industries was filled with interested sightseers, while at the same time—the visit was made about mid-day—the large Queen's Hall, capable of seating 2,500 persons, was crowded with working men and their wives and families, eagerly listening to a simple concert given by a band of Tyrolese musicians and singers. The entire scene was an impressive reminder of the almost immeasurable possibilities that lie in the direction of enlightened attempts to organize the recreations of the people.

An equally suggestive illustration is that furnished by the People's Palace at Glasgow—a combination of Art Gallery, Concert Hall and Winter Gardens —established and maintained by the Corporation of the city for the benefit of those living in the most crowded parts of Glasgow. The building is situate in the extreme east-end of the city, where the residents are chiefly composed of the working classes. The idea of the building grew out of the experience of the Corporation in other less ambitious attempts to solve the problem of winter recreation for the people. Impressed by the great success of the Winter Gardens at Kibble Palace [1] and its adjuncts, as well as of the conservatories at Camphill, [2] the Corporation decided to offer similar facilities for recreation to the inhabitants of the more crowded parts of the city, supplementing the Winter Gardens, however, with ample provision for music, arts and crafts exhibitions, museum, etc. In describing the objects of the institution at the public opening in January, 1898, Bailie Bilsland, the convener of the Corporation committee, said: "The precise lines along which the People's Palace shall be developed and maintained in the future have not as yet been finally laid down. The general idea is that the permanent collection to be formed should relate to the history and industries of the city, and that some space should be set apart for special sectional exhibitions to be held from time to time, in connection with which prizes might be awarded for works of special excellence. While pri-

[1] Kibble Place is situate in the extreme *west*-end of Glasgow.

[2] Camphill is situate on the *south* side of the river near Queen's Park.

marily serving as a conservatory and a place of attraction during the shorter days, the Winter Garden portion has been designed and arranged to serve also as a hall where musical performances can be given to large audiences. One element of originality in the way of municipal enterprise that can be claimed for this institution lies in the combination, practically under one roof, of a museum, picture-gallery, winter garden and concert-hall. So far as we are aware, no municipality in the kingdom has provided an institution combining all these features." [1] The experiment is still young, but it has already achieved remarkable success. In a statement furnished to the present writers in December 1898, by the courtesy of Bailie Bilsland, the curator of the Palace says:

"From the first the success of the institution has been very remarkable; in fact, so great was the crush of visitors for many months that great difficulty was experienced in dealing with them. In the evenings especially the interior of the building became so congested that it was frequently found necessary to close the entrance doors for a short interval. It could not, of course, be expected, nor was it desirable, that this should continue very long, but the daily average of visitors to the Palace is still very large, as is evidenced by the fact that since the opening (*i.e.* in ten months) more than 750,000 people have visited it. It is noteworthy that of the first catalogue 43,000 copies were sold.

"The causes of this great popularity are not far to seek. In the first place, the Palace is in close proximity to some of the most crowded parts of the

[1] *Glasgow Herald*, January 24th, 1898.

city—inhabited for the most part by people who have little or no leisure during the day, and whose only time for recreation is in the evening or on Saturday afternoon. Engaged for the most part in hard bodily labour, they do not care to go far from their homes to seek that recreation. It is evident also that there had been very severely felt in the East End the need of some place away from the public-house, or street corner, where friend could meet friend and walk and talk in comfort. This meeting-place the People's Palace supplied. Many people—especially young people—come down every evening to walk in the grounds surrounding the buildings, rendered cheerful even in winter by the electric light, taking a turn now and again into the Art Gallery to look at some favourite picture. As has already been pointed out, everything has been done to make the galleries bright, cheerful and clean, the pictures and art objects have been of a very high class, and yet sufficiently interesting to the general public; in a word, what has been aimed at is to make the institution, its contents and surroundings, as unlike the usual grimy environment of the people as possible: and all these things have tended to a success which it is the hope of the Committee will continue."

Such statements are exceedingly encouraging, but they hold no surprise for those who, knowing the conditions under which the people live and work, know also how almost priceless the opportunity for joyous "escape" *must* be.

(b) *Arts and Crafts Exhibitions, etc.*

The features that have proved so successful in Glasgow could well be adopted elsewhere, and every

People's Palace erected under the conditions here contemplated should provide accommodation for periodical loan exhibitions of art, antiquities, etc., as well as for exhibitions of local handicrafts and industries, mechanical inventions, etc.

The attractiveness of the former has long since been established. The efforts of Canon Barnett in Whitechapel, Mr. Percy Alden in Canning Town and Stratford, and the Rev. J. Scott Lidgett in Bermondsey, have proved conclusively that in the most destitute districts of East and South London the appeal to the sense of beauty wins a quick response.

The following figures show the total number of visitors to the Annual Picture Exhibitions at the foregoing centres in 1897 and 1898:—

	Total number of visitors.		
	1897.		1898.
Whitechapel (19 days)	63,150		51,450
West Ham (29 days) .	120,000	(30 days)	116,000
	1896.		
Bermondsey (8 days) .	11,675	(10 days)	10,000

In the provinces the interest is fully as great. The Annual Art Exhibition held in Bradford in the spring of 1898 attracted no less than 147,041 persons in the course of three months. In Manchester, again, the number of admissions to the Permanent Collection of Pictures in the Corporation Art Gallery, Mosley Street, from September 17th, 1896, to September 4th, 1897, was 262,080. The number admitted to the Queen's Park Museum and Art Gallery at Harpurhey (Manchester) for the same period was 118,401. The Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool was visited in 1897 by 391,815 persons, or a daily average (for 278 week-days) of 1,410; while in Belfast—to take only one

more instance—no fewer than 615,349 persons visited the Art Gallery and Museum in 1896–7—a daily average of 2,044.

Nor can it be doubted that equal success would meet the attempt periodically to organize, in connection with such People's Palaces, exhibitions of local industries, machinery in motion, etc. The success of the experiments already made in this direction in East London and elsewhere shows how great an opportunity is here presented. From an industrial point of view alone it is difficult to exaggerate its importance, for in quickening the pride of craftsmanship it could hardly fail to provoke those improvements in technical skill which ultimately determine the question of industrial success.

(c) *Educational Agencies, Popular Lectures, etc.*

A further feature of such People's Palaces would be the organization of popular illustrated lectures on science, mechanical inventions, history, biography, travel, etc. The success of such lectures, given under responsible auspices, and by the most accomplished speakers, is assured. Nothing is more remarkable in this connection than the success that has everywhere attended the science lectures, especially, given under the auspices of the Gilchrist Trust and other societies in different parts of the country during the last few years.[1] The eager interest of the large crowds that have attended the lectures has furnished one of the most impressive facts in modern educational effort, and one which it would be folly for social workers to overlook. In the organization of similar lectures in connection with the proposed People's Palaces regard

[1] See p. 741.

would, of course, be had to the divergent interests of different localities and the syllabus would be made as varied and attractive as possible. The lectures on natural history and physical science could be supplemented by lectures on topics of special local interest. If a town had expended a large sum on a drainage scheme, for example, the ratepayers would listen with interest to a descriptive lecture from the engineer. Again, in arranging the list of lectures, the questions and discoveries of the day would be put well to the front. Such topics as the construction of the Tower Bridge ; the sources of the water supply of large cities ; arctic exploration ; the autumn meteor shower ; the nature and application of the X Rays, would be attractive themes. These lectures would, of course, be supplementary to the ordinary recreative agencies of the People's Palaces, and being held in one of several halls which such institutions would possess, would in no way interfere with other features of the work. Their educational influence would, however, be considerable.

(d) *Social and Recreative Clubs, Benefit Societies, etc.*

Another feature of such institutions would be the provision of ample accommodation for Social Clubs, Sick Benefit Societies, etc. The need for the former, so far as men and women are concerned, would probably be largely met by the provision of reading and games rooms such as have already been suggested, and further, by the provision of healthy public entertainments. But experience has shown that the "club' has considerable attractions for a large class of working men, and that being so it would be unwise to leave the want to be supplied in more questionable

forms elsewhere. It is in this direction that the University and Social Settlements in different parts of the country have won some of their most important successes, and the work that they have accomplished with limited financial resources is suggestive evidence of the work that *might* be accomplished under such a scheme as is here proposed. The Bishop of Stepney, a former Warden of the Oxford House Settlement, Bethnal Green, whose Men's Clubs have a total membership of 950, and an average nightly attendance of 475, has given in the following incident an interesting illustration of the possibilities that lie open to this form of social effort. "I was visiting," he says, "in the London Hospital, and found myself sitting by the side of a broken-legged publican. When he heard who I was, he began asking about the welfare of several of our club members. I asked him how he knew them. 'Oh,' he said, 'they were regular customers of mine before they joined your club; I had a public-house close down your way.' 'Are you still there?' I asked him. 'No, sir; I've moved a little farther off.'" [1]

But in addition to clubs for adults, the need for which would probably diminish with the more adequate provision of popular places of resort, arrangements could also be made for the organization of bright and cheerful clubs for working lads and for working girls, such as are so greatly needed in all our towns and cities, and, to a lesser extent, in our villages also. Here, again, we touch a form of social service that has already proved itself of inestimable value in the better organization of the leisure and lives of the young. The number of lads' and girls' clubs in the country

[1] *Work in Great Cities.*

at large is happily very considerable, and yet no one who has had intimate knowledge of even a single district in any important town would dream of suggesting that the provision of such clubs is at all commensurate with the need. Here, as in other directions, there is a serious deficiency, which only the resources and machinery of a great social enterprise can adequately meet. "Hooliganism" is a deplorable but perfectly explicable social phenomenon, and needs something far other than prison cells for its eradication. So long as the community ignores the fact that for thousands of growing lads the nightly alternatives are the slum-tenement on the one hand, and the gin-palace and the street on the other, so long will "Hooliganism" in one or other of its forms be rampant. The thought is in any case a sobering one, but it becomes doubly impressive when appeal is made to the results in character and fitness for citizenship which have again and again been achieved through the influence of boys' clubs. In the light of these results "Hooliganism" becomes more than a social offence; it resolves itself into a positive social *waste*—a waste of forces upon which the community ultimately depends for the exaltation and enrichment of its social life. At present the stream of citizenship is too often poisoned at its source.

The same considerations apply to the case of working girls. The need here is assuredly not less—from the view of highest social progress it is probably far greater. But be this as it may, the simple fact that, as things are at present, thousands of working girls in all our large towns are compelled to find their recreation in the streets is a disquieting circumstance that can hardly be dismissed with expressions of regret.

In considering this question it is important to remember that, excluding students, more than *two-thirds* of the girls in this country between the ages of fifteen and twenty are engaged in some form of employment. In 1891 no fewer than 68·6 per cent. of the girls in England and Wales between fifteen and twenty years of age were returned as "occupied."[1] In eight towns the percentage was between 70 and 80; in fourteen towns between 80 and 90; while in six towns in Lancashire (viz., Oldham, Bolton, Preston, Bury, Burnley, and Blackburn) *the percentage ranged from* 90 *to* 95. Even if the home of the average working girl were less crowded and unhealthy than is too frequently the case, the conditions of employment create a need for greater and more varied recreative stimulus than is possible to her there.

In view of the figures just given, there can, of course, be no suggestion of competition with existing agencies. What is here contemplated is no more than the frank recognition of a grave social deficiency, which it is in the power of the community by wise arrangements to meet.

(e) *Gymnasia.*

A further and greatly needed development in recreative agencies for the young would be the provision, in connection with the People's Palaces, of separate and well-equipped gymnasia for working lads and girls. The admirable work that is now being done in Board Schools by means of musical drill could thus be efficiently followed up in the years when healthy physical development counts for so much. The need

[1] These figures include domestic servants, who form a large proportion of the whole.

to be met in this case is more than one of recreation. It has an economic importance which calls for more urgent attention from those who are concerned with questions of industrial supremacy than it has yet received. So great an authority as the late Sir Edwin Chadwick declared it to be "established that for all ordinary civil labour four partially trained or drilled men are as efficient as five who are undrilled. In other words, considering the child as an investment, for a trifling expense of about £1 per head the productive power of that investment may, by physical training, be augmented by one-fifth for the whole period of working ability. Professor Laisne, an eminent professor of gymnastics in France, says that I understate the gain of power when I state it at one-fifth; and that, by early and complete physical training, speaking on his experience of a French population, it is practicable to impart to three the working-power of five. Taking it, however, at one-fifth, which I believe is an under-statement, a gain of one-fifth, upon our previous gain of one-third of the producing power of our population, as compared with continental nations of which I have spoken, is a gain upon that of the productive power of a fifth more of population, say of about two Scotlands or of two Lancashires, without the expensè of educating them, feeding, clothing, housing, and administering their public affairs. Economically it is equivalent to an addition of one-fifth of the wage fund of the country."[1]

(f) *Temperance Cafés.*

One other feature only of these institutions need

[1] Presidential Address, Economic Science Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1862.

here be alluded to, but it is one of considerable importance. To ensure a full measure of success for the People's Palaces, it would be necessary that the refreshment department should be established upon a liberal and satisfactory basis. The belief so widely held by social workers, that it is the *attractions* of the public-house, rather than the drink itself, that appeal, in the first instance, to so many of its habitués, is probably well grounded; but if so, there is clearly need to out-bid the attractions of the public-house by providing ample facilities for legitimate refreshment under *brighter and more attractive conditions than the publican himself provides.* The policy would be to establish Temperance cafés or saloons, thoroughly attractive in construction and decoration, properly warmed, ventilated and lighted, in which non-intoxicating drinks and other refreshments of good quality would be served at reasonable rates. The extent to which these cafés should be established experience and the special needs of localities could decide; but while no People's Palace would be without its temperance bars and refreshment saloon, it is probable that, in some districts, it would be found desirable to establish the cafés as separate institutions, in which music, newspapers, etc., could be provided, and accommodation at cheap rates offered to sick benefit clubs and other workmen's societies. It would, however, be essential to the success of such cafés that they should out-vie the public-house in cleanliness, brightness and warmth.

Such, in broad outline, is the scheme which, in the judgment of the present writers, is required for the true combating of the evils of intemperance. That it might need modification in matters of detail, as well

as adjustment to special local needs, may be readily assumed;[1] but it can hardly be doubted that, in its essential features, it would meet a widespread social need and exert an invaluable social influence. Lord Rosebery, speaking at the opening of the People's Palace in Glasgow, said: "Among the many benefits which I think such a building may be expected to confer on the community in which it is placed is this —that it will give that community a centre in which to interest itself, a centre around which the affection and the association of the surrounding populace may be grouped; not merely a place where they may spend a happy afternoon or a pleasant day, but a place on which they may centre their home associations." Referring to the absence of these "home associations" in the industrial districts of our large towns, he said: "There is nothing to attach them (*i.e.* the working population) in the district in which they live except the place in which they work. There is no centre of charm or of pleasure; there is nothing round which the memory can, so to speak, group itself, except their home, which, as I have already said, is too often sordid and inadequate. May we at least hope for this among the other benefits of this hall, that there will be a palace of pleasure and imagination around which the surrounding people may place their affections, and which may give them a home on which their memory may rest. . . . But, at any rate, sure I am of this, that a wise legislator, whether he be imperial or municipal, who will endeavour to attach the people to

[1] It is probable that in some localities it would be necessary to supplement the larger People's Palaces, with a number of smaller centres established in close proximity to the homes of the working classes.

their homes with anything which may, as this palace may well do, become a centre of fascination or attraction . . . is a benefactor not merely to the community in which he lives, but to the species at large." [1]

Financial Aspects of the Question.

But the question will at once be asked, How far is such a scheme practicable? Is there any reasonable ground to suppose that the enormous sums which such a scheme would require will be forthcoming? That the scheme would involve a very great outlay is certain. Nor is it less certain that localities for the most part would refuse even to consider the question if the scheme involved a new charge upon the rates. So far as the national and local exchequers are concerned, the scheme on a general scale is clearly impracticable. But, as we have already hinted, and as we now proceed to show, the profits of the drink traffic—assuming it to be taken out of private hands—would be ample to meet the utmost requirements of the scheme.

The total estimated expenditure upon intoxicants in the United Kingdom in 1899 was £162,163,474.[2] Of this sum:—

£46,196,788	was expended	on	Spirits.
99,470,908	,,	,,	,, Beer.
16,495,778[3]	,,	,,	,, Wine.
£162,163,474			

[1] *Glasgow Herald*, January 24th, 1898.

[2] See p. 7.

[3] This amount includes a sum of £1,500,000 estimated to have been spent on British wines, cider, etc.

The question arises, What proportion of this aggregate sum is represented by the trade of public-houses and beer-shops? It may be assumed that comparatively little wine is sold in public-houses, and it may be well for the purposes of an approximate estimate to entirely exclude the national expenditure upon wine from our calculations. This leaves us with a total expenditure—for beer and spirits only—of £145,667,696. How much of this sum was spent in public-houses and beer-shops? It is impossible to answer the question absolutely, inasmuch as there are no statistics in existence to show what relation the sales of public-houses and beer-shops bear to the total national consumption of beer and spirits. Careful inquiries have, however, shown that, in the judgment of competent authorities, the proportion of two-thirds taken by Mr. Chamberlain in 1876[1] may be accepted as a broad but fairly reliable estimate. The total value of the spirits and beer sold in public-houses and beer-shops in the United Kingdom may therefore be put at £97,000,000 per annum.[2]

(a) *Amount of Profit.*

But the further question here arises, What proportion of this aggregate sum is represented by profits on sales? For the purposes of the present discussion, the average net profit on sales may be taken at 20

[1] *The Right Method with the Publicans*, p. 28.

[2] The figures for 1899 may be stated thus:—

Total National Expenditure on *Beer and Spirits*	£145,667,696
Proportion represented by Public-house and Beer-shop sales, say two-thirds of total expenditure.	£97,111,797

per cent.[1] That this estimate is a low one will be apparent from what has been stated elsewhere,[2] and there can be little doubt that under a system of public control such as is here contemplated, in which the enormous sums now paid for "goodwills" would no longer be required, this estimate would be largely exceeded. But accepting the estimate as it stands, the total net profits of the public-houses and beer-shops of the United Kingdom may be reckoned at £19,400,000 per annum. This estimate, it will be remembered, includes beer and spirits only, and takes no account of profits on wine, mineral waters, etc.

Now, assuming that the reduction in the number of licensed houses (*i.e.* to the proportion of not more than one licence to each 400 of the rural population, and not more than one licence to each 750 of the town population) would result in a diminution of the traffic by *one-third*, it will be seen that the available profits from the entire public-house and beer-shop traffic will, upon the above basis, amount to £12,933,333, or six shillings and fourpence per head of the population.[3] That is to say, a town of 100,000 inhabitants which had adopted the controlling system would have an available annual surplus profit of nearly £32,000. It will be obvious, however, that to devote the whole of this sum to the town in which the sales took place, and to ignore the social needs of rural and other districts where prohibition had been enacted, would be to place such prohibition areas at a serious

[1] This is the proportion taken by Mr. Chamberlain in 1876, *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

[2] See p. 743.

[3] The estimated population of the United Kingdom in 1899 was 40,559,954.

disadvantage. In any scheme, therefore, for the appropriation of the surplus profits of the traffic in a locality, provision should be made by way of proportionate grants for the social and recreative needs of the prohibition districts.

(b) *Appropriation of Profits.*

Probably the right method to adopt would be to hand over the whole of the profits made in a town or locality to a central State authority (*e.g.* the Local Government Board, or some other State Department), part of such profits being subsequently returned to the locality in the form of annual grants for exclusive use in the maintenance of the People's Palaces, etc.

The question, however, suggests itself: What proportion of the total profits realized by a locality should be so returned? In other words, what share are the localities to receive of their own profits?

It will be clear that the principle of appropriation must be such as shall give the locality no interest in stimulating sales. That is to say, that the sum allotted to a locality shall be a fixed sum *in ratio to the population*, and *not* in ratio to profits earned. It would appear, from careful calculation, that an annual amount of £1,000 per 10,000 of the population—or less than one-third of the probable profits—would be sufficient to realize the social and recreative agencies already indicated.[1]

[1] This proportion, probably, would need to be slightly increased in the case of small towns, since the cost of providing and maintaining adequate People's Palaces would not be strictly proportionate to population; but it may be accepted as a safe *average*.

That is to say, a town of the size of

		£
Cardiff .	would receive upon this basis an annual grant of	13,000
Bradford . .	„ „ „	21,500
Middlesborough	„ „ „	7,500
Preston . .	„ „ „	11,000
Coventry . .	„ „ „	5,000
Plymouth . .	„ „ „	8,000
West Ham . .	„ „ „	20,000

In the principal cities the grants would, of course, be much larger. Leeds, for example, would receive, on the basis suggested, an annual grant in aid of its People's Palaces, Temperance Cafés, etc., of £36,500; Birmingham would receive £48,000; Manchester, £50,500; Liverpool, £52,000; while the vast needs of London would be met by an annual grant of *half a million sterling.*

These sums, although probably sufficient to meet the recreative needs of the localities concerned, would, nevertheless, as has been pointed out, represent only one-third of the estimated net profits on the sale of beer and spirits in those towns; so that sums equal to twice those amounts would be available for purposes outside the localities. To what objects, we would now ask, should these large surplus funds be devoted? Part of the answer is clear. The first claim upon them should unquestionably be the provision of recreative centres in the prohibition areas. Starting from the position that the primary aim of the scheme is to encourage temperance, it would obviously be unjust, as well as impolitic, to penalise prohibition areas by excluding them from participation in the benefits of the scheme. It is therefore suggested that annual

grants should be made to the prohibition areas on precisely the same basis (*i.e.* ratio of population) and for the same objects as in the case of towns or villages that adopted the controlling system.

But even this would not exhaust the whole of the profits from the traffic. On the contrary, it is certain that if the controlling system were generally established in the towns and cities of the country enough funds would be forthcoming to meet the recreative requirements of the whole of the prohibition areas, and still to leave a large surplus to be devoted to such Imperial purposes as might be decided upon. For example, assuming that one-third of the total population of the kingdom would voluntarily adopt prohibition, with the result that the traffic would still further be reduced by one-third,[1] an assumption that will be accepted as a very sanguine estimate; and that the remaining two-thirds of the population would adopt the controlling system, the total net profits on sales would amount to nearly nine millions (£8,622,000).

Under the plan suggested, the distribution of this sum would be as follows:—

	£
Grants for People's Palaces, etc., to localities in which traffic would still be carried on (*i.e.* under controlling system) .	2,704,000
Grants for similar purposes to prohibition areas	1,352,000
Balance available for Imperial purposes . .	4,566,000
	£8,622,000

[1] This reduction, added to the reduction referred to on p. 589, would represent a total reduction of the public-house traffic of *not less than* 55 per cent.

That the amount of the probable surplus available for Imperial purposes, stated above, is by no means over-estimated (assuming the controlling system to be generally adopted) will be evident from the fact that it is based upon the assumption that *one-third* of the entire population of the kingdom would voluntarily adopt a prohibition policy,[1] and that the public-house and beer-shop traffic would be reduced by 55 *per cent.* Moreover, as we have already pointed out, the figures include only the profits on beer and spirits, and take no account of profits on the sale of wine, mineral waters, etc. Even if we allow for an increase in the prohibition districts beyond the limit here suggested, it is clear that there will still be left a considerable margin of unappropriated profit to meet a further reduction in consumption. The funds available for recreative purposes would, indeed, be so ample that absolutely no inducement would be offered to localities either to extend their sales or to oppose whatever further restrictions might be demanded by public opinion. As a matter of fact, if the public-house traffic were reduced to about *one-fifth of its present dimensions*, there would still be profits enough to meet

[1] Taking the technical and official distinction of "urban" and "rural" adopted by the Registrar-General, the population of England and Wales in 1891 was as follows:—

Urban	20,895,504, or 72 per cent.
Rural	8,107,021, or 28 „

or a proportion of 258 urban residents to 100 rural. If, however, the line separating urban and rural be drawn at towns of 5,000 inhabitants, the figures are as follow:—

Urban	19,763,264, or 68 per cent.
Rural	9,239,261, or 32 „

the grants for People's Palaces, Temperance Cafés, etc., *for the whole of the Kingdom.*[1]

It is, of course, self-evident that towns continuing the system of private licence would have no claim upon the funds available for distribution—the grants being strictly confined to towns adopting the controlling system, and prohibition districts.

The Central Authority.

The importance of maintaining the clearest line of division between the sphere and powers of a company, or of a municipality, and the sphere and powers of the State, has elsewhere been emphasized, but it may well be referred to here. Anything approaching to the Russian Crown Monopoly for the retail sale of liquor would be fraught with serious danger. At the same time, the control of the central government over the proceedings of the localities must be such as to effectually remove all danger of abuse. The experience of Norway has shown that the central government may

[1] This will be apparent from the following figures:—

	£
Estimated retail value of spirits and beer sold in public-houses and beershops in the United Kingdom at the present time	97,000,000
Assuming the traffic to be reduced to about one-fifth (say 21 per cent.) of its present dimensions, the total would be	20,370,000
Profits on this amount at 20 per cent. would represent	4,074,000
Required for People's Palaces, Temperance Cafés, etc., on the basis of grants suggested (*i.e.* £1,000 per 10,000 of the population) for a population of 40,500,000	4,050,000
Leaving a balance of	24,000

exercise a most valuable function in the supervision and ultimate approval of the bye-laws under which the local traffic is carried on, and also in undertaking such superintendence over the transactions of the localities as shall ensure that the intent of the law with respect to them is fulfilled. In addition to giving final sanction to the bye-laws regulating the traffic, the Central Authority would determine the method in which the accounts of the localities should be kept, and would institute a separate audit. The accounts would, moreover, throughout the year, be open to the examination of State inspectors, who would see that the grants in aid of local recreative centres were appropriated strictly in accordance with the laws governing their distribution. In these and other ways the precautions against abuse could be made absolute. Whether the Central Authority should be the Local Government Board or a specially appointed State Department need not here be discussed.

Character of the Public-Houses that would Remain.

Nothing has been said so far, except indirectly, as to the character of the public-houses that would remain (*i.e.* under the controlling system). The question is, however, of considerable importance. Without attempting to anticipate the whole of the provisions that would be required for the proper conduct of the traffic, the regulations ultimately decided upon would necessarily include the following provisions:—

1. Sales on credit would be prohibited.
2. No female bar-tenders would be employed.
3. No adventitious attractions, such as music, etc., would be associated with the sale of intoxicants.
4. Accommodation for clubs, sick benefit societies, etc., would no longer be provided at the public-houses, ample provision for these being made elsewhere (*e.g.* at the People's Palaces).
5. Every public-house would be open to full public inspection from the highway, no screens or partitions being used. It is noteworthy that this reform was advocated by a Select Committee of the House of Commons as far back as 1834.
6. Back-door and side-door entrances (*i.e.* doors opening into passages or courts not being public thoroughfares) would no longer be provided.

These proposals are far from being exhaustive, but they sufficiently indicate the general character of the conditions by which the traffic would be controlled. Other important questions, such as the inspection of public-houses, the provisions respecting hotels, restaurants and clubs, are discussed in detail elsewhere.[1]

The Right of Initiative.

It is, of course, of the essence of the present proposals that the legislation they suggest should be *permissive* in its character.

Localities would be left free either to accept or to reject the controlling system as they chose. The right of initiative would lie (*a*) with the municipal councils, acting by formal resolution; and (*b*) with the people themselves.

[1] See p. 747.

In the majority of cases the initiative would probably be taken by the former; but, in the event of failure on the part of a municipal council to act in the matter, it should be open to the inhabitants of a locality, as in the case of local veto, to demand by a popular vote the adoption of the system. A provision of this kind would effectually prevent any attempt on the part of the liquor trade to "pack" the municipal councils—a device that would certainly be resorted to if the initiative were confined to them.

The Licensing Authority.

It is important, further, to point out that, under the scheme embodied in this chapter, no immediate change is contemplated in the constitution of the licensing authority. In the event of a locality adopting the controlling system, the municipal council might very properly, thereafter, become the licensing authority, but *so long as the traffic remained in private hands* the functions of such an authority could be more safely entrusted to the magistrates. The reasons for this are so obvious that they do not need to be stated at length. It is clearly undesirable to invite such a corruption of municipal politics as would, under existing conditions, result from the active interference of the liquor trade if the municipal councils were constituted the local licensing authorities. Once the system of private licence were abolished this danger would cease.

CONCLUSION.

In attempting to sum up the broad conclusions to which the present argument has led, it will be well to concentrate attention upon a few important points.

The propositions which we have attempted to establish are chiefly these:

1. That the present consumption of intoxicants in this country is not only excessive, but seriously subversive of the economic and moral progress of the nation.
2. That in the present state of public opinion prohibition *in the large towns* is to be regarded as impracticable, although it is possible that local veto might be successfully exercised in a suburb or ward of a town where there was a sufficient "safety-valve" in the shape of neighbouring facilities for the purchase of drink.
3. That in no English-speaking country has the problem of the intemperance of large towns been solved.
4. That an examination of the causes of alcoholic intemperance shows us that, while some of these are beyond our reach, others that are of the utmost importance are distinctly within the sphere of legislative influence.
5. That we may single out as effective causes of intemperance:—
   (*a*) The monotony and dulness—too often the active misery—of many lives.
   (*b*) The absence of adequate provision for social intercourse and healthful recreation.

(*c*) Above all, the arrangements under which the sale of alcoholic drinks is placed in the hands of those who seek to stimulate their consumption to the utmost.

In the present chapter a careful attempt has been made to meet the demand which these propositions suggest. It is too much to hope that the scheme that has been outlined will satisfy the idealist, but it offers at least a common meeting-ground where moderate and advanced exponents of temperance alike may join hands with all other earnest citizens in the effort to advance what has come to be acknowledged as a "momentous human interest."[1] The proposals frankly recognise: First, that reforms to be effective must be *constructive* as well as *restrictive*. Secondly, that they should reach as far as the progressive spirit of the community has penetrated and been accepted, and be consistent with further advance. Thirdly, that they should educate and set free the latent progressive resources of each locality.

The present writers are well aware that objection has been taken to schemes for the municipalization of the drink traffic on the ground of their possible corrupting influence. This danger is, however, not merely remote from, but absolutely destroyed by, the present proposals.

What is actually provided for is a system of local restriction and control—exercised preferably, although not necessarily, through the municipal councils[2]—

[1] See *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, p. 98.

[2] The present proposals entirely admit of the experiment being made, in the first instance, by authorized companies, instead of by the municipal councils, in localities where it should be so desired. In the case of the rural districts the experiment

from which all that is commonly objected to in proposals for municipalization has been effectually and of set purpose excluded. That this is so can easily be shown. It is provided:—

1. That localities shall organize and control the traffic (either directly or through a company, as in Norway), under the direct supervision of the central government, and only within clearly defined statutory limits.
2. That the *whole* of the profits [1] shall, in the first instance, be handed over to a central State Authority.
3. That the *sole* benefit which a locality shall receive from the profits of the traffic shall be an annual grant from the State Authority for the establishment and maintenance of recreative centres, the primary object of which shall be to counteract the influence of the drink traffic. Such grant to be a fixed sum *in ratio to population*, and *not* in ratio to profits earned.
4. That similar grants shall be made to prohibition areas, all inducement to continue the traffic for the sake of the grants being thus effectually destroyed.
5. That where the municipal councils adopt the system and elect to control the traffic, they shall, as in the case of the present technical education committees, invite the active co-

could be entrusted to either the parish councils or authorized companies.

[1] In any scheme for the disbursement of profits regard would of course be had to necessary appropriations for sinking funds, etc.

operation of a fixed number of influential citizens, other than members of the council, in the work of local management.[1]

6. Finally, the right of prohibiting the traffic is placed within the power of every locality.

It is evident, therefore, that the conditions would be such as to destroy the risk of municipal corruption. That the scheme, by enlarging and enriching the idea of municipal responsibility, would have an entirely opposite effect could, with equal explicitness, be shown. As Lord Rosebery has admirably put it: "The larger the sense of municipal responsibility which prevails, the more it reacts on the corporation or the municipality itself. By that I mean this, that the men outside the municipality, or who have hitherto held aloof from municipal government, when they see the higher aims of which the municipality is capable, when they see the wider work that lies before it, when they see the incomparable practical purposes to which the municipality may lend its great power, are not inclined any longer to hold aloof."[2]

But apart from the qualities or defects of a particular scheme, it is well to remember that the alternatives open to Temperance reformers are very few. There is a growing feeling that the enormous monopoly profits which at present attach to the

[1] That the scheme, in its provision of recreative agencies, would require for its full success the active co-operation in each locality of earnest citizens is certain. But the experience of School Boards especially has shown that there is no lack of high-minded and gifted men and women willing to devote time and labour to well-devised schemes of social service.

[2] *Glasgow Herald*, January 24th, 1898.

Trade, and which must grow, rather than diminish, with an increasing population and a diminishing number of licences, ought not to be reaped by private individuals, but be used for the benefit of the community. The question to be decided is, How best may this be effected? One method of effecting it is by offering the licences at public auction to those who will agree to pay the highest licence fees, or—if this method be objected to—by largely increasing the statutory fees. In other words, by adopting, in one or other of its forms, a system of High Licence. But, apart from the fact that this suggestion touches part of the problem only, its defects, as we have seen, are obvious. It not only fails to destroy the political influence of the Trade, but it gives the licensee an even greater incentive to push his sales. The increased cost of the licence must be met by increased sales.

The alternative scheme is to take the traffic entirely out of private hands. There are two ways in which this can be done. We can either create, as in Russia, a system of State monopoly; or, on the other hand, what is proposed in this chapter—a system of local restriction and control. The former system is clearly inadmissible. Its defects are too obvious to call for further comment. We are therefore shut down to some such scheme as is here proposed—a scheme of local management carried out under strict statutory safeguards. This being so, the only remaining question to be decided is the appropriation of the profits. Here again the alternatives are simple and clearly defined. The profits might be devoted to (*a*) the relief of local rates; (*b*) the subvention of local charities, as, until recently, in Norway; (*c*) State or

Imperial purposes ; or (*d*) the provision—as is here suggested—of efficient counter-attractions. The first of these alternatives is so inherently vicious, and would encounter such overwhelming opposition, that it need not be further considered. The second and third proposals, although far less objectionable, are still open to serious criticism. Their inherent defect is that they would deflect and absorb, for quite other purposes, resources that are needed for directly combating the evils of the traffic. The fourth alternative is free from these defects. It starts from the position, which few will question, that the public-house problem is largely—by no means entirely—an "entertainment of the people" problem ; that it has its roots in ordinary social instincts as well as in depraved and unenlightened tastes ; and that it can only be effectively solved when provision is made for adequate counter-attractions. It is claimed for the present proposals that they make such provision possible in a form that would powerfully contribute to the highest interests of the individual and the truest progress of the State.

The final appeal may justly be made to the eloquent words in which, twenty years ago, the Lords' Committee on Intemperance summed up the argument for local management and control. Referring to the objections urged against both the Gothenburg system and the system of direct municipal control, the Committee say : "We do not wish to undervalue the force of these objections ; but if the risks be considerable, so are the expected advantages. And when great communities, deeply sensible of the miseries caused by intemperance, witnesses of the crime and pauperism which directly spring from it, conscious of

the contamination to which their younger citizens are exposed, watching with grave anxiety the growth of female intemperance on a scale so vast and at a rate of progression so rapid as to constitute a new reproach and danger, believing that not only the morality of their citizens, but their commercial prosperity, is dependent upon the diminution of these evils, seeing also that all that general legislation has been hitherto able to effect has been some improvement in public order, while it has been powerless to produce any perceptible decrease of intemperance, it would seem somewhat hard, when such communities are willing, at their own cost and hazard, to grapple with the difficulty and undertake their own purification, that the Legislature should refuse to create for them the necessary machinery, or to intrust them with the requisite powers."[1]

The reasonableness of that appeal will probably be generally accepted, and its force may justly be claimed in behalf of the present proposals. That these proposals would solve, absolutely and definitively, the entire problem of intemperance, is neither claimed nor believed. This no single scheme can effect. But that they offer a reasonable basis for co-operation to all who are concerned to achieve such a result, and would powerfully contribute to bring it about, is fully and earnestly believed. If the proposals fall short of the full aim of the idealist, they in no way conflict with his ideal. They simply lay the foundations upon which he and others may build.

[1] *Report of the Lords' Committee on Intemperance*, 1879, p. 25.

APPENDICES

CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES.

I. Europe and America.

Comparative Statement, showing the *per capita* consumption of Alcoholic Beverages in (*a*) the United Kingdom and (*b*) the various countries of Europe and the United States, as far as the particulars can be stated. The English measure is taken throughout.

1. Wine.

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1885–89.	1890–94.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom	0·37	0·38	0·37	0·40	0·39	0·41
Germany:						
Prussia . . .						
Alsace-Lorraine						
Bavaria . . .		No	Returns			
Saxony . . .						
Würtemburg .	5·32	4·71	5·94	6·60	5·50	—
Baden						
Hesse		No	Returns			
Total, German Empire	1·14[1]	1·28	1·06	2·29	1·34	0·77
Norway	0·19[2]	0·25[3]	0·31	0·52	0·58	—
Sweden	—	0·05[4]	0·10	0·13	0·15	—
Holland	0·46	0·44	0·42	0·42	0·40	—
Belgium	0·72	0·82	0·90	1·03	0·86	0·88
France	20·2	23·9	24·4	23·8	24·4	24·6
Switzerland . .			14·1	16·9	15·6	14·7
Portugal . . .	No Returns		—	20·5	20·4	20·1
Spain	16·2[5]	17·9	19·6	—	—	—
Italy	21·2	21·5	16·1	19·1	16·3	20·2
Austria (Proper) .	3·87	3·83	3·74	3·52	3·08	—
Hungary . . .	5·01	1·89	2·64	2·20	2·20	2·20
Total, Austro-Hungarian Empire .	4·22	3·4	3·30	2·86	2·64	—
United States . .	0·43	0·36	0·23	0·22	0·44	0·23

[1] 1889. [2] 1886–90. [3] 1891–4. [4] 1893–4. [5] 1887–9.

2. Beer.

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1885–89.	1890–94.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom	27·5	29·8	29·7	30·7	31·4	31·9
Russia	0·74	0·69	0·84	0·92	0·94	0·89
Norway	3·3	4·5	3·9	3·6	3·9	4·8
Sweden	5·3	6·8	7·8	9·3	10·8	—
Denmark . . .	—	18·4[1]	19·1	18·8	20·8	20·8
Germany:						
Prussia . . .		No	Returns			
Alsace-Lorraine	11·2	14·5	15·2	17·4	16·5	16·7
Bavaria . . .	47·9	49·3	51·7	51·9	54·8	56·1
Saxony . . .		No	Returns			
Würtemburg .	34·8	38·2	37·6	41·4	40·3	43·1
Baden	19·8	22·4	24·4	27·6	34·2	36·4
Total, German Empire	20·6	23·5	23·5	25·5	25·5	27·1
Holland		No	Returns			
Belgium	36·9	39·7	42·2	43·6	44·4	45·5
France	4·7	4·9	5·1	5·1	5·3	5·5
Switzerland . .	8·2	10·9	12·5	13·9	14·7	15·4
Italy	0·18	0·15	0·11	0·11	0·11	—
Austria (Proper) .	11·5	13·2	14·5	15·4	15·6	—
Hungary . . .	0·9	0·15	2·0	2·2	2·2	—
Total, Austro-Hungarian Empire . .	7·0	8·2	9·2	9·9	9·9	—
Roumania . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
United States . .	9·7	12·6	12·4	12·7	12·2	13·0

[1] 1892–4.

3. Spirits (50 per cent. Alcohol).

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1885–89.	1890–94.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom:						
British . .	0·71	0·79	0·75	0·79	0·81	0·82
Foreign .	0·22	0·22	0·20	0·21	0·21	0·21
Total . .	0·93	1·01	0·95	1·00	1·02	1·03
Russian Empire	1·43	1·09	1·03	1·03	1·08	1·08
Norway . . .	0·69	0·76	0·77	0·51	0·48	0·57
Sweden . . .	1·6	1·5	1·5	1·6	1·6	1·8
Denmark . . .	3·2	3·3	3·4	3·3	3·3	3·2
Germany:—						
Prussia . . .						
Alsace-Lorraine						
Bavaria . . .		No Returns				
Saxony . . .						
Würtemburg .						
Baden . . .	—	1·70	1·76	1·85	1·80	1·98
Hesse		No Returns				
Total, German Empire . .	1·78[1]	1·97	1·89	1·94	1·89	1·85
Holland . . .	1·98	1·96	1·91	1·91	1·87	1·80
Belgium . . .	1·96	2·14	2·20	1·89	2·00	1·91
France . . .	1·68	1·90	1·78	1·85	1·89	2·07
Switzerland . .	—	1·38	1·25	1·32	1·36	1·36
Portugal . . .	—	0·11	0·09	0·09	0·09	0·09
Spain	0·90[2]	0·76	0·51	—	—	—
Italy	0·33	0·29	0·22	0·24	0·26	—
Austria (Proper)	1·8	2·2	2·2	2·4	2·2	—
Hungary . . .	2·4	2·3	2·4	2·2	2·4	—
Total, Austro-Hungarian Empire . .	2·0	2·3	2·2	2·4	2·2	—
United States .	1·05	1·19	0·93	0·83	0·84	0·92

[1] 1888–9. [2] 1887–9.

II. British Colonies.

Comparative Statement showing the *per capita* consumption of Alcoholic Beverages in (*a*) the United Kingdom, and (*b*) the British Colonies.

1. Wine.

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1888–92.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom. .	0·38	0·37	0·36	0·37	0·40	0·39	0·41
New South Wales. . .	0·81	0·84	0·80	0·64	0·61	0·72	0·64
Victoria . . .	1·4	1·0	1·4	1·6	2·1	1·4	—
South Australia (except Northern Territory)	No Information						
South Australia (Northern Territory) .	0·29 [1]	0·38	0·24	0·37	0·44	0·41	—
Western Australia . . .	—	1·6	1·4	1·5	1·4	1·1	1·0
Queensland. .	0·63	0·32	0·50	0·62	0·44	0·52	0·36
Tasmania . .	0·17	0·09	0·08	0·09	0·09	0·09	0·13
New Zealand .	0·18	0·17	0·14	0·13	0·14	0·15	0·15
Natal	0·07	0·05	0·05	0·06	0·07	0·07	0·08
Cape of Good Hope . . .	3·3 [1]	3·2	2·2	2·6	1·9	2·0	2·1
Dominion of Canada . .	0·11	0·10	0·09	0·09	0·09	0·08	0·08
Newfoundland	0·03 [2]	—	—	—	—	—	—

[1] 1891–2. [2] 1888 and 1891.

2. Beer.

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1888–92.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom. .	29·2	29·6	29·4	29·7	30·7	31·4	31·9
New South Wales. . .	11·1	9·2	9·0	9·0	9·1	9·5	9·8
Victoria . . .	17·7	12·4	12·3	12·5	12·4	12·7	—
South Australia (except Northern Territory)	No	Information		8·9	9·1	8·6	—
South Australia (Northern Territory) .	2·3 [1]	2·3	2·9	2·3	2·6	3·2	—
Western Australia . . .	No	Information			20·9	25·3	23·6
Queensland. .	10·0 [1]	8·8	9·2	11·1	12·4	11·5	11·0
Tasmania . .	9·6	7·3	7·0	7·1	7·2	7·2	7·6
New Zealand .	7·6	7·7	7·4	7·4	7·9	8·2	8·4
Natal	0·92 [2]	0·57	0·28	0·31	0·40	0·42	0·40
Cape of Good Hope . . .	1·3 [1]	1·4	1·5	1·5	1·6	1·7	1·6
Dominion of Canada . .	3·6	3·5	3·5	3·4	3·6	3·5	3·8
Newfoundland	0·11 [3]	—	—	—	—	—	—

[1] 1891–2. [2] 1889–92. [3] 1888 and 1891.

3. Spirits.

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1888–92.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom. .	0·98	1·01	1·00	0·95	1·00	1·02	1·03
New South Wales . . .	1·08	0·83	0·77	0·73	0·73	0·71	0·74
Victoria . . .	1·4	0·46	0·74	0·66	0·91	0·84	—
South Australia (except Northern Territory)	0·51	0·41	0·38	0·35	0·37	0·35	—
South Australia (Northern Territory) .	1·9[1]	2·2	2·3	2·4	2·3	2·7	—
Western Australia . . .	1·8	1·8	1·7	2·3	2·5	2·1	1·5
Queensland. .	1·40	0·95	0·98	0·95	0·87	0·90	0·96
Tasmania . .	0·63	0·42	0·37	0·38	0·38	0·38	0·42
New Zealand .	0·71	0·70	0·65	0·63	0·64	0·66	0·66
Natal	0·33[2]	0·31	0·29	0·28	0·31	0·33	0·60
Cape of Good Hope . . .	1·2[1]	1·3	1·2	1·2	1·1	1·2	1·0
Dominion of Canada . .	0·78	0·75	0·75	0·68	0·65	0·75	0·55
Newfoundland	0·36[3]	—	—	—	—	—	—

[1] 1891–2. [2] 1889–92. [3] 1888 and 1891.

CONSUMPTION OF ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL.

Tables showing the average *per capita* consumption of *Absolute Alcohol* in (*a*) Europe and America; and (*b*) the British Colonies.

I. United Kingdom, Europe, and America.

Countries.	Wine.		Beer.		Spirits (50 per cent. alcohol).		Absolute Alcohol.[1]
	Years.	Gallons.	Years.	Gallons.	Years.	Gallons.	Gallons.
France . . .	1894–8	24·24	1894–8	5·20	1894–8	1·87	3·56
Belgium. . .	„	0·91	„	43·20	„	2·04	2·83
Switzerland .	„	15·48	„	13·54	„	1·31	2·76
Denmark . .	No Returns		„	19·70	„	3·30	2·43
Spain . . .	1893–5	20·30	No Returns		1893–5	0·60	2·33
Italy	1894–8	17·72	1893–7	0·11	1893–7	0·25	2·30
Austria . . .	1893–7	3·69	„	14·74	„	2·24	2·08
Germany . .	1894–8	1·38	1894–8	25·10	1894–8	1·90	2·08
United Kingdom	„	**0·39**	„	**30·60**	„	**1·00**	**2·08**
Portugal . .	1896–8	20·33	No Returns		„	0·09	2·07
Hungary . .	1894–8	2·33	1893–7	2·10	1893–7	2·40	1·50
Sweden . . .	1893–7	0·10	„	8·44	1894–8	1·60	1·16
Holland. . .	„	0·42	No Returns		„	1·89	1·00
United States.	1894–8	0·28	1894–8	12·60	„	0·93	1·00
Russia . . .	1893–7	0·60[2]	„	0·85	„	1·05	0·61
Norway. . .	„	0·37	„	4·12	„	0·63	0·52

[1] The Alcoholic strength of *Beer* has been taken at 5 per cent. for the United Kingdom and 4 per cent. elsewhere. Wine has been taken at 15 per cent. in the United Kingdom and the United States, 12 per cent. in Italy, and 10 per cent. elsewhere, except that in Norway it is taken at 10 per cent. up to 1896, and 15 per cent. since.

[2] The *Bulletin Russe de Statistique Financière* for February, 1896, gives the *average* wine production of Russia as 3,500,000 hectols. (77,000,000 gallons); the imports are approximately 2,000,000 gallons per annum. This would give a *per capita* consumption of approximately ·6 of a gallon of wine throughout the country.

II. United Kingdom and the Colonies.

Countries.	Wine.		Beer.		Spirits (50 per cent. alcohol).		Absolute Alcohol.[1]
	Years.	Gallons.	Years.	Gallons.	Years.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom	1894–8	**0·39**	1894–8	**30·60**	1894–8	**1·00**	**2·08**
Western Australia . . .	„	1·28	1896–8	23·27	„	2·02	2·32
South Australia (Northern Territory) .	1893–7	0·37	1893–7	2·66	1893–7	2·38	1·36
Victoria . .	„	1·50	„	12·46	1894–7	0·79	1·19
Queensland .	1894–8	0·49	1894–8	11·04	1894–8	0·93	1·07
Cape of Good Hope . . .	„	2·16	„	1·58	„	1·14	0·91
New South Wales. . .	„	0·68	„	9·28	„	0·73	0·90
New Zealand.	„	0·14	„	7·86	„	0·65	0·73
South Australia (except Northern Territory) .	No Returns		1895–7	8·86	1893–7	0·37	0·63
Tasmania . .	1894–8	0·10	1894–8	7·22	1894–8	0·39	0·56
Canada . . .	„	0·09	„	3·56	„	0·68	0·52
Natal . . .	„	0·07	„	0·36	„	0·36	0·20
Newfoundland	1891	0·04	1891	0·11	1891	0·37	0·19

[1] The alcoholic strength of *Beer* has been taken at 5 per cent. for both the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and that of *Wine* at 15 per cent. for the United Kingdom and 12 per cent. for the Colonies.

THE NATIONAL DRINK BILL.

Estimated expenditure per head on Alcoholic Liquors, from 1837 to 1899 inclusive.[1]

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1837	3	2	8½	1858	3	0	2¾	1879	3	15	0
1838	3	3	0½	1859	3	3	1¾	1880	3	10	11
1839	3	1	5¼	1860	2	18	0¼	1881	3	12	3
1840	3	0	4	1861	3	5	7	1882	3	12	0
1841	2	12	4¾	1862	3	0	10	1883	3	10	5
1842	2	8	5¾	1863	3	2	7	1884	3	10	3
1843	2	9	6½	1864	3	9	10	1885	3	7	10
1844	2	12	1¾	1865	3	11	3	1886	3	6	10
1845	2	12	10¾	1866	3	15	9	1887	3	7	3
1846	2	18	7	1867	3	12	7	1888	3	6	8
1847	2	10	9¾	1868	3	14	1	1889	3	9	11
1848	2	13	8½	1869	3	13	0	1890	3	13	0
1849	2	16	3¾	1870	3	16	1	1891	3	15	0
1850	2	19	6½	1871	3	19	1	1892	3	13	11
1851	2	19	4¼	1872	4	2	8	1893	3	12	3
1852	3	0	9½	1873	4	7	8	1894	3	11	6½
1853	3	1	10½	1874	4	7	2	1895	3	12	9¼
1854	2	17	3¾	1875	4	7	3	1896	3	15	6
1855	2	10	7½	1876	4	9	0	1897	3	16	5¾
1856	2	18	5½	1877	4	4	10	1898	3	17	7½
1857	3	0	5½	1878	4	4	1	1899	3	19	11½

[1] Dr. Dawson Burns, *Alliance News*, March 1st, 1900.

EXPENDITURE UPON DRINK.

Summary of weekly expenditure upon drink classified according to trades.

AVERAGE OF DIFFERENT TRADES.

Trade.	Number of men Reported on.	Average Weekly Expenditure.
		s. d.
Charcoal Makers	30	1 0½
Stores (General)	144	1 0½
Cocoa Factories	92	1 6
Cloth Mills	45	1 6
Chair Factory	92	1 9
Confectioners	168	1 10¼
Cotton Mills	200	2 0
Book-binders	58	2 2
Worsted Mills	12	2 3
Box-makers	183	2 3¾
Boot and Shoe Trades	850	2 3¾
Machine Makers	87	2 4
Cutlery and File Makers	257	2 8½
Agricultural Labourers	71	2 9¼
Railway Labourers	48	2 9¾
Dyers	400	2 11¾
Meatmarket (Smithfield)	9	3 0
Leather Workers and Tanners	309	3 1¼
Coach-builders	53	3 3¼
Brass and Iron Workers	271	3 5¼
Cabinet Makers	161	3 5½
Glass-works	32	3 6¼
Chemical Works	90	3 7½
Brick and Tile Works	60	3 8¾
Lace Factories	381	3 8¾
Hosiery and Gloves	794	3 9
Straw Hat Factory	6	3 10
Optical Instrument Makers	55	3 11
Collieries	617	4 1¼
Builders and Contractors	254	4 2¼
Wire and Galvanising Works	350	4 2¼
Engineering Trades	1,696	4 4¼
Oil Mills	26	4 5¼
Lime and Cement Works	12	4 6½
Silversmiths	35	5 0
Saw Mills	47	5 0¼
Safe and Lock Makers	320	5 0½
Printers and Compositors	50	5 1
Foundries and Forges	1,038	5 1½
Provision Warehouses	164	5 10¼
Painters	20	6 1½
Dock Workers (Albert Docks)	8	8 4½
Felt Hat Factory	18	8 9

EXPENDITURE OF WORKING MEN ON DRINK.

Supplementary Evidence.

In his recently published volume on *Prisons and Prisoners*, the Rev. J. W. Horsley gives particulars of a number of cases of heavy drink expenditures coming under his own notice as a prison chaplain. We select a few of the *least* striking cases :—

"Gasfitter, 19, earns 7*d.* an hour, scores 8*s.* a week."

"Man, who scores 15*s.* a week, in prison for beating his wife, and his wife in for breaking the windows of a publican who would serve him in spite of her remonstrance."

"Gas-stoker, 32, earns £1 17*s.* 6*d.*, spends 2*s.* 4*d.* in lodging, 8*s.* in food, 4*d.* in washing, the rest mainly in drink, and is always run out of money by Tuesday."

"Felt-maker, earns 17*s.*, wife earns 8*s.* as carpet-bag maker; they have regularly five pints a day, and ten on Saturdays and Sundays."

"A leather-worker, aged 60, in for begging, has averaged six or seven pints a day for forty years, never drunk; is astonished when I show him he has spent over £730 in beer."

"Stevedore, aged 21, earns 34*s.*, and is always in work, yet has no second coat to his back, gives 12*s.* to his parents for his keep, and spends the rest in beer."

The following statements made by Mr. J. R. Roberts, Clerk to the Justices for the City and County of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the course of his evidence before the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws (July 28th, 1896), are also suggestive in this connection :—

Question (Chairman, Viscount Peel). "You were going to give an instance of the evil of the prolongation of hours during which the long bars are open?" *Answer.* "Yes;

if you take the Elswick Works, they are now employing over 15,000 hands. There is one house I know that is situated nearly opposite the entrance to those works, or one of the departments. The works open at six o'clock in the morning, and a bell is rung for a few minutes, during which the men enter the works. This house is open exactly at six. You will find as many as 50 to 100 men all standing at the door; directly the door is opened they all rush in, and their glasses of spirits are all arranged on the counter. They toss off a glass of spirits, and go straight in to their work. At six o'clock in the morning, at the same moment that these men are going in, the night-shift men come out, and they fill these and other houses in the neighbourhood."

Question. "What is mostly consumed at that hour—beer or spirits?" *Answer.* "Spirits."

Question. "With reference to those men who are going in—not the night-shift men, but the men coming in—what would be their habits at home—would they have breakfast before they left home, or something to eat?" *Answer.* "I cannot tell. I should think they have to come some distance, some of them, and, possibly, if their domestic arrangements were not very good, they might come without their breakfast. I know a good deal of time is lost at the different works."

Question. "It is very difficult for you to estimate it, but have the police observed a great number of cases of drunkenness in the immediate neighbourhood of this bar, which you speak of as immediately outside the great works?" *Answer.* "I have heard from the police that they have known men who have gone with the intention of going to work never having done so, owing to their going into this place."

EXPENDITURE ON DRINK IN WORKMEN'S CLUBS.

The following particulars are also of value as an illustration of the large consumption of liquor in workmen's clubs. The particulars relate to a club in a northern town with a population of 70,000, and the figures are for the *six months* ended December 31st, 1897 :—

Population of district in which club is situate	4,000
Total Number of Members . . .	360
Average Attendance of Members on Sundays	200
Amount received for *drink only* during the six months ended December 31st, 1897	£1,250 1*s.* 11*d.*
Total Receipts of Club during same period	£1,416 17*s.* 4*d.*

"INTEMPERATE" CONSUMPTION OF BEER AND SPIRITS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Mr. Dudley Baxter's Estimate.

According to Mr. Dudley Baxter's estimate, the *temperate* consumption of beer and spirits in England and Wales in 1869 was as follows :—Upper and middle classes: thirty-five gallons of beer per head ; half a gallon of diluted spirits. Manual labour class: twenty gallons of beer per head ; half a gallon of diluted spirits.

Now, assuming every member of the population to have been a temperate consumer of alcohol in that year, the total

amount of *temperate consumption* in England and Wales would have been as follows :—

	Total No. of Persons (1869).	Total *Temperate* Consumption of :— *Beer* (Gallons).	*Spirits* (Gallons).
Upper and middle classes	5,098,000[1]	178,430,000	2,549,000
Working classes . . .	17,067,000[1]	341,340,000	8,533,500
	22,165,000[2]	519,770,000	11,082,500

But the *actual* consumption of beer and spirits in England and Wales in 1869 was as follows :—

	Gallons.
Beer	770,000,000[3]
	Gallons.
British Spirits.	11,400,000
Foreign and Colonial Spirits	6,538,000[4]
	17,938,000

So that, according to Mr. Dudley Baxter, no less than 250,230,000 gallons of *beer*, or 32 per cent. of the total consumption, and 6,855,500 gallons of *spirits*, or 38 per cent. of the total consumption, must have represented *intemperate consumption* in 1869.

Again, the figures of *temperate* consumption represent a

[1] These proportions are worked out on the estimate adopted by Mr. Baxter in another of his works (see *National Income*, p. 16), where he assumes that the labouring classes in 1867 formed 77 per cent. of the total population.

[2] The total population of England and Wales in 1869 was 22,164,847.

[3] The total quantity of malt retained for consumption as beer in England and Wales in 1869 was 42,783,130 bushels. According to the Excise estimate of two bushels of malt to a barrel of beer, this would give a total consumption of 770,096,340 gallons.

[4] Assuming that 80 per cent. of the imported spirits were consumed in England and Wales. Only a small proportion of imported spirits is consumed in Scotland and Ireland.

total expenditure[1] of £50,065,250, whereas the *actual* expenditure upon drink in England and Wales in that year was upwards of £75,688,000, so that the amount expended upon *intemperate consumption* in 1869 must have been upwards of £25,600,000. Assuming that two-thirds of this amount was spent by the working classes, and one-third by the upper and middle classes, the expenditure of the working classes in England and Wales on beer and spirits in 1869 would be as follows:—

Total *Temperate Expenditure* of working classes on beer and spirits in 1869 on Mr. Dudley Baxter's estimate of temperate consumption	£34,134,000
Total *Intemperate Expenditure* of working classes on beer and spirits in 1869 (*i.e.* two-thirds of cost of intemperate consumption, as shown above)	17,066,666
Total expenditure	£51,200,666

Dividing this sum among 3,413,386 families (representing 17,066,932 persons), we get an average annual expenditure for each working-class family of £15 per year, of 5*s*. 9¼*d*. per week.

[1] Reckoning the retail cost of beer at 1*s*. 6*d*. per gallon, and spirits at 20*s*. per gallon.

INCREASED CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL IN FRANCE.

With regard to the great increase in late years of the consumption of alcohol in France, the following statement is abbreviated from the remarks made by the Commission appointed by the French Chamber to inquire into the question and report thereon.[1] In the year 1830 the consumption in France was 1 litre 12 centilitres of *pure alcohol* per head of population; in 1873 the quantity had risen to 2 litres 59 centilitres per head, and in 1885 still further to 3 litres 85 centilitres. In 1891 the consumption of *pure alcohol* reached 4 litres 56 centilitres per head. In 1895 it had fallen to 4 litres 07 centilitres. The Commissioners, however, appear to doubt whether this decrease is genuine, and they attribute the apparent falling off in a great measure to spirit put on the market by fraudulent means, of which, from the nature of the case, no account exists. The average strength of the spirit sold retail in France is, the Commissioners state, 37·5 degrees, and it follows that the consumption, without distinction of age or sex, was, in the year 1891, 12 litres 16 centilitres per head, or, if allowance be made for women and children and persons who but rarely drink, and if it be conceded, as some witnesses contend, that an eighth part only of the population are consumers of alcohol, then it will result that each of those persons who are consumers drinks 97 litres 28 centilitres at 37·5 degrees of strength, or 3,791 glasses (*petits verres*) in the year, or 10½ in the day. If the question of the consumption of alcohol be taken from another point of view, and on the assumption that only adult males in France

[1] "Rapport fait au nom de la commission du monopole de la rectification de l'alcool, chargée d'examiner la proposition de loi relative au monopole de la rectification de l'alcool, par M. Guillemet, député." Séance du 19 Janvier, 1897.

drink spirit, it will be found that in 1893 the number of electors (who must be adult males) was 10,443,000, or 27·5 of the aggregate population. Each of these, then, drinks five glasses (*petits verres*) a day; and this quantity, it should be remarked, is exclusive of any spirit clandestinely made by small growers which escapes taxation and official notice. In the face of these facts it becomes possible, the Commissioners remark, "to understand the dismay of moralists in view of these millions of glasses of poison daily served out to the French population."

The greater part of the spirit drunk is consumed in the departments of the north and north-west of France, where it is produced. Thus, in 1894, the consumption per head in the Seine-Inférieure was 13 litres 21 centilitres of pure alcohol; in the Somme 10 litres 09 centilitres; while further south in La Vendée the consumption only reached 84 centilitres. In the departments of the north-west it is stated "*that the daily consumption of alcohol absorbs half the average salary of the working population.*"—*Board of Trade Return*, No. 408, 1897.

AVERAGE INCOME OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

In 1884-6, the aggregate national income—as the following figures will show—was between twelve and thirteen hundred millions:—

	£
Sir Louis Mallet, K.C.S.I. (1883-4) . .	1,289,000,000
Professor Leone Levi (1885)	1,274,000,000
Professor A. Marshall (1885) "upwards of" .	1,125,000,000
Sir Robert Giffen (1886)	1,270,000,000
Mr. Mulhall (1889)	1,285,000,000

Since then, however, the gross assessments to income tax have increased by about £80,000,000, and allowing for a corresponding increase in the incomes not assessed, we may

assume that the present income of the nation is at least £1,400,000,000. Of this sum 42 per cent. may be said to belong to the working classes (Sir R. Giffen, 43 per cent.; Professor Marshall, 42 per cent.; Professor Leone Levi, 41 per cent.; Mulhall, 37 per cent.), whose aggregate income, therefore, may be fixed at about £590,000,000. This sum distributed among 6,000,000 families would give an average family income of £1 17*s.* 6*d.* per week. These figures, of course, must only be taken as representing the *nominal* income of the working classes. The *actual* average income is probably much less.

FOOD AND EFFICIENCY.

In answer to the question as to what is the minimum quantity of food required for efficient subsistence, it may be said that the ordinary accepted standards are estimated in terms of the three most important classes of the nutritive ingredients or nutrients of food: (1) nitrogenous foods or proteids;[1] (2) fats; (3) carbo-hydrates.[2]

[1] Proteids are essential for renewing the tissues of the body and are absolutely necessary to life. They are compounds of carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen with nitrogen, but often associated with a little sulphur and phosphorus also. "Proteids are found in all animals used as food by man; and also in many productions of the vegetable kingdom—from which two sources the body can alone be supplied. We find the proteid element abundantly in lean meat, the muscle of animals, where it is known as 'myosin,' also in the blood and other parts as 'fibrin.' . . . Proteids are largely present in eggs, forming 'albumen,' or what is familiarly known as the 'white of eggs'; and in milk as 'casein,' the nitrogenous constituent of cheese. Again, in wheat, and existing therefore in bread, in smaller proportion, as 'gluten'; and in the leguminous seeds (peas and beans) abundantly, as 'legumin,' which is almost identical with 'casein.'"—Sir Henry Thompson, *Food and Feeding*, p. 22.

[2] Carbo-hydrates, although not absolutely essential to life like

By comparing the amounts of carbon, oxygen, hydrogen and nitrogen, actually found by experiments to be consumed by different individuals, and also noting the amount and composition of the food of different people, estimates have been made of the quantities of the several nutrients required by individuals of different classes under various conditions.

The best information on the subject comes from Germany, where elaborate observations and experiments have been made by Liebig, Moleschott, Pettenkofer, Voit and others. Payen in France, and Frankland, Playfair and others in England, have also made most valuable contributions to our knowledge of the subject.

(a) *Amount of Food required for Bare Subsistence.*

Speaking broadly, it may be said that the minimum amount of food on which the body can *live*, but not do hard work, is 2¼ oz. of nitrogenous food, 1 oz. of fat, 12 oz. of carbohydrates, and ¼ oz. of mineral salts *per diem*.[1] The *weekly* equivalent of this in ordinary foods would be 3 lb. of meat with 1 lb. of fat on it, or with the same quantity of butter or lard, two quartern loaves of bread, and about an ounce of salt and other condiments. For meat, if necessary, could be substituted two extra quartern loaves, or 21 lb. of potatoes, or between 5 and 6 lb. of oatmeal. This is, however, the diet of *bare existence*, and a person reduced to it could "undertake no habitual toil, mental or bodily, under the penalty of breaking down."[2] The cost of this diet for a

the proteids, are most desirable elements of food. They are largely furnished by the vegetable kingdom, consisting chiefly of the starches of all grain, roots, and tubers, with the sugars and the gums; in milk they exist as milk sugar, or "lactose."

[1] See Playfair, *The Food of Man in Relation to his Useful Work*, p. 9.

[2] "Bare existence" diet is allotted by the Home Office authorities to prisoners sentenced for short terms without hard labour. Under a sentence of seven days a prisoner gets daily 1 lb. of bread and a quart of gruel containing 4 oz. of oatmeal. For

family of five persons would be from 7*s.* to 10*s.* per week, according as the diet consisted of bread only, or bread and meat in the proportion shown above. That is to say, a married man with a wife and three children would need to spend from seven to ten shillings a week *to keep himself and his family from starvation.*[1]

(b) *Workhouse Diets.*

On a somewhat higher level than this, but one that is still below the standard of what we may call *efficient* subsistence, are the dietaries allowed to indoor paupers. According to Mrs. Barnett,[2] the regulation diet of the Whitechapel Workhouse—an institution which stands high on the list for careful management and economical administration—is as follows:—Breakfast and supper—one pint of tea (made of one ounce of tea to a gallon of water) and five ounces of bread and a tiny bit of butter. For dinner the inmates have meat three times a week, pea-soup and bread twice, suet pudding once, and Irish stew on the other day. The total allowance "comes only to 10½ oz. of carbonaceous food and 2¼ oz. of nitrogenous food, against the estimated quantity of 16 oz. carbonaceous and 4 oz. nitrogenous, which is the necessary allowance for ordinary people, and against the 25 oz. carbonaceous and 5 oz. nitrogenous, which is the regulation diet of the Royal Engineers during peace. It is true that these old folk do not need so much food, for their bodies have ceased to grow and develop, and in aged persons the wear of the frame does not require such replenishment as in the case with young and middle-aged people; but even with this partial diet we find that the cost of maintaining each of these old

more than seven and under twenty-one days he has an extra ½ lb. of bread. For longer terms it is advised to add potatoes and meat.

[1] It must be remembered that growing children, in whom tissue change is rapid, require more than a bare subsistence diet.

[2] *Practicable Socialism*, 2nd edition (1894), p. 20.

people is, for food alone, 3*s.* 11*d.* per head per week. Here, then, we have a fact on which a calculation is easy to make and which, when made, forces us to see that the workman cannot keep his family as well as the pauper is kept."

But dismissing the question of the insufficiency in quantity and quality of the workhouse diet for an ordinary workman, and assuming a family of five persons to be fed *on the workhouse scale*, the weekly food bill of the family would amount to 13*s.* 9*d.* per week. Even this sum, however, would only allow each child one-half of the quantity of food consumed by an indoor pauper—a quantity that is manifestly insufficient.[1]

If we turn from Whitechapel—where the *régime* is admittedly stringent—to St. Pancras, one of the most populous parishes in London, the figures are higher. By the courtesy of a member of the present Board of Guardians we are able to append the most recent returns of food expenditure in the St. Pancras Workhouse. The dietary, although slightly better than that allowed at Whitechapel, is certainly not open to the charge of extravagance. The breakfast of the able-bodied consists of 5 oz. of bread and a pint of oatmeal porridge. For dinner they are allowed meat three times a week, meat-pie once, pea-soup and bread once, suet pudding once, and Irish stew on the remaining day. Supper consists of 5 oz. of bread and 1 pint of mutton broth, or the same quantity of bread with a pint of oatmeal porridge. In the case of the aged and infirm, a pint of tea is given in place of the oatmeal porridge, with the addition (for breakfast and supper) of half an ounce of butter. The actual cost *per head* for 2,218 inmates (including 113 children) is 4*s.* 7¼*d.* per week.

[1] "In youth food should be abundant. At this time the body is not only growing, but tissue change or metabolism is active, leading to vigorous life. . . . This energy and the necessary growth of the body cannot be maintained without an abundant food supply."—*Diet in Sickness and in Health*, by Mrs. Ernest Hart (with Introduction by Sir Henry Thompson), p. 53.

St. Pancras Workhouse.

Table showing the cost per head of the dietaries in force, March, 1899.

Workhouses, Infirmary, Schools, and Boarded-out.

Men.	Women.	Children under					Total.	Weekly Cost of Maintenance.
		2 years.	9 years.		16 years.			
		Infants.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.		
			Workhouse.					*s.* *d.*
893	1212	30	19	20	7	37	2218	4 7¼
			Infirmary.					
271	200	9	10	17	16	13	536	7 3
			St. Anne's Home.					
473	—	—	—	—	—	—	473	3 6¾
			Leavesden Schools.					
—	—	—	244	110	111	131	596	4 3
			Casual Wards.					
52	10	1	—	1	—	—	64	
			Training Ship "Exmouth."					
—	—	—	—	—	65	—	65	5 1¼
			Boarded-out.					
—	—	—	17	36	22	26	101	3 0 4 0
1689	1422	40	290	184	221	207	4053	

Taking therefore a family of five persons, and adopting the dietary standards of the St. Pancras Workhouse, the aggregate weekly expenditure on food (assuming each child to be allowed *one-half* of the quantity allowed to an adult pauper) would amount to 16*s.* 1*d.* per week. The dietary of the children in the Workhouse schools is, however, necessarily fixed on a more liberal scale, and the cost is proportionately higher, the average *per capita* cost for food in the case of 596

children[1] being 4*s.* 3*d.* per week. If we assign the same diet to each of the workman's children, and assume the cost to be the same, the total food bill of the family would amount to 22*s.* per week.

(c) *Diet for "Moderate Labour."*

The exact amount of food required for *efficient* subsistence cannot be summarily stated, for the reason that physical constitutions refuse to conform to arbitrary standards, but the experiments of physiologists in many lands enable us to decide the point with at least approximate accuracy. Professor Voit, of the University of Munich, who has made more extensive researches upon this subject perhaps than any one else, computes that a fair daily ration for a labouring man of average weight, at moderate work, would need to supply 4·2 ounces (0·26 lb.) of proteids, 2 ounces (0·12 lb.) of fats, and 17·6 ounces (1·10 lb.) of carbo-hydrates.[2] Of course he may get on with less of one, provided he has more of the others. But there is a minimum below which he can-

[1] This number, it will be seen, includes 354 children of over two and under nine years of age, and 242 children of over nine and under sixteen years of age.

[2] These figures may be compared with the "General Averages" given by Playfair in his essay on *The Food of Man in Relation to his Useful Work* (p. 19):—

	Subsistence Diet.	Diet in quietude.	Diet of Adult in Full Health.	Diet of Active Labourers.	Diet of Hard-worked Labourers.
	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.
Flesh-formers (*i.e.* Proteids) . .	2·0	2·5	4·2	5·5	6·5
Fat	0·5	1·0	1·8	2·5	2·5
Starch	12·0	12·0	18·7	20·0	20·0
Starch equivalent	13·2	14·4	22·0	26·0	26·0
Carbon	6·7	7·4	11·9	13·7	14·3

not go without injury, and especially he must not have too little protein. He may have more proteids and less carbo-hydrates or fats with no great harm, but with too little proteid he will suffer, no matter how much carbo-hydrates his food may furnish.

Professor Atwater, of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, has published the results of a series of analyses made in the Government laboratory in behalf of the Smithsonian Institution (U.S. National Museum), together with a list of "Food Budgets" for working people, constructed on the standard of nourishment adopted by Professor Voit.[1]

It is not proposed, says Professor Atwater, "that any person or family should attempt to follow these exactly. For that matter the chemist will evidently have to consult the cook if he proposes to construct dietaries to accord with ordinary tastes." The rations, nevertheless, "help to show how foods may be economized, and what proportions would suffice for the nourishment of ordinary people, and what are the constituents and costs of the different materials. They are estimated to supply very nearly the amounts of nutrients in Voit's standard ration for a labouring man at moderate work."[2]

The diets given range in cost from eleven or twelve cents (5½*d.* or 6*d.*) up to forty-five cents (1*s.* 10½*d.*) per day; but for the purpose of the present inquiry a few of the cheapest have been selected. From these it appears that the *minimum* cost of the diet required by a labouring man of average weight at moderate work (adopting Prof. Voit's standards), would be in England from sixpence to sevenpence per day. This sum, however, as will be seen from the particulars given on pp. 631–2, allows of a drink diet of *water* only; tea,

[1] The budgets were calculated by Professor Atwater's assistant (Mr. Rookwood) and are published in the former's admirable treatise on *The Chemistry and Economy of Foods*, pp. 115 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

coffee, and cocoa being all excluded.[1] But even on this scale of dietary the minimum food expenditure of a family of five persons (*i.e.* husband and wife and three children) would be from 12*s.* to 13*s.* 6*d.* per week [2]—a sum which, according to the estimate of Mr. Edward Atkinson,[3] the well-known American economist, is exactly one-half of the amount actually spent by working-class families in the Eastern and Middle States of America, where the cost of food is less than in England.

SPECIMEN DIETS.

The following are a few of the daily rations suggested by Prof. Atwater in his essay on *The Chemistry and Economy of Foods*, to which reference has already been made. They are computed to furnish nutrients equivalent to those of the standard adopted by Prof. Voit for a labouring man at moderate work.

STANDARD RATION.—Proteids (118 grams), 0·26 lb.; fats (56 grams), 0·12 lb.; carbo-hydrates (500 grams), 1·10 lb.

DAILY RATIONS.

No. 1.		*No.* 2.	
Beef, neck	½ lb.	Smoked herrings	½ lb.
Beans	¼ „	Potatoes	1 „
Potatoes	2 „	Beans	¼ „
Oatmeal	¼ „	Wheat flour	1 „
Butter	¾ oz.	Butter	1 oz.
Rye flour	½ lb.		

[1] In a few cases a small quantity of milk is allowed.

[2] In this calculation the wife is assumed to require eight-tenths as much as her husband, while two children are reckoned as one adult—a basis of calculation which may be accepted as approximately reliable.

[3] *The Food Question in America and Europe*, p. 35.

No. 3.		*No.* 4.	
Beef, shin	½ lb.	Liver	½ lb.
Oatmeal	½ „	Potatoes	1 „
Corn meal	½ „	Butter	1 oz.
Milk	½ pt.	Corn meal	1 lb.
Potatoes	1 lb.	Bread	½ lb.
Butter	1 oz.		

No. 5.

Fresh Mackerel	¾ lb.
Potatoes	1 „
Cracked wheat	½ „
Corn meal	½ „
Beans	¼ „
Butter	1 oz.

A perhaps clearer suggestion is that afforded by the dietaries of European soldiers in time of peace. According to Dr. Parkes, the regulation diet of a British soldier on home service is 5¼ lb. of meat, and 7 lb. of bread weekly. This does not profess to be a sufficient diet, but is supplemented by the soldier himself by the purchase of additional bread, vegetables, milk, and groceries out of his pay. Taking the price of meat at 7*d.* per lb. and bread at 5*d.* per 4 lb. loaf, the actual *per capita* cost of the regulation diet (*i.e.* bread and meat alone) is 3*s.* 10*d.* per week, or for a family of five persons (reckoning two children as one adult) 12*s.* 8*d.* per week. Such a diet is said to be "sufficient for anybody under ordinary circumstances of regular light occupation; but should extra demands be made upon mind or body, weight is lost, and if the demands continue to be made the health will suffer."

The daily ration of an American soldier (said to be the most generous in the world) is 22 oz. of bread or flour; 20 oz. of fresh or salt meat; 7 oz. of potatoes (*i.e.* 16 oz. three times a week); 1½ oz. of rice; 1½ oz. of coffee (or ¼ oz.

of tea); 2⅓ oz. of sugar; ⅔ of a gill of beans; ⅓ of a gill of vinegar; and ·16 of an oz. of salt. The cost of this diet at English prices for a family of five persons would be 22*s.* 2*d.* per week.

Another estimate that may be quoted is that furnished by Dr. Meinert in his brochure entitled *Wie nährt man sich gut undbillig?*[1]—("How to feed oneself well and economically?")—an essay that was honoured with a prize awarded by a committee consisting of Professors Voit Forster, and Beneke, three of the best known German authorities on the subject. In this essay Dr. Meinert gives three schedules of food expenditure for families whose annual incomes vary from 800 marks (£40) to 1,500 marks (£75). In the case of the lowest of these incomes (£40), he allowed a total expenditure of 60 per cent. for food. In the case of the highest (£75), he allowed an expenditure of 53 per cent. for food.[2]

We will take the latter estimate for our present inquiry. It refers, it will be noticed, to a family whose total income averages 29*s.* per week. The dietary selected by Dr. Meinert was calculated for a family consisting of father, mother, and *two* children aged ten and twelve years respectively—the mother and two children being taken as equal in their consumption to two labouring men. Dr. Meinert further assumed that to earn so large a sum as £75 per year, or 29*s.* a week, more than ordinarily hard work would be required, and hence, following Professor Voit's figures, he provided a ration with nutrients a little in excess of the standard for a labouring man at moderate work.[3] The average cost of the

[1] Quoted by Professor Atwater, *The Chemistry and Economy of Foods*, pp. 109–114.

[2] This proportion, it should be noted, corresponds very closely to the proportions recognised by Engel in his standards of necessary food expenditure for working class families.

[3] Professor Voit's standards for an ordinary labouring man doing moderately hard work, and for the same man at severe

ration actually allowed was 220 pfennings (2*s.* 2½*d.*) per day, or, reckoning the family as three adults, 73 pfennings (8¾*d.*) per head. Assuming the family to have consisted of *five* persons (*i.e.* father, mother, and *three* children) instead of four as suggested by Dr. Meinert, the actual expenditure on food would, on the basis adopted in the previous cases, amount to 17*s. per week.*

This estimate is curiously confirmed by an analysis of the food expenditure of more than 200 working men (living in an American boarding house for working men) made by the Massachusetts State Bureau of Labour Statistics in 1886.[1] The particulars of the diet are appended, and cover the food consumption of 237 men (all labourers) for thirty-nine weeks. The average cost per man for the whole period was $1·30 (5*s.* 4*d.*) per week. Now assuming, as we have hitherto done, that an ordinary working woman requires eight-tenths, and a child five-tenths, as much as a working man, the weekly cost of this diet for a family of five persons (making no allowance for the relatively higher cost of food in England) would be 17*s.* 7*d.*

work are stated below, and with them Dr. Meinert's standard for the family in question.

NUTRIENTS IN DAILY RATION.

Nutrients.	Professor Voit's Standards.		Dr. Meinert's Standard for family with 1,500 marks per year.
	For labouring man at moderate work.	For labouring man at severe work.	
Proteids . . .	118 grams. (0·26 lb.)	145 grams.	120 grams.
Fats	56 „ (0·12 lb.)	100 „	70 „
Carbo-hydrates	500 „ (1·10 lb.)	450 „	500 „

[1] See *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labour, Massachusetts.*

TABLE SHOWING THE FOOD CONSUMPTION OF 237 WORKING MEN IN AN AMERICAN BOARDING-HOUSE DURING A PERIOD OF 39 WEEKS.

Food.	Total for 237 men.	Average one man per week.
Beans	118 bushels	·012 bushel
Beef	19,683 lb.	2·12 lb.
Butter	8,121 „	·878 „
Coffee	370 „	·04 „
Dried Apples	1,716 „	·185 „
Fish	2,550 „	·275 „
Flour	534 barrels	·057 barrel
Molasses	2,272 gallons	·245 gallon
Mutton	2,840 lb.	·307 lb.
Onions	81 bushels	·008 bushel
Peas	98 „	·01 „
Pork	250 barrels	·027 barrel
Potatoes	1,842 bushels	·199 bushel
Rice	787 „	·085 „
Salt	2,925 lb.	·316 lb.
Tea	600 „	·064 „
Turnips	31 bushels	·003 bushel
Vinegar	262 gallons	·028 gallon
Milk	2,821 quarts	·305 quart

RELATIVE COST OF FOOD IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

"The price of bread is lower in England than anywhere else; next in the United States and Belgium, and, finally, highest in France and Germany. The kind and quality of flour used is by no means the same, so that to obtain an equal amount of nourishment a much larger sum must be spent in the Continental countries than in Great Britain and the United States. The average prices of the meats which find their way to the working man's table, without reference to kind, figures out 23 per cent. more in Germany, 47 per cent. more in Belgium, 50 per cent. more in Great Britain, and 52 per cent. more in France than in the United States. Potatoes cost 3 per cent. more in Great Britain, 19 per cent.

more in France than in the United States; but 30 per cent. and 50 per cent. respectively less in Belgium and Germany. Butter is 4 per cent. dearer in Great Britain, 9 per cent. dearer in Belgium, 22 per cent. dearer in Germany, and 35 per cent. dearer in France than in the United States. Sugar in England is only half the price it was in the United States before 1890; but the same article is 19 per cent. more in Germany, 51 per cent. more in Belgium, and 84 per cent. more in France. Coffee costs 13 per cent. more in Belgium, 19 per cent. more in Germany, 40 per cent. more in Great Britain, and 67 per cent. more in France than in the United States. Lard and eggs form no exception to the general rule. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that, with the prevailing prices of provisions so preponderatingly in favour of the American labourer, and seeing that his family is smaller, his larger absolute expenditure means unquestionably that he and his kind are better nourished."—Dr. E. R. L. Gould, *Contemporary Review*, January, 1893.

RELATION OF INTEMPERANCE TO PAUPERISM, INSANITY AND CRIME.

In discussing the social and economic results of intemperance, it is impossible to leave out of consideration the relation which intemperance bears to pauperism, insanity and crime.

I. Pauperism.

That there is an intimate connection between intemperance and pauperism is indisputable, but the extent and directness of the connection is still matter for conjecture.

One of the most important of the few systematic attempts to investigate the relation of intemperance to pauperism in this country was that undertaken by a Committee of the Lower House of Convocation of the province of Canterbury in 1869. In the course of an exhaustive inquiry (which sought to discover the part which intemperance plays in the

production of insanity and crime as well as pauperism) forms of inquiry were transmitted to the Governors and Chaplains of Prisons, and Heads of the Constabulary throughout Great Britain; to the Superintendents of Lunatic Asylums in England and Wales; and to the Judges, the Recorders, the Coroners, and the Masters of Workhouses throughout England. In summing up the evidence obtained on the subject of pauperism, the Committee state:—"From an extensive and minute inquiry prosecuted by your Committee throughout the workhouses of the country—as well as from other authenticated statements—it can be shown that an enormous proportion of the pauperism which is felt to be such a burden and discouragement by the industrious and sober members of the community, and has such a degrading and demoralizing effect upon most recipients of parochial relief, is the direct and common product of intemperance. It appears, indeed, that at least seventy-five per cent. of the occupants of our workhouses, and a large proportion of those receiving outdoor pay, have become pensioners on the public, directly or indirectly, through drunkenness, and the improvidence and absence of self-respect which this pestilent vice is known to engender and perpetuate. The loss of strength and wealth to the country, the increase of taxation, the deterioration of national character thus produced, it is at once humiliating and irritating to contemplate." [1]

In the appendix to their Report, the Committee publish the replies received from one hundred and nineteen "Governors" (or masters) of workhouses, giving the proportion of cases of pauperism coming within their jurisdiction due, directly or indirectly, to drink. The proportion given varies, it is needless to say, in different districts, and, in any case, is to be accepted only as an approximate estimate based upon general observation and ordinary official experience; but it is significant that in hardly a single instance does the estimate fall

[1] Report by the Committee on Intemperance for the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, pp. 9, 10.

below a proportion of one-half, while in the great majority of cases, the estimate given varies from two-thirds to eight-tenths.

Mr. Charles Booth, as the result of his analysis of the statistics of pauperism in the Stepney, St. Pancras, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch Unions, gives figures which suggest a very much smaller percentage. In analysing, for example, the stories of between six and seven hundred persons in the Stepney workhouse institutions who were "actually in receipt of relief on April 30th, 1889," Mr. Booth found that drink stood as "principal cause" in 80 out of 634 cases, or 12·6 per cent., whilst as "contributory cause" it appeared in 85 more, "chiefly in connection with sickness and old age as principal cause." Altogether, only 25 per cent. are returned as affected by drink. "This proportion," says Mr. Booth, "is less than might have been expected, and it is probable that closer research into the circumstances and history of these people, if it could be made, might disclose a greater connection than here appears between pauperism and the public-house."

In the case of the St. Pancras inquiry, the basis of investigation was somewhat different, no account being taken of those who had been permanently in receipt of relief for at least two years, nor of some other "old stagers" as to whom detailed knowledge had lapsed. The inquiry was, in point of fact, entirely confined to cases of "current pauperism" in the workhouse itself. The figures for Stepney, on the other hand, include the infirm and sick as well as the able-bodied, and all except quite a few old cases.

The figures for St. Pancras—which are based on the answers given by the relieving officers to questions put as to the previous history of the inmates admitted by their order between June 1st, 1888, and December 31st, 1889—show that out of 736 cases drink was the "principal or obvious cause" in no fewer than 161, or 21·9 per cent., and a "contributory cause" in 46 others.

In the case of Ashby-de-la-Zouch the figures were very

similar. Out of 77 cases where the cause of pauperism was given, drink was assigned as the cause in 16, or nearly 21 per cent.

In estimating the true value of these figures, and especially in comparing them with the estimates given by experienced poor-law workers and public officials, it is necessary to remember that the information upon which they are based does not, as Mr. Booth himself admits, go much beyond proximate causes. "No elaborate research or analysis has been attempted. The stories have been taken as they were found; where drink appears to occupy the first place, it has its big 'D'; and where it is mentioned, but in a secondary way, it has its little 'd'; and if it is not mentioned at all, it is assumed (no doubt often erroneously) that as a cause of pauperism it has not been present. Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness or old age, but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met. Drink must, therefore, be accounted the most prolific of all the causes; and it is the least necessary." [1]

A somewhat similar inquiry to that undertaken by Mr. Booth was made in Manchester in 1883 by Mr. Alexander M'Dougall, Vice-Chairman of the Manchester Board of Guardians. In prosecuting his inquiry, Mr. M'Dougall very properly declined to base his conclusions upon the information gathered by the Relieving Officers for the guidance of the Guardians, on the ground that such particulars chiefly relate to the circumstances of applicants at the time of asking for relief, and give very little information as to their previous history. He adopted instead a scheme of careful personal investigation which allowed him to trace the actual antecedents of each case separately. Particulars were taken of

[1] C. Booth, *Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age.*

254 cases, of which 120 were outdoor cases (chosen, with the assistance of the Relieving Officers, from three separate districts), and 100 indoor cases taken from the workhouse and hospital at Crumpsall. The balance was made up of cases in the lock and vagrant wards. The results of the inquiry (which were published by the Board of Guardians in January, 1884),[1] showed that "51·24 per cent. of the pauperism of the township was directly caused by drinking habits," while it established the further fact "that of the paupers whose poverty was certainly brought about by drink, a larger number were of families of skilled workmen than of families of unskilled labourers." The full classification of the cases was as follows:—

	Per cent.
Class 1.—Pauperism caused by old age or infirmity .	14·86
Class 2.—Pauperism caused by disease (not brought on by misconduct) or by accidental injuries	15·62
Class 3.—Pauperism caused through the head of the family being unable to find employment, though willing to work	2·78
Class 4.—Pauperism caused by idleness or thriftlessness apart from drunken or immoral habits	—
Class 5.—*Pauperism caused by drunkenness in men*	24·32
Class 6.—*Pauperism caused by drunkenness in women*	4·40
Class 7.—*Widows and children of drunkards* . . .	21·84
Class 8.—Widows and children—husbands having been well conducted	15·30
Class 9.—*Widows of well-conducted husbands who have drunken sons, who could support them if steady*	·68
Class 10.—Women reduced to pauperism by immoral conduct—not drunkards	·20
	100·00

[1] *Inquiry into the Causes of Pauperism in the Township of Manchester*, by Alexander M'Dougall.

Further information on the subject is furnished by the investigations undertaken at the instance of the State Legislature by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour in 1894–5.[1]

Out of 3,230 paupers—this being the total number found in the State institutions during twelve consecutive months (*i.e.* August 20th, 1894, to August 20th, 1895),—2,108, or 65·26 per cent., were found to be addicted to the use of liquor. The excessive drinkers numbered 505, or 15·63 per cent. of all the paupers. The total abstainers numbered 866, or 26·81 per cent. Of the total abstainers, however, 429 were minors, 281 being under ten years of age. There were also 31 minors addicted to the use of liquor. Excluding all the minors, whether total abstainers or not, we have 2,752 paupers of adult years, of whom 2,077, or 75·47 per cent. were addicted to the use of liquor, including 504 excessive drinkers and 1,573 drinkers not classed as excessive. Of the whole number of paupers, 47·74 per cent. had one or both parents intemperate. The results of the inquiry are summed

[1] The section of the Act (chap. 332 of the Acts of 1894) authorising the investigation was as follows:—

"The bureau of statistics of labour is hereby directed to ascertain, from all sources available, facts and statistics showing the number of commitments to all institutions, penal and charitable, resulting from the use or abuse of intoxicating liquors; the number of crimes committed by persons while under the influence of intoxicating liquors; the number of crimes of each class thus committed; the number of paupers whose present condition can be traced to the use or abuse of intoxicating liquors by themselves or by their parents, guardians, or others; the number of persons who have been pronounced insane, and whose condition can be traced to the use or abuse of intoxicating liquors by themselves, their ancestors, or by others; and in general, such other data as will tend to show the relation of the liquor traffic to crime, pauperism, and insanity in this commonwealth, and the period of time to be covered by this investigation shall include not less than twelve successive months."

up in the following statement. Of the total number of adult paupers, nearly 40 per cent. (39·44) attributed their pauperism to their own intemperate habits; about 5 per cent. attributed it to the intemperance of their parents, one or both; and about 1 per cent. attributed it to the intemperance of those upon whom they were dependent, other than parents.[1]

It may be interesting to add that of the whole number addicted to the use of liquor, 25, or about 1 per cent., used wines only; 417, or about 20 per cent., used lager beer or malt liquors only; 38, or not quite 2 per cent., used distilled liquors only; and 1,628, or about 77 per cent., used all kinds, or at least two kinds, of liquor.

Summary.

The relation which these estimates bear to one another will be more clearly seen if we briefly summarise them. This is done in the following table:—

Investigation undertaken by.	Number of Cases Investigated.	Percentage of Cases attributable (directly or indirectly) to Drink.
1. Committee of the Lower House of Convocation, Canterbury.	119 Workhouses, etc., England and Wales	75
2. Mr. Charles Booth	634 (Stepney) . .	25
" " "	736 (St. Pancras) .	28
" " "	77 (Ashby-de-la-Zouch) . . .	21
3. Mr. Alex. M'Dougall	254 (Manchester) .	51
4. Massachusetts State Bureau of Labour Statistics	2,752 (Massachusetts)	45

It is obviously impossible to draw any but the most general conclusions from investigations of this kind. They

[1] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labour* (*Massachusetts*) 1896.

cannot in the nature of the case give us more than approximate results, but they suffice to justify Mr. Charles Booth's statement that "drink must be accounted the most prolific of all the causes [of pauperism]; and it is the least necessary."

II. Insanity.

The relationship which intemperance bears to insanity, although still, to some extent, matter for speculation, is nevertheless a question concerning which it is possible to get fairly reliable and authoritative data. That specialists still differ as to the extent of the relationship is hardly matter for surprise, since, in a disease of so subtle and insidious a nature, wherein several predisposing causes may, and often do, act in combination, it is often impossible accurately to distinguish between them.

A careful analysis of the Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy shows that of the total number of cases admitted into asylums in England and Wales during the last twenty years, no less than 20 per cent. of the male cases, and 7·6 per cent. of the female, were due to drink. The figures are as follow:—

Year.	Number of Cases of Insanity[1] due to Intemperance in Drink.			Percentage of all Cases.	
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1878	1,420	531	1,951	21·3	7·9
1879	1,350	512	1,862	21·1	7·6
1881	1,280	450	1,730	19·3	6·6
1883	1,379	474	1,853	19·6	6·4
1884	1,365	524	1,889	19·2	7·2
1885	1,299	495	1,794	20·4	7·2
1886	1,312	525	1,837	19·5	7·5
1887	1,343	576	1,919	18·9	7·9
1888	1,453	603	2,056	19·9	7·9
1888–92	1,600	667	2,267	20·5	8·1
1891–95	1,779	760	2,539	20·9	8·5
1892–96	1,873	814	2,687	21·6	8·9

[1] The "assigned causes" given in the Report of the Com-

In referring to the figures in their Fifty-first Annual Report, the Commissioners say: "Very great reliance cannot be placed on the returns from which these tables are compiled, but so far as they go, it would appear that 'hereditary influence'[1] continues to be the most fruitful cause, 'previous attacks' coming next, and 'intemperance in drink' third."

That the figures quoted under-estimate, rather than otherwise, the actual influence of intemperance is not only extremely probable, but almost certain. A few considerations will make this plain. It is to be remembered (1) that the returns upon which the figures are based include a large proportion of cases where no history at all is available;[2] (2) that the medical officers in our large asylums have so many cases to receive annually, that they cannot make exhaustive inquiries as to causation: some may do, but many cannot; (3) that in inquiries of this kind much depends upon the personal equation of inquirer and of informant. This (as regards the latter, at any rate) is hardly on the side of sound views as to moderation or intemperance when we are dealing with the whole country.

Dr. Claye Shaw, Medical Superintendent of Banstead Asylum, in his Annual Report for the year ended March

missioners are not taken from the "Statements" in the papers of admission of the patients, but are those which have been assigned by the medical officers of the asylums.

[1] In the Report referred to, "hereditary influence" represents 23 per cent., and "previous attacks" 19 per cent. of the total number of "admissions."

[2] The percentages given in the table are based not upon the total number of cases having an "assigned cause" of insanity, but upon the total number of *admissions*, which include a considerable proportion of cases for which no assigned cause is given. In the five years 1891 to 1895, for example, the average number of admissions was 17,512, in 2,987 of which—representing 17 per cent. of the whole—the cause of insanity is stated as "unknown."

31st, 1897, in referring to the difficulty of obtaining accurate returns of "causes," says :—

"Table X., showing the causes of insanity, has been very carefully compiled, and it shows the difficulty of obtaining accuracy here, for out of the 763 admissions, a trustworthy history was forthcoming in only 358 instances—barely half. In 26 patients (21 men and 5 women) notwithstanding that a trustworthy history was obtained, it was still impossible to find the cause. The figures show that only 17 per cent. of the admissions were directly due to drink." [1]

Dr. Robert Jones, Medical Superintendent of the Claybury Asylum, in his report for the same year, says :—

"Owing to a general revival of trade . . . the past year has been a prodigious one for drink; 22 per cent. of all the admissions were due to this cause, which is 2 per cent. higher than that recorded last year. As to drink, the state of its horrors is not confined to present victims, but in an unsparing degree is propagated among future generations, and something is urgently needed to galvanize the nation's self-control in this direction. Preventive medicine now enters largely into the duties of the State, and the great increase in drink insanities calls, in my opinion, for more stringent action on its part to promote its own sobriety." [2]

Dr. G. R. Wilson (until recently an Assistant Physician at the Royal Edinburgh Asylum, of which Dr. Clouston is the Physician-Superintendent), in his volume on *Drunkenness*,[3] says: "In the year 1890 the facts showing the importance of drunkenness as a *cause* of insanity were so conclusive, that Dr. Clouston devoted a large part of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum Report to their consideration. He says: 'Taking the admissions to the West House alone—that is, working people chiefly—and confining the inquiry to men

[1] *Eighth Annual Report of the Asylums Committee* (*London County Council*), pp. 34, 35.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[3] *Social Science Series* (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London).

between twenty-five and sixty, the chief wage-earning period of life, I find that 53 of the total of 124, or 42·7 per cent., were of those in which alcoholic excess was assigned as the predisposing or exciting cause. . . . Alcoholic excess is the most frequent single exciting cause of mental disease, and it acts also as a predisposing cause in very many cases. During the past fifteen years we have had 837 admissions in whom drink has been put down as the cause, or 16·4 per cent. of all our admissions during that time. This may be taken as about the general experience of the country.'"

In discussing the question again in his report for 1892, Dr. Clouston says: "Looking to our own statistics of the year, the increase in numbers does not appear to be explained fully by the special prevalence of any one cause or form of mental malady. Ninety-three cases, or 21 per cent. of the whole, were said to be due to drinking, but then we had 26 per cent. of our admissions alcoholic last year. Sixteen and a half per cent. had been our annual proportion during the previous fifteen years."[1]

Further evidence, but of a more limited character, is furnished in the Annual Reports of the English Commissioners of Prisons. These Reports give particulars of the number of cases of insanity occurring each year among prisoners in the local and convict prisons of England and Wales. The increase in the number of these in recent years is to be accounted for partly by the growing practice of remanding to prison for a period of medical observation, persons who have committed some offence while in an apparently unsound state of mind. Many of these persons are discharged to the police courts at the expiration of the period of observation (generally one week), and are then dealt with by the police authorities; but as they happen to have spent a few days in confinement, and as their disease has been discovered in prison, they go to swell the number of prison lunatics. Many

[1] *Eightieth Annual Report of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum*, p. 13.

other lunatics find their way into prison as the result of the operation of the existing lunacy laws, and of the difficulties thrown in the way of certifying to the existence of insanity. To certify that any person is insane is a responsibility not lightly to be undertaken, and, if possible, to be avoided altogether. The madman is consequently allowed to wander about the country until he commits some crime. He is then committed to prison, is certified to be insane, and is forthwith removed to an asylum. In these numerous cases, the prison is merely a certifying office or agency, through whose instrumentality the unhappy lunatic is at last recognised and dealt with as his condition requires.[1]

In the Report of the Commissioners for the year ended March 31st, 1898, particulars are given of 150 cases of insanity occurring among convicted prisoners in the local and convict prisons of England and Wales during that year. The "supposed cause of insanity"[2] is given in 74 cases, and of these no less than 31, or 42 per cent., are described as directly due to, or connected with, drink. Similar figures are given in the Reports for previous years. In 1897, out of 93 cases where the "supposed cause of insanity" was given, 35 or

[1] See *Report of the Medical Inspector of Prisons* for year ended March 31st, 1896. Out of 479 cases of insanity in that year "no less than 316 were certified or discharged to police courts as insane within one month of reception. In the vast majority of cases, if not in every case, these prisoners were unsound in mind not only at the time of reception into prison but also at the time that they committed the offences which brought them under the notice of the police. Of the remainder, as many as 55 were found insane on arraignment, or guilty but insane, and were ordered to be detained during her Majesty's pleasure. This reduces the number to be accounted for to 108 and of these 32 were certified to be insane within two months, and 16 within three months of reception."

[2] The "supposed cause of insanity" includes cases described as "hereditary" as well as "recurrent attacks."

38 per cent. were described as directly due to, or connected with, drink. In 1896 the percentage of such cases was 37.[1]

In referring to the matter in his Report for 1898, the Medical Inspector of Prisons says: "The liability to insanity is an unknown quantity, but it may be safely asserted that the habits, the excesses, and the debauches of the average prisoner tend to predispose him to more risk in this respect than the average free man. If we turn to the statistical tables of the Commissioners in lunacy, we find that alcoholism is one of the most prolific of the causes of insanity, and no one will pretend to deny that the same cause operates most strongly in filling our penal establishments. It is not generally known that numerous cases of delirium tremens are treated in the prison hospitals in the course of a year. The great majority of these cases recover, but there is a residuum where prolonged intemperance lights up a nervous disorder which culminates in insanity."

Dr. Edgar Sheppard, the late Superintendent of Colney Hatch Asylum, and Professor of Psychological Medicine in King's College, in a letter to the *Times* on October 15th, 1873, said: "It is beyond a doubt that the taste for spirituous liquors and the habit of intemperance are growing evils, productive of an amount of distress and misery which defy calculation. Certainly if any one is in a position to measure their effects, a Superintendent of a Lunatic Asylum is. For 12 years I have here watched and chronicled the development of the greatest curse which afflicts the country. From 35 to 40 per cent. is a fairly approximate estimate of the ratio of insanity directly or indirectly due to alcoholic drinks."

General estimates of this kind, authoritative as they undoubtedly are, are not to be pressed unduly, but it is important to note that they are in general agreement with the results obtained by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labour

[1] See the *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Prisons and Directors of Convict Prisons* for 1896, 1897, and 1898.

Statistics in the course of its official investigations in 1894–5. Out of 1,836 cases of insanity investigated—the total number found in the State Institutions canvassed during twelve consecutive months—33 per cent. were found to have one or both parents intemperate,[1] while in 21 per cent. of the cases, alcohol directly contributed to the insanity.[2]

Conclusion.

The data upon which the foregoing estimates are based differ so widely, that it would be misleading to attempt to summarise the results given. In view, however, of all the evidence, it is impossible to doubt that from one-fifth to one-fourth of the total insanity of the country is due, directly or indirectly, to intemperance in drink. The actual proportion is probably in excess of this estimate; it is impossible to assume that it is less.

III. Crime.

The influence of intemperance upon crime is much more direct and obvious, and although it is difficult to arrive at any precise and authoritative standard of relationship, the fact of a considerable relationship is not seriously disputed. So far back as 1834 we find a Select Committee of the House of Commons including among the evils distinctly traceable to the traffic in intoxicants, "the spread of crime in every shape and form," whereby "the gaols and prisons, the hulks and transport convicts are filled with inmates; and an enormous mass of human beings, who, under sober habits and moral training, would be sources of wealth and strength to the country, are transformed, chiefly through the remote or immediate influence of intoxicating drinks, into excrescences of corruption and weakness, which must be cut off and cast away from the community to pre-

[1] In 51 per cent. of the cases no information on the point could be obtained.

[2] In 18 per cent. of the cases no history was forthcoming.

vent the gangrenous contamination of its whole frame, leaving the body itself in a constant state of that inflammatory excitement, which always produces exhaustion and weakness in the end."

Fifteen years later, we find a Select Committee of the House of Lords giving very similar testimony,[1] while in 1854 another Select Committee of the House of Commons declared that the evidence presented to it by responsible witnesses, and which was "entitled to especial weight," tended "to establish that whatever individual propensity there may be to crime is, with few exceptions, brought into activity by habits of intemperance."[2]

Statements of this kind are of too general a character to be available as evidence in an exact inquiry, but they are important as embodying the conclusions to which responsible Parliamentary Commissions have been led by the evidence submitted to them.

The general evidence on the subject falls naturally into two broad divisions. Included in the former are the testimonies of judges, governors and chaplains of prisons, and responsible social workers, who have been brought into close contact with the facts; while in the latter category may be placed the evidence obtained by careful investigations concerning the actual history and antecedents of a stated number of criminals.

(a) *Testimonies of Governors and Chaplains of Prisons, Judges, etc.*

The Committee of the lower House Convocation (Province of Canterbury), in the course of their inquiry in 1869,

[1] See *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to consider the operation of the Acts for the Sale of Beer*, 1849–50, p. iv.

[2] *Report of the Select Committee on Public Houses*, 1854, p. xv.

addressed a series of specific questions on the subject to a large number of Judges, Magistrates, Governors and Chaplains of Prisons, Chief Constables, etc., in various parts of the United Kingdom. The replies (numbering more than 200) are published in the Appendix to their Report, and making the most liberal allowance for the informal and non-scientific character of the conclusions arrived at, they certainly constitute a formidable indictment of the liquor traffic. Nearly the whole of the replies estimate the proportion of crime due, directly or indirectly, to drink at from 60 to 80 per cent., while some place it even higher. Lord Chief Justice Bovill, in a communication which he specially authorised to be published, declared :—"I have no hesitation in stating that in the North of England, and in most of the large towns and the manufacturing and mining districts, intemperance is directly or indirectly the cause of by far the largest proportion of the crimes that have come under my observation, and you have, I believe, in your published charge, correctly stated the views of the Judges generally upon this subject." Lord Chief Baron Kelly wrote :—"I should be very happy indeed, if I had the time and the means, to answer your letter more satisfactorily than I am able to do at the present moment. . . . At this moment I can only express my belief—indeed, I may say my conviction—that two-thirds of the crimes which come before the courts of law of this country are occasioned chiefly by intemperance." Another well-known judge—the Rt. Hon. Sir H. J. Keating—declared :—"I should suppose the testimony of every Judge upon the bench would be the same as to the fact that a very large proportion of the crimes of violence brought before us are traceable, either directly or indirectly, to the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors. In my own experience of more than nine years upon the bench, corroborated by a very long experience at the bar, I have no hesitation in saying that such is the case."

In the Appendix to the Third Report of the Lords' Committee on Intemperance (1877), the results of a similar

inquiry, undertaken a few years later[1] by a Committee of the Convocation of York, are given. We subjoin the table embodying the replies received from the Governors and Chaplains of gaols.

EXTRACTS FROM RETURNS FROM THE GOVERNORS AND CHAPLAINS OF GAOLS.

No.	Average number of prisoners under charge.	Qy. What proportion of those who have come under your cognizance as criminals have been the victims of drinking habits and associates, directly or indirectly?	Qy. What proportion of recommittals may be ascribed to drinking habits and associates, and to what extent do these militate against the reformation of criminals on their release?
1	1,176	75 per cent.	75 per cent.
2	40	Two-thirds.	Nearly all.
3	41	More than half.	ditto.
4	700	80 per cent.	ditto.
5	144	90 „	ditto.
6	189	One-third directly.	Three-fourths.
7	893	85 per cent.	Nearly all.
8	80	75 „	Four-fifths.
9	133	75 „	ditto.
10	126	75 „	ditto.
11	80	Fully two-thirds.	125 out of 221.
12	79	80 per cent.	70 per cent.
13	200	60 per cent. directly.	75 „
14	93	90 per cent.	75 „
15	384	60 „	75 „
16	270	75 „	A large proportion.
17	300	75 „	50 per cent.
18	156	90 „	Nearly all.
19	280	60 „	65 per cent.
20	127	75 „	85 „
21	199	90 „	Most of them.
22	200	90 „	Nearly all.
23	93	90 „	80 per cent.
24	13,000 yearly	75 „	A very large proportion.

Without in any way ignoring the strict limits within which statements of this kind can be accepted as evidence,

[1] The figures were published in a Special Report in 1874.

it must nevertheless be admitted that they point to a close connection between intemperance and crime. The impression of their general value as evidence is confirmed by other direct testimony. The late Lord Justice Lush, speaking at the Bristol Spring Assizes, in 1875, said: "I think it would astonish many persons if they knew how large a proportion of crime is traceable, directly or indirectly, to drink. I am almost afraid to name the proportion; but my own impression is derived from constant experience in every county in England, that more than one-half of the crimes that are brought before us are to be ascribed to the influence of drink—sometimes the influence of drink upon the guilty person, sometimes the influence of drink upon the victim; the condition of the victim tempts the criminal into crime. So that between the two, I think I am right in saying that more than one-half, and I think I might say considerably more than one-half, of all the crime that comes before us is traceable, directly or indirectly, to drink."

Six years later,[1] Lord Justice Kay, when presiding at the Liverpool Assizes, said: "I am going to say a few words which you must have heard a great many times, and which judges are rather tired of repeating, but my apology is that I have special reason for saying them to you. Many of the cases in this calendar are offences which have been committed under the influence of drink. A long experience as a county magistrate, and my experience as a judge upon the North-Eastern Circuit twice, and upon this Circuit, have quite convinced me that I am speaking within the mark when I say that if the people of this country would be weaned from the fatal habit of drinking, crime would be diminished one-half."

Ten years later still (*i.e.* in 1891) the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, speaking at the Birmingham Summer Assizes, said: "Few people have opportunities of realizing as I have the terrible effects produced by in-

[1] November, 1881.

temperance. Of course, there are cases which stand quite aside from the influence of the public-house—crimes such as perjury, forgery, false pretences, and others—which require the assistance of education. But drunkenness is mainly the cause of the commoner sorts of crime, and if England could be made sober, three-fourths of her gaols might be closed."

Proportion of Offences of Drunkenness.

Drunkenness alone is responsible for a very large proportion of the total prison population. Out of 14,194 prisoners in local prisons in England and Wales on May 25th, 1898, 8 per cent. of the men and 25 per cent. of the women were undergoing sentences for simple drunkenness; while a further 7 per cent. of the men and 5 per cent. of the women were there as "vagrants."

In his report for the year ended March 31st, 1898, the Visiting Chaplain of Prisons (England and Wales) wrote: "Everywhere it is stated that intemperance is the prime cause of the majority of commitments to prisons. In one of the northern prisons, the Chaplain says that there are at present no less than eight offenders who have upwards of 160 convictions against them. With a large number of habitual inebriates the prison is little else than a useful sanatorium, which, so low is their mode of life and their code of morals, is an acceptable place of rest and quiet for them."

The Chaplain of the Wakefield prison, in his report for the same year, stated: "From November 24th, 1897, to March 24th, 1898, there were 756 cases of drunkenness with sentences of under three months. Eighty-two of these admitted that they were powerless to resist drink if once tasted; eighty-seven were hopeful cases, and promised to abstain entirely for the future; eight appeared utterly hopeless, having been convicted from 60 to over 130 times. For this latter class of prisoners short sentences are entirely useless."

(b) *Results of Special Investigations.*

The part which drink actually plays in the production of crime is seen more clearly in the results of specific investigations undertaken at different times by public officials and others.

At the Annual Congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in 1868, the Rev. H. L. Elliot, M.A., Chaplain of the Birmingham Borough Prison, gave particulars of the first convictions of 1,000 prisoners brought under his notice during the preceding eighteen months. The cases were taken, without selection, in the order in which they presented themselves to him in the course of his daily visitations. The results of the investigations are given in the subjoined table :[1]—

First convictions supposed to be traceable to	Number examined, who on the occasion of the last offence had been				Total.
	Indicted.		Summarily Convicted.		
	M	F	M	F	
1. Bad company—					
(*a*) Acquaintances made in the street, workshop, or home, etc.	126	32	74	18	250
(*b*) Acquaintances *made in the public-house, dancing saloon, etc.*	69	0	25	7	101
2. *Drink*	43	13	126	23	205
3. Poverty	11	6	25	10	52
4. Opportunity	33	7	35	2	77
5. Want of principle	44	11	5	7	67
6. Bad temper	7	4	51	34	96
7. Immorality and wantonness	4	12	12	11	39
8. Incapacity and imbecility	3	2	6	0	11
9. Other causes	13	1	73	15	102
Total	353	88	432	127	1,000

[1] *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, 1868, p. 327.

In a second table [1] the results of a further examination of 500 prisoners in the Birmingham Borough Gaol are given, the figures in this case dealing with the cause of the *last* conviction :—

TABLE SHOWING THE EFFECT OF DRINK IN CAUSING CRIME.

Last conviction supposed to be traceable to	Number of Prisoners examined.			
	M	F	Total.	Per cent.
Drink	119	26	145	29·00
Drunken habits and companions . .	63	10	73	14·60
Other causes	194	88	282	56·40
Total	376	124	500	100·00

Other and more recent information on the subject is contained in the last Annual Report (1898) of the Commissioners of Prisons for England and Wales. We will quote two cases only. The first has reference to Wakefield. The total number of "first offenders" in the Wakefield prison for the year ended March 31st, 1898, was 561. Of these, 140 were charged with actual drunkenness, and 183 for offences committed under the influence of drink. The full statement of the cases is given in the following table : [2]—

[1] *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, 1868, p. 333.

[2] *Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons (England and Wales) for the year ended March 31st*, 1898, p. 413.

Month 1897 to 1898.	Number of First Offenders.	Number of Men charged with Drunkenness.	Number of other Offences attributed to Drink.	Number of other Offences.	Percentage of charges for actual Drunkenness.	Percentage of Offences including actual Drunkenness attributed to Drink.
April	141	36	23	82	25·53	41·84
May	116	41	33	42	35·34	63·79
June	68	25	10	33	36·76	51·47
July	37	8	19	10	21·62	72·97
August . . .	40	7	12	21	17·5	47·5
September . .	38	8	16	14	21·05	63·15
October . . .	36	5	16	15	13·88	58·33
November . .	25	6	15	4	24·00	84·00
December . .	16	2	12	2	12·5	87·5
1898.						
January . . .	21	1	14	6	4·76	71·42
February . . .	11	1	7	3	9·09	72·72
March	12		6	6		50·0
Total and averages for entire period .	561	140	183	238	24·95	57·57

In the same volume, particulars are given of 1,166 commitments to the Warwick prison during the same period. The particulars are as follow :[1]—

Charged with being drunk	201
Crimes directly due to drink	287
Crimes arising from avoidable and unavoidable poverty —probably 50 per cent. of the poverty arising from drink	264
Crimes due to the moral state of character, 30 per cent. perhaps the result of drink, *i.e.*, of the said moral condition	199
Arising from passion, with more or less provocation . .	68
Bad company (the drink element comes in here again) .	86
Negligence, imprudence, accidental, uncertain, etc. . .	61
Total	1,166

[1] *Report of the Commissioners of Prisons*, 1898.

Intemperance and Crime in Canada and the United States.

It will add further interest to the inquiry if we compare the estimates thus far given with evidence derived from other English-speaking peoples.

(a) *Canada.*

We will take Canada first. In the course of their investigations in 1893–95 the Royal Canadian Commissioners issued a number of circulars bearing on the relation of intemperance to crime, to various magistrates and judges in the Dominion. The replies were afterwards tabulated, and the result is given in the following table, which we extract from the final Report of the Commission (published in 1895). The question set for decision was the proportion of criminal cases attributable, directly or indirectly, to the use of intoxicating liquors. Of those who replied :—

8 placed the percentage at between zero and 10 per cent.
11 placed the percentage at between 10 per cent. and 25 per cent.
9 placed the percentage at between 25 per cent. and 50 per cent.
65 placed the percentage at between 50 per cent. and 75 per cent.
15 over 75 per cent.
53 were indefinite in their replies.
6 made no reply to the question.

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Such statements, it need hardly be repeated, have no definitive value as evidence, but they may quite legitimately be quoted as evidence of the broad impression which continuous acquaintance with the details of crime produces in the minds of disinterested observers. Much clearer evidence of the connection between intemperance and crime in Canada is furnished by Mr. Fanshawe in his valuable work on *Liquor*

Legislation in the United States and Canada. Mr. Fanshawe takes the total number of persons convicted of indictable offences in the Dominion of Canada during the years 1885–91, and divides them into three classes: *Moderate drinkers*, *immoderate drinkers*, and *teetotalers*. He also classifies the offences under different heads. The figures, he tells us, were "derived from information officially obtained respecting prisoners on their conviction."[1] We give in the following table the broad results of the analysis:—

INDICTABLE OFFENCES IN CANADA.

Nature of Offence.	Percentage of cases.	
	1885–88.	1889–91.
Offences against the Person—		
Moderate Drinkers	44·00	38·04
Immoderate Drinkers	47·00	51·50
Teetotalers	9·00	10·46
Offences against Property with Violence—		
Moderate Drinkers	50·00	46·37
Immoderate Drinkers	35·00	41·63
Teetotalers	15·90	12·00
Offences against Property without Violence—		
Moderate Drinkers	50·84	47·90
Immoderate Drinkers	31·56	39·70
Teetotalers	17·60	12·40
Malicious Offences against Property—		
Moderate Drinkers	56·00	44·00
Immoderate Drinkers	25·48	28·00
Teetotalers	18·52	28·00
Forgery and Offences against the Currency—		
Moderate Drinkers	62·22	56·10
Immoderate Drinkers	26·67	34·10
Teetotalers	11·11	9·80
Other Offences—		
Moderate Drinkers	53·63	48·11
Immoderate Drinkers	32·47	36·32
Teetotalers	13·90	15·57

[1] Fanshawe, *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, p. 396.

(b) *The United States.*

One of the most valuable of the few official inquiries into the influence of intemperance upon crime was the careful investigation made by the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour[1] in 1879–80.

A comparison of the statistics of crime in the State during a period of twenty years (*i.e.* 1860–1879) showed that out of a total of 578,458 sentences, 340,814, or 60 per cent., were sentences for "rum" offences (*i.e.* drunkenness, etc.). There were, however, no sources of information from which it was possible to ascertain the weight of the influence of intemperance in the commission of all crimes other than "rum" offences, and "our means would not allow us to canvass all the courts in the Commonwealth: we therefore instituted an investigation for the year, current from September 1st, 1879, to September 1st, 1880, with a view to discover what that influence is, in the County of Suffolk (Mass.), during the above year." The investigation dealt exclusively with all sentences for offences other than the distinctive "rum" offences, passed during the year.

"The total number of sentences for the year of our investigation—the distinctive rum offences included—was 16,897. Twelve thousand two hundred and eighty-nine were directly due to 'rum' causes; 12,221 being for sentences for the various grades of drunkenness, and 68 for liquor keeping and liquor selling without licence, etc. Thus, for the year, the sentences for 'rum' causes alone constituted 72 per cent. of the whole, leaving a small balance of 27 per cent. Now, to discover what was the influence of intemperance in the commission of this balance, formed the object of this investigation."

"We sought," says Mr. Wright, "to compass the object of our investigation by ascertaining the connection between rum and the criminal in five directions:—

[1] Now U.S. Commissioner of Labour, Washington.

(1) Whether the criminal was under the influence of liquor at the time the crime was committed.
(2) Whether the criminal was in liquor at the time he formed the intent to commit the crime.
(3) Whether the intemperate habits of the criminal were such as to lead to a condition which induced the crime.
(4) Whether the intemperate habits of others led the criminal to a condition which induced the crime.
(5) What were the drinking habits of the criminal, whether total abstainer, moderate drinker, or excessive drinker?

And, for the purpose of enabling us to make this investigation as thorough and accurate as possible, we endeavoured, through our agents, to acquaint ourselves with each criminal, his history, his friends, his neighbourhood, his real name, and the exact name and nature of his offence; his residence, his occupation, his age and birthplace. In each of the nine courts of criminal jurisdiction in the County of Suffolk, we had an agent, paid to investigate each case that appeared in the same."

The facts thus gathered are presented in the following statement:—

	Yes.	No.	Not answered.	Total.
1. Was the criminal under the influence of liquor at the time the crime was committed?	2,097	2,318	193	4,608[1]
2. Was the criminal in liquor when the intent to commit the crime was formed?	1,918	2,414	276	4,608
3. Did the intemperate habits of the criminal lead to a condition which induced the crime?	1,804	2,566	238	4,608
4. Did the intemperate habits of others lead the criminal to a condition which induced the crime? . . .	821	3,404	383	4,608

[1] Total of cases investigated after deducting sentences "vacated" by reason of death, successful appeal, etc.

It will thus be seen that 2,097, or 45 per cent., were in liquor at the time of the commission of the offence of which they were found guilty; that 1,918, or 42 per cent., were in liquor at the time of the formation of the criminal intent; that the intemperate habits of 1,804, or 39 per cent., were such as to induce a moral condition favourable to crime; and that 821, or 18 per cent., were led to a criminal condition through the contagion of intemperance.[1]

In summing up the results of the inquiry, Mr. Carroll Wright says:—

"These figures paint a picture, at once the most faithful and hideous, of the guilt and power of rum. Men and women, the young, the middle-aged, and the old, father and son, husband and wife, native and foreign born . . . all testify to its ramified and revolting tyranny. Therefore, the result of this investigation, in view of the disproportionate magnitude of the exclusively rum offences, and considered in connection with the notorious tendency of liquor to inflame and enlarge the passions and appetites, to import chaos into the moral and physical life, to level the barriers of decency and self-respect, and to transport its victims into an abnormal and irresponsible state, destructive and degrading, calls for earnest and immediate attention at the bar of the public opinion and the public conscience of Massachusetts."[2]

In obedience to the mandate of a special Act passed by the State Legislature in 1894, a further and more extended inquiry was made by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics in 1894–95. Under the terms of the Act authorizing the investigation, the collection of information occupied twelve successive months, the period closing August 20th, 1895. The

[1] Of the persons sentenced for assault and battery, and larceny (amounting to 2,613, or 56 per cent. of the whole), no less than 1,275, or 48 per cent., were in liquor at the time of the commission of the offence.

[2] *Twelfth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour*, 1881.

details of the inquiry, which covered no less than 26,672 cases of crime, are fully and elaborately set forth in the Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labour, and can only be summarized here. The results are certainly striking, and they confirm in a very remarkable way the results of the earlier investigation.

Out of the 26,672 cases examined, 17,575, or 65·89 per cent., were convictions for drunkenness; and 657, or 2·46 per cent., for drunkenness in combination with other offences. In 8,440 cases in which drunkenness did not form part of the offence, that is, in which the offender was convicted of a crime other than drunkenness, 3,640, or 43·13 per cent., were cases in which the offender was in liquor at the time the offence was committed; 4,852, or 57·49 per cent., were cases in which the offender was in liquor at the time the intent was formed to commit the offence; 4,294, or 50·88 per cent., were cases in which the intemperate habits of the offender led to a condition which induced the crime; while in 3,611, or 42·78 per cent., the intemperate habits of persons other than the offender were said to have been influential in the commitment of the offence.

Of the whole number of convictions, namely, 26,672, the number of offenders addicted to the use of liquor was 25,137, or 94·24 per cent. The excessive drinkers numbered 4,516 (16·93 per cent.), and the total abstainers numbered 1,535 (5·76 per cent.). Of the total abstainers, however, 632 were minors. There were also 680 minors addicted to the use of liquor. Excluding all the minors, whether total abstainers or not, we have 25,360 offenders of adult years, of whom 24,457, or 96·44 per cent., were addicted to the use of liquor, including 4,482 excessive drinkers, and 19,975 drinkers not classed as excessive. Of the whole number of offenders, 57·89 per cent. had fathers who were addicted to the use of liquor, while 20·49 per cent. had mothers addicted to the use of liquor. Again, of the whole number of offenders addicted to the use of liquor, 126, or less than one per cent., used wines only; 4,293, or about 17 per cent., used lager beer or malt

liquors only; 728, or about 3 per cent., used distilled liquors only; and 19,990, or about 80 per cent., used all kinds, or at least two kinds of liquor.[1]

Conclusion.

Such, in broad outline, are the chief sources of information on the subject. The evidence, it will be seen, is of unequal worth, but its cumulative effect is practically irresistible in compelling a conviction of the powerful influence which intemperance exerts in the production and perpetuation of crime.

[1] During the twelve months covered by the investigation, the arrests in the State for all offences numbered about 41 (41·41) to each 1,000 of the population. In cities, such arrests numbered about 55 (55·01), and in towns (*i.e.* what in England would be called villages) about 16 (15·67) to each 1,000 of the population. The arrests for drunkenness only numbered about 25 (24·59) in the State at large, about 34 (33·73) in the cities, and about 7 (7·29) in the towns (*i.e.* villages) to each 1,000 of the population.

Mortality due to Intemperance (England and Wales).

I. *Chronic Alcoholism.*

Table showing the number and ratio of deaths attributable to chronic alcoholism in the years 1877–96.

Year.	Number of Deaths.			Ratio per Million Living.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1877	479	255	734	40	20	30
1878	489	288	777	40	22	31
1879	389	266	655	31	20	26
1880	407	269	676	32	20	26
1881	500	347	847	39	26	33
1882	604	400	1,004	47	30	38
1883	550	354	904	42	26	34
1884	537	379	916	41	27	34
1885	552	388	940	42	28	35
1886	586	459	1,045	44	32	38
1887	631	471	1,102	47	33	40
1888	653	472	1,125	48	32	40
1889	691	511	1,202	50	35	42
1890	902	661	1,563	65	45	54
1891	857	645	1,502	61	43	52
1892	859	683	1,542	60	45	52
1893	927	782	1,709	64	51	57
1894	795	672	1,467	55	43	49
1895	920	743	1,663	62	47	55
1896	1,019	756	1,775	68	48	58

II. *Delirium Tremens.*

Table showing the number and ratio of deaths from delirium tremens in the years 1877–96.

Year.	Number of Deaths.			Ratio per Million Living.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1877	370	42	412	31	3	17
1878	290	49	339	24	4	14
1879	225	48	273	18	4	11
1880	230	44	274	18	3	11
1881	322	44	366	25	3	14
1882	278	41	319	22	3	12
1883	336	43	379	26	3	14
1884	306	47	353	23	3	13
1885	340	54	394	26	4	14
1886	297	50	347	22	4	13
1887	283	57	340	21	4	12
1888	276	50	326	20	3	12
1889	307	57	364	22	4	13
1890	406	68	474	29	5	16
1891	470	83	553	33	6	19
1892	372	57	429	26	4	15
1893	407	58	465	28	4	16
1894	314	61	375	22	4	12
1895	317	65	382	22	4	13
1896	345	68	413	23	4	13

ENGLAND AND WALES.

TOTAL NUMBER OF LICENSED PREMISES IN 1896.

"On" Licences—		
Fully licensed	66,130	
Other "on"	33,180	
Not classified	2,593	
		101,903
"Off" Licences—		
With discretion	14,643	
Other "off"	7,409	
Not classified	1,989	
		24,041
Total "On" and "Off" Licences		125,944

Average.—1 "On" licensed house to every 301 inhabitants.

SCOTLAND.

TOTAL NUMBER OF LICENSED PREMISES IN 1896.

Hotels and Inns—		
Where spirits are sold	1,663	
Others	14	
		1,677
Public-houses—		
Where spirits are sold	5,571	
Others	125	
Restaurants	29	
		5,725
Licensed Grocers—		
Where spirits are sold	3,914	
Others	207	
		4,121
Table Beer Licences		103
Total of all licensed premises		11,626

Average.—1 "On" licensed house to every 566 inhabitants.

IRELAND.

TOTAL NUMBER OF LICENSED PREMISES IN 1896.

"On" Licences—		
Public-houses	16,740	
Refreshment House Wine Licences	41	
Not Classified	45	
		16,826
"Off" Licences—		
Spirit Grocers' Licences	915	
Beer Retailers' Licences	553	
Wholesale Beer Dealers	235	
Not Classified	3	
		1,706
Total of all licensed premises . . .		18,532

Average:—1 "On" licensed house to every 271 inhabitants.

NUMBER OF LICENSED PREMISES IN CERTAIN SELECTED BOROUGHS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1896.

Borough.	Population.	"On" Licences.			"Off" Licences.			Total "On" and "Off" Licences.	Ratio of Licensed Premises to Population.	
		Fully Licensed.	Other "On."	Total "On."	With Discretion.	Other "Off."	Total "Off."		"On" Licences.	Total "On" and "Off."
									One to	One to
Dudley	45,740	224	61	285	24	8	32	317	160	144
Northampton . .	65,000	70	204	274	—	—	153	427	237	152
Southampton . .	94,093	212	266	478	58	38	96	574	197	163
Manchester . .	505,368	518	1,843	2,361	567	86	653	3,014	214	168
Sheffield . . .	324,241	523	664	1,187	580	74	654	1,841	273	176
Chester	37,774	155	43	198	16	—	16	214	191	176
Wolverhampton .	88,000	209	192	401	49	20	69	470	219	187
Bristol	230,263	424	542	966	151	56	207	1,173	238	195
Nottingham . .	229,775	437	203	640	—	—	504	1,144	359	201
York	67,800	204	59	263	—	—	74	337	258	201
Salford	210,707	113	442	555	423	24	447	1,002	380	210
Birmingham . .	496,571	666	1,037	1,703	493	104	597	2,300	291	215
Bolton	119,337	126	261	387	107	14	121	508	309	235
Leicester . . .	198,659	295	172	467	325	38	363	830	425	239
Bradford . . .	228,809	190	298	488	382	60	442	930	469	246
Sunderland . .	140,386	241	170	411	128	17	145	556	341	252
Blackburn . . .	129,460	252	208	460	34	15	49	509	281	254
Plymouth . . .	90,000	147	150	297	20	26	46	343	303	262
Liverpool . . .	644,308	1,906	256	2,162	106	42	148	2,310	298	279
Newcastle . . .	212,223	395	173	568	74	49	123	691	374	307
Leeds	402,450	349	434	783	328	53	381	1,164	514	345
Cardiff	162,690	273	6	279	28	34	62	341	583	477

IRELAND.

Table showing the Ratio of Licensed Premises to (*a*) other houses, and (*b*) population in certain boroughs in Ireland.

Borough.	Ratio of Licensed Houses to other Houses.	Ratio of Licensed Houses to Population.
	1 to	1 to
Clonmel	11	78
Waterford	15	89
Kilkenny	17	93
Limerick.	17	119
Cork	19	129
Queenstown . . .	17	142
Tralee.	21	160
Belfast	33	164
Dublin	33	275

LONDON.

(Metropolitan Police Area.) Population (1896): 6,259,966.

Total Number of Licensed Houses in 1896.

Public-houses	6,860
Beer-houses with "off" licences.	998
" " " "on" or "off" licences	3,269
Refreshment houses with wine licences "on"	307
Houses for the sale of wines in shops with "off" licences	718
" " " " and spirits in shops with "off" licences	1,887
Total number of licensed houses	14,039

Average: 1 licensed house to every 446 inhabitants.

Number of Licensed Houses per square mile in certain Police Divisions in London.

Police Division.	Area (Square Miles).	Total Number of Licensed Houses (1896).	Number per Square Mile.
"C" or St. James's (including Soho)	0·70	559	798
"E" or Holborn	0·80	389	486
"G" or Finsbury	1·75	664	379
"D" or Marylebone . . .	1·26	436	349
"H" or Whitechapel . .	2·08	704	338
"L" or Lambeth	2·59	502	194
"M" or Southwark . . .	4·16	551	132

Value of Licensed Premises in London (Administrative County [1]) in 1896.

	Gross Value.	Rateable Value.
Public-houses . . .	£1,296,816	£1,082,068
Beer-houses . . .	136,256	113,779
Hotels	286,576	238,565
Clubs	231,530	192,981
Restaurants . . .	152,243	126,942
	£2,103,421	£1,754,335

It will be observed that the valuation of these premises forms one-twentieth of the whole valuation of London.

It is nearly *six* times (5·60) the total rateable value of all the Board Schools and Voluntary Schools in London.

[1] Except Penge.

MANCHESTER (1898).

Public-houses	503
Beer Houses, "On"	1,776
" " "Off"	585
Refreshment Houses with Wine Licences, other than beer-houses	125
	2,989

Average: 1 licensed house to every 180 inhabitants.

EDINBURGH.

	Where Spirits sold.	Others.	Total.
Hotels and Inns	36	1	37
Public-houses	304	8	312
Licensed Grocers	414	2	416
Total of all licensed houses			765

1 licensed house to every 80 dwelling houses.
1 " " " " 378 persons.

GLASGOW.

	Where Spirits sold.	Others.	Total.
Hotels and Inns	20	–	20
Public-houses	1,419	6	1,425
Licensed Grocers	308	2	310
Total of all licensed houses			1,755

1 licensed house to every 83 dwelling houses.
1 " " " " 401 persons.

DUBLIN (METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT).

Public-houses	901
Refreshment House Wine Licences	23
Total "On" Licences . . .	924
Spirit Grocers' Licences	289
Beer Retailers' Licences	45
Wholesale Beer Dealers	21
Total "Off" Licences . . .	355

Total of all licensed houses, 1,279.

1 licensed house to every 33 dwelling houses.

1 „ „ „ „ 275 persons.

BELFAST.

"On" Licences—	
Public-houses	649
Total "On" Licences	649
"Off" Licences—	
Spirit Grocers	370
Beer Retailers' Licences.	331
Wholesale Beer Dealers	30
Total "Off" Licences	731

Total of all licensed houses, 1,380.

1 licensed house to every 33 dwelling houses.

1 „ „ „ „ 164 persons.

CORK (CITY).

Public-houses	542	
Total "On" Licences		542
Spirit Grocers' Licences	10	
Beer Retailers' Licences	17	
Wholesale Beer Dealers	12	
Total "Off" Licences		39
Total of all licensed houses . . .		581

1 licensed house to every 19 dwelling houses.
1 " " " " 129 persons.

APPEALS TO QUARTER SESSIONS.

Summary of the Results of Appeals to County Quarter Sessions against Refusals to renew—during Two Periods of Five Years, 1886–91 and 1891–96.

England and Wales.

	1st January, 1887, to 1st January, 1892.			1st January, 1892, to 1st January, 1897.		
	Total.	Allowed.	Withdrawn or Dismissed.	Total.	Allowed.	Withdrawn or Dismissed.
Cities or Boroughs .	168	72	96	272	124	148
Petty Sessional Divisions .	96	45	51	204	124	80
Total . .	264	117	147	476	248	228

Scotland.

Results of Appeals to Quarter Sessions during the ten years, 1886–96.

	Appeals Allowed.	Appeals Dismissed or Abandoned.	Total.
Burghs. . . .	315	319	634
Counties . . .	179	189	368
	494	508	1,002

STATISTICS OF DRUNKENNESS.

DRUNKENNESS AND CRIME (ENGLAND AND WALES).[1]

(Number of Persons Tried, 1857–1896.)

	Proportion per 100,000 of Population.									Comparison between 1857–61 and 1892–96.	
	1857–61.	1862–66.	1867–71.	1872–76.	1877–81.	1882–86.	1887–91.	1892–96.	1896.	Increase per 100,000.	Decrease per 100,000.
ASSIZES AND QUARTER SESSIONS.											
Offences against the Person	10·35	11·95	10·32	9·99	9·10	9·73	9·29	8·79	8·65	—	1·56
Crimes against Property with Violence	9·19	10·01	8·62	5·50	6·73	6·84	6·44	6·77	6·01	—	2·42
Crimes against Property without Violence	62·84	64·85	57·41	43·32	40·07	30·70	23·78	20·09	18·13	—	42·75
Malicious Injuries to Property	1·00	1·65	1·11	·75	·91	1·03	·95	·82	·77	—	·18
Forgery and Offences against the Currency	4·15	3·01	2·43	1·63	1·90	2·01	1·28	1·21	1·07	—	2·94
Other Offences not included in the above Classes	3·00	3·14	3·11	2·44	2·65	2·82	2·13	1·63	1·51	—	1·37
COURTS OF SUMMARY JURISDICTION.											
Indictable Offences tried Summarily	175·35	191·33	180·15	156·17	164·22	166·98	153·96	142·62	128·78	—	32·73
Non-Indictable Offences:—											
Assaults	403·44	433·41	415·21	418·55	341·09	310·34	270·46	247·06	237·90	—	156·38
Stealing and receiving Animals, Fruit, etc.	23·94	23·98	26·25	20·09	21·02	20·03	18·61	15·49	12·91	—	8·45
Malicious Damage	79·55	92·55	98·19	95·81	85·72	79·75	67·41	60·33	56·52	—	19·22
Vagrancy Acts, Offences against	102·26	108·62	137·08	113·45	147·23	151·73	149·12	164·66	170·80	62·40	
Game Laws, Offences against	40·37	48·92	52·74	48·98	46·81	39·52	33·43	29·52	28·91	—	10·85
	915·44	993·42	992·62	916·68	867·45	821·48	736·86	698·99	671·96	—	216·45
Drunkenness	428·50	478·26	547·48	783·41	725·61	690·31	619·02	584·24	609·34	155·74	—

[1] Offences against the Education Act are not included, the offence not having existed prior to 1872–76.

LONDON (Metropolitan Police Area).

Years.	Average Number of Arrests for Drunkenness. Per 1,000 Population.
1845–49	7·58
1850–54	8·90
1855–59	6·74
1860–64	5·66
1865–69	5·48
1870–74	6·77
1875–79	7·53
1880–84	5·50
1885–89	4·33
1890–94	5·46
1895	5·66
1896	6·29
1897	7·35
1898	8·38

PROPORTION OF FEMALE DRUNKENNESS.

LONDON (Metropolitan Police Area).

Years.	Total No. of Arrests for drunkenness.	Proportion per 1,000.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1875	30,976	7·57	53	47
1895	34,605	5·66	59	41
1897	46,899	7·35	61	39
1898	54,476	8·38	61	39

MANCHESTER.

Years.	Total No. of Persons Proceeded Against for Drunkenness.	Average No. of Arrests for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1857–61	—	1,966	80	20
1862–66	—	3,896	77	23
1867–71	—	10,504	75	25
1872–76	—	9,821	71	29
1891	7,041	—	68	32
1892	6,225	—	67	33
1893	6,335	—	64	36
1894	6,988	—	64	36
1895	5,864	—	63	37

LIVERPOOL.

Years.	Average No. of Persons Proceeded Against for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1876–80	8,350	74	26
1881–85	8,844	76	24
1886–90	6,561	75	25
1891–95	7,884	76	24

GLASGOW.

Years.	Average No. of Persons Arrested for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1877–81	13,422	70	30
1882–86	12,687	68	32
1887–91	17,029	67	33
1892–96	18,484	68	32

HULL.

Year.	Total Number of Convictions for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1886	757	74	26
1887	776	73	27
1888	836	71	29
1889	978	71	29
1890	1,095	66	34
1891	1,270	71	29
1892	1,014	70	30

BELFAST.

Year.	Total Number of Persons Proceeded against for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1891	7,583	71	29
1892	6,905	70	30
1893	5,900	66	34
1894	5,722	70	30
1895	5,729	68	32
1896	6,052	67	33
1897	6,433	70	30

DUNDEE.

Years.	Average Number of Persons Proceeded against for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1857–61	644	65	35
1862–66	907	65	35
1867–71	956	66	34
1872–76	1,551	67	33
1877–81	1,950	69	31
1882–86	1,509	65	35
1887–91	1,154	63	37
1892–96	1,369	62	38

INFLUENCE OF THE LIQUOR TRADE ON PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

TABLE of *Contested Constituencies* in England, Wales, and Scotland which returned Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Members at the General Election of 1895, in which the transfer of one or two votes for every "On" licensed house from the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist to the Liberal side would have affected the result.

GENERAL ELECTION, 1895.

NOTE.—In the case of the two-member constituencies in which two Conservatives or Liberal-Unionists were returned, to gain *one* seat it is merely necessary for the highest rejected candidate to displace the lower of those returned. Thus the number of votes which must be transferred to gain *one* seat equals more than half the difference between the lowest Conservative and the highest Liberal candidate. To gain the remaining seat the majority of the higher Conservative over the second Liberal candidate must be destroyed.

For example, in the case of Norwich (1895) the poll declared was—

C.	8,166
C.	8,034
L.	7,330
L.	7,210

A transference of 353 votes would place the first Liberal above the second Conservative candidate, and thus *one* seat would be gained; whilst a transference of 479 votes would place the second Liberal above the first Conservative, and thus a *second* seat would be gained.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
ENGLAND AND WALES	4,959,805				
"On" Licensed Premises—101,903					
Bath, one seat[1]	7,059	441	145	—	*Gain.*
Bedford	4,179	166	86	Gain.	—
Bedfordshire (North) .	13,744	267	282	*Gain.*	—
Bethnal Green (North-East)	7,431	160	153	Gain.	—
Birkenhead	14,277	204	293	Gain.	—
Bradford (West) . . .	11,200	455	230	Gain.	—
Bradford (East) . . .	12,997	704	267	—	Gain.
Bradford (Central) . .	10,316	41	212	*Gain.*	—
Bristol (North) . . .	11,490	238	236	*Gain.*	—
Bristol (South)	12,281	759	252	—	Gain.
Buckinghamshire, North (Bucks)	11,395	436	234	Gain.	—
Camberwell (North) . .	11,064	693	227	—	Gain.
Cambridgeshire, North (Wisbech)	10,495	223	216	Gain.	—
Cambridgeshire, West (Chesterton)	10,651	420	219	Gain.	—
Cambridgeshire, East (Newmarket)	9,738	343	200	Gain.	—
Cardiff	19,358	824	398	—	Gain.
Carmarthen District .	5,370	52	110	*Gain.*	—
Chatham	9,199	583	189	—	Gain.
Cheltenham	7,169	469	147	—	Gain.

[1] Italics indicate Constituencies which returned Liberal-Unionist Members.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Cheshire (Crewe) . . .	12,018	550	247	—	Gain.
Christchurch	7,477	84	154	Gain.	—
Cornwall, North-West (Camborne)	7,800	462	160	—	*Gain.*
Cornwall (Truro) . . .	9,057	270	186	*Gain.*	—
Cornwall, South-East (Bodmin)	9,607	543	197	—	*Gain.*
Coventry	10,926	350	224	Gain.	—
Cumberland, West (Egremont)	10,424	131	214	Gain.	—
Cumberland, Mid. (Penrith)	8,914	600	183	—	Gain.
Denbigh District . . .	3,751	229	77	—	Gain.
Derby (one seat) . . .	17,379	291	357	Gain.	—
Derbyshire (High Peak)	10,397	502	214	—	Gain.
Derbyshire (South) . .	13,347	887	274	—	Gain.
Devonshire, North-West (Barnstaple)	10,885	68	224	*Gain.*	—
Devonshire (Torquay) .	10,039	175	206	Gain.	—
Dudley	14,831	741	305	—	Gain.
Durham (South-East) .	14,702	114	302	*Gain.*	—
Essex, East (Maldon) .	10,041	610	206	—	Gain.
Exeter	8,198	494	168	—	Gain.
Finsbury (Eastern) . .	5,840	270	120	—	Gain.
Glamorganshire (South)	14,227	825	292	—	Gain.
Gloucester	6,900	473	142	—	*Gain.*
Gloucestershire, Mid. (Stroud)	11,558	661	237	—	Gain.
Gloucestershire, East (Cirencester)	9,825	215	202	Gain.	—
Great Yarmouth . . .	8,139	635	167	—	Gain.
Hackney (Central) . .	8,835	312	182	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Hackney (South) . . .	12,360	319	254	Gain.	—
Hartlepool	10,999	81	226	*Gain.*	—
Hastings	7,292	342	150	—	Gain.
Hull (East)	10,419	150	214	Gain.	—
Huntingdonshire, South (Huntingdon) . . .	5,435	351	112	—	Gain.
Isle of Wight	13,816	446	284	Gain.	—
Ipswich, 2nd seat . . .	9,619	43	198	Gain.	—
Kidderminster	4,195	295	86	—	Gain.
King's Lynn	2,979	69	61	Gain.	—
Lambeth (North) . . .	7,338	401	151	—	*Gain.*
Lancashire, North (North Lonsdale)	9,458	703	194	—	*Gain.*
Lancashire, North (Lancaster)	10,778	634	221	—	Gain.
Lancashire, North-East (Darwen)	14,220	841	292	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-East (Heywood)	9,334	556	192	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-East (Middleton)	12,446	865	256	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-East (Radcliffe - c. - Farnworth)	11,259	602	231	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-East (Eccles)	12,917	420	265	Gain.	—
Lancashire, South-West (Southport)	11,523	764	237	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-West (Widnes)	8,998	517	185	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-West (Ince)	10,935	445	225	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Leeds (Central) . . .	10,353	654	213	—	Gain.
Lincoln	8,068	218	166	*Gain.*	—
Lincolnshire (South Kesteven or Stamford)	9,657	389	198	Gain.	—
Lincolnshire (Holland or Spalding). . . .	12,775	349	262	*Gain.*	—
Liverpool (Exchange) .	7,063	254	145	*Gain.*	—
Manchester (North-East)	9,893	241	203	Gain.	—
Manchester (East) . .	11,991	776	246	—	Gain.
Manchester (South) . .	10,945	78	225	*Gain.*	—
Manchester (South-West)	9,496	498	195	—	Gain.
Monmouthshire (South)	14,137	612	290	—	Gain.
Montgomery District .	3,030	84	62	Gain.	—
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2 seats	32,373	308	665	Gain.	—
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2 seats	—	1,679	—	—	Gain.
Newington (Walworth)	7,430	553	153	—	Gain.
Norfolk (South-West) .	9,119	206	187	Gain.	—
Northampton, 2nd seat .	11,442	117	235	Gain.	—
Northamptonshire (Mid.)	11,714	282	241	Gain.	—
Norwich, 2 seats . . .	17,494	704	359	Gain.	—
Norwich, 2 seats . . .	—	956	—	—	Gain.
Nottingham (East) . .	11,818	165	243	Gain.	—
Nottingham (South) . .	11,377	433	234	Gain.	—
Oldham, 2 seats . . .	28,783	216	591	Gain.	—
Oldham, 2 seats . . .	—	993	—	Gain.	—
Oxfordshire, South (Henley)	8,932	361	184	Gain.	—
Pembroke District . .	6,299	179	129	Gain.	—
Peterborough	4,787	242	98	—	*Gain.*
Plymouth, 1st seat . .	13,460	277	277	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Radnorshire	4,838	8	99	Gain.	—
Reading	9,104	351	187	Gain.	—
Rochdale	11,782	422	242	Gain.	—
St. Helens	9,950	609	204	—	Gain.
St. Pancras (North)	7,256	211	149	Gain.	—
St. Pancras (East)	6,988	289	144	—	Gain.
Salford (North)	8,828	6	181	Gain.	—
Salford (West)	10,439	100	214	Gain.	—
Salford (South)	9,215	74	189	Gain.	—
Salisbury	2,799	217	58	—	Gain.
Shoreditch (Haggerston)	6,661	31	137	Gain.	—
Somersetshire (North)	10,208	686	210	—	Gain.
Somersetshire (Frome)	11,633	383	239	Gain.	—
Southampton (one seat)	14,725	246	303	Gain.	—
Southwark (Bermondsey)	10,935	360	225	Gain.	—
Staffordshire (Leek)	11,182	614	230	—	Gain.
Staffordshire (North-West)	14,657	668	301	—	Gain.
Stockport, 2 seats	11,062	134	227	Gain.	—
Stockport, 2 seats	—	848	—	—	Gain.
Stoke-on-Trent	11,107	200	228	*Gain.*	—
Suffolk, South-East (Woodbridge)	12,053	632	248	—	Gain.
Sunderland, 1st seat	22,408	1,634	460	—	Gain.
Sussex, South (Eastbourne)	10,563	60	217	Gain.	—
Swansea	9,091	421	187	—	Gain.
Tower Hamlets (St. George's-in-East)	3,824	4	79	Gain.	—
Tower Hamlets (Stepney)	6,048	472	124	—	Gain.
Tynemouth	7,659	209	157	Gain.	—
Walsall	11,015	317	226	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Warrington	8,449	675	174	—	Gain.
Warwickshire, South-East (Rugby) . . .	9,777	284	201	Gain.	—
Wednesbury.	10,855	191	223	Gain.	—
West Ham (North) .	14,294	704	294	—	Gain.
West Ham (South) . .	15,745	775	323	—	Gain.
Wiltshire, West (Westbury)	9,777	166	201	Gain.	—
Wiltshire, East (Devizes)	9,156	477	188	—	Gain.
Wiltshire, South (Wilton)	8,511	263	175	Gain.	—
Wiltshire, North (Cricklade).	10,994	99	226	*Gain.*	—
Wiltshire, North-West (Chippenham) . . .	8,291	508	170	—	Gain.
Wolverhampton . . .	10,070	823	207	—	Gain.
York City, 1st seat . .	11,807	302	243	Gain.	—
Yorkshire (Richmond) .	10,669	584	219	—	Gain.
Yorkshire (Skipton) . .	11,096	139	228	*Gain.*	—
Yorkshire (Shipley) . .	14,353	78	295	*Gain.*	—
Yorkshire (Doncaster) .	14,247	141	293	Gain.	—
Yorkshire (Ripon) . .	10,219	702	210	—	Gain.
Yorkshire (Otley). . .	11,038	48	227	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
SCOTLAND	636,097				
"On" Licensed Premises —7,402					
Argyleshire	10,471	135	122	Gain.	—
Ayrshire (South) . . .	15,463	550	180	—	*Gain.*
Dumbartonshire . . .	12,292	33	143	Gain.	—
Edinburgh City (South)	12,053	97	140	*Gain.*	—
Elgin and Nairn . . .	5,669	128	66	Gain.	—
Falkirk District . . .	9,363	253	109	—	*Gain.*
Glasgow (St. Rollex) .	14,724	361	171	—	Gain.
Inverness-shire. . . .	8,229	100	96	Gain.	—
Kilmarnock	12,027	381	140	—	Gain.
Kircudbrightshire . .	5,842	173	68	—	Gain.
Lanarkshire (South) . .	9,136	230	106	—	Gain.
Peebles and Selkirk . .	3,504	54	41	*Gain.*	—
Perthshire (West) . . .	7,984	292	93	—	*Gain.*
Stirlingshire	14,329	427	167	—	Gain.
Wick District	2,278	24	27	*Gain.*	—

Number of Liberal seats gained by the transfer of one vote = 83
Number of Liberal seats gained by the transfer of two votes = 69
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INFLUENCE OF THE LIQUOR TRADE ON PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

TABLE of *Contested Constituencies* in England, Wales, and Scotland which returned Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Members at the General Election of 1892, in which the transfer of one or two votes for every "On" licensed house from the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist to the Liberal side would have affected the result.

GENERAL ELECTION, 1892.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
ENGLAND AND WALES	4,770,088				
"On" Licensed Premises—103,000					
Ashton-under-Lyne . .	7,012	135	151	Gain.	—
Barrow	6,958	422	150	—	Gain.
Bath, 2 seats	6,922	196	149	Gain.	—
Bath, 2 seats	—	257	—	*Gain.*	—
Berkshire, North (Abingdon)	8,585	326	185	Gain.	—
Berkshire, South (Newbury)	10,338	650	223	—	Gain.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Birkenhead	13,031	604	281	—	Gain.
Bolton, 2 seats	17,772	565	384	Gain.	—
Bolton, 2 seats	—	893	—	—	Gain.
Bristol (South)	11,887	548	257	—	Gain.
Camberwell (Peckham) .	10,861	183	235	Gain.	—
Cambridge	7,362	255	159	Gain.	—
Chatham	8,629	377	186	—	Gain.
Chelsea	12,585	566	272	—	Gain.
Cheshire (Altrincham) .	11,048	798	239	—	Gain.
Cheshire (Eddisbury) .	10,232	536	221	—	Gain.
Cheshire (Hyde) . . .	9,629	305	208	Gain.	—
Christchurch	6,294	203	136	Gain.	—
Clapham	12,124	644	262	—	Gain.
Colchester	5,000	61	108	Gain.	—
Cornwall, South-East (Bodmin)	9,263	231	200	*Gain.*	—
Cumberland, Mid. (Penrith)	8,733	125	189	Gain.	—
Denbigh District . . .	3,521	98	76	Gain.	—
Deptford	13,066	565	282	—	Gain.
Derbyshire (High Peak)	11,122	366	240	Gain.	—
Devonshire (Torquay) .	9,404	394	203	Gain.	—
Dorsetshire, North (Shaftesbury) . . .	8,714	525	188	—	Gain.
Dorsetshire (South) . .	8,310	168	179	Gain.	—
Dudley	15,303	1,049	330	—	Gain.
Essex, North-East (Harwich)	10,924	305	236	Gain.	—
Essex, South (Romford)	16,750	1,182	362	—	Gain.
Essex (South-East) . .	11,960	542	258	—	Gain.
Essex, South-West (Walthamstow) . .	15,323	1,150	331	—	Gain.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Exeter	7,792	555	168	—	Gain.
Fulham	11,266	211	243	Gain.	—
Gloucester, South (Thornbury)	11,867	224	256	Gain.	—
Gloucester, North (Tewkesbury)	11,519	903	249	—	Gain.
Grantham	2,693	33	58	Gain.	—
Greenwich	10,256	323	221	Gain.	—
Hackney (Central) . .	8,951	285	193	Gain.	—
Hammersmith	11,534	669	249	—	Gain.
Hampshire (New Forest)	10,126	755	219	—	Gain.
Hastings	6,576	449	142	—	Gain.
Herefordshire, South (Ross)	10,968	457	237	*Gain.*	—
Hull (Central)	12,350	476	267	Gain.	—
Huntingdonshire, North (Ramsey)	6,546	37	141	Gain.	—
Huntingdonshire, South (Huntingdon) . . .	5,479	22	118	Gain.	—
Ipswich, 2 seats . . .	9,384	223	203	Gain.	—
Ipswich, 2 seats . . .	—	462	—	—	Gain.
Isle of Wight	12,957	461	280	Gain.	—
Islington (North) . . .	10,782	810	233	—	Gain.
Islington (South) . . .	8,299	321	179	Gain.	—
Islington (East) . . .	9,872	465	213	—	Gain.
Kent, South (Ashford) .	14,314	1,231	309	—	Gain.
Kent, North-East (Faversham)	14,219	204	307	Gain.	—
Kent, North-West (Dartford).	14,227	572	307	Gain.	—
Kent, South-West (Tunbridge)	12,494	933	270	—	Gain.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Kidderminster . . .	4,236	265	91	—	Gain.
King's Lynn	2,970	11	64	Gain.	—
Lancashire, South-East (Prestwich)	12,827	155	277	Gain.	—
Lancashire, South-West (Southport)	10,514	584	227	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-West (Widnes)	9,014	205	195	Gain.	—
Leeds (Central). . . .	10,215	113	221	Gain.	—
Leeds (North)	12,294	1,014	265	—	Gain
Lincolnshire (South Kesteven or Stamford)	9,733	124	210	Gain.	—
Lincolnshire (South Lindsey or Horncastle)	9,555	738	206	—	Gain
Manchester (North-East)	9,449	110	204	Gain.	—
Manchester (East) . .	11,418	398	247	Gain.	—
Marylebone (West) . .	8,052	437	174	—	Gain.
Montgomery District .	2,936	118	63	Gain.	—
Norfolk (South) . . .	8,848	753	191	—	*Gain*
Norfolk (South-West) .	8,499	338	184	Gain.	—
Northamptonshire (North).	9,999	669	216	—	Gain.
Northumberland (Hexham)	9,954	82	215	Gain.	—
Norwich, 1st seat. . .	16,623	907	359	—	Gain
Nottingham (South). .	11,010	83	238	Gain.	—
Nottingham (West) . .	13,411	301	290	*Gain.*	—
Nottinghamshire (Bassetlaw).	9,606	402	207	Gain.	—
Oxford	7,476	120	161	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Oxfordshire, South (Henley)	8,731	419	189	—	Gain.
Paddington (North)	6,396	310	138	—	Gain.
Plymouth, 2 seats	12,431	160	268	Gain.	—
Plymouth, 2 seats	—	220	—	Gain.	—
Pontefract	2,518	40	54	Gain.	—
St. Helens	9,370	59	202	Gain.	—
St. Pancras (South)	6,106	437	132	—	*Gain.*
St. Pancras (East)	6,598	441	142	—	Gain.
St. Pancras (West)	7,754	42	167	Gain.	—
Salford (South)	9,060	37	196	Gain.	—
Salford (West)	9,635	40	208	Gain.	—
Scarborough	4,877	171	105	Gain.	—
Sheffield (Hallam)	8,561	643	185	—	Gain.
Somerset (East)	9,208	755	199	—	*Gain.*
Southampton, 1st seat	13,717	529	296	Gain.	—
Staffordshire (North-West)	14,011	232	303	Gain.	—
Staffordshire (Leek)	10,961	363	237	Gain.	—
Staffordshire (Lichfield)	8,768	4	189	*Gain.*	—
Stalybridge	6,703	346	145	—	Gain.
Stockton	10,422	311	225	Gain.	—
Stockport, 2nd seat	10,577	110	228	Gain.	—
Surrey (Kingston)	12,825	743	277	—	Gain.
Sussex, South (Eastbourne)	10,029	363	217	Gain.	—
Sussex, East (Rye)	11,159	711	241	—	Gain.
Tower Hamlets (Mile End)	5,738	273	124	—	Gain.
Tower Hamlets (Stepney)	6,069	86	131	Gain.	—
Tynemouth	7,300	338	158	—	Gain.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Wakefield	5,274	404	114	—	Gain.
Walsall	11,915	237	257	Gain.	—
Warrington	7,906	585	171	—	Gain.
Warwickshire, North-East (Nuneaton) . .	10,336	641	223	—	Gain.
Wednesbury	11,201	60	242	Gain.	—
Wigan	7,390	110	160	Gain.	—
Wiltshire, North-West (Chippenham) . . .	8,205	229	177	Gain.	—
Wiltshire, South (Wilton)	8,413	407	182	—	Gain.
Worcestershire, Mid. (Droitwich)	9,786	570	211	—	*Gain.*
Worcestershire, South (Evesham)	9,586	580	207	—	Gain.
York, 1st seat	11,005	230	238	Gain.	—
Yorkshire, North Riding (Richmond)	10,669	159	230	Gain.	—
Yorkshire, East Riding (Holderness)	9,670	465	209	—	Gain.
Yorkshire, East Riding (Howdenshire) . . .	9,499	350	205	Gain.	—
Yorkshire, West Riding (East Ripon)	9,799	611	212	—	Gain.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **one vote** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of **two votes** from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
SCOTLAND . . . . . "On" Licensed Premises —7,500	606,403				
Ayrshire (*North*) . . .	12,261	448	152	—	*Gain.*
Dumfriesshire	9,229	274	114	—	*Gain.*
Glasgow (*Camlachie*) .	9,716	371	120	—	*Gain.*
Glasgow (*Tradeston*) .	9,666	169	120	*Gain.*	—
Greenock	6,991	55	86	*Gain.*	—
Kirkcudbrightshire . .	5,700	31	70	Gain.	—
Lanarkshire (North-West)	11,408	81	141	Gain.	—
Lanarkshire (South) . .	8,818	368	109	—	Gain.
Perthshire (*West*) . . .	7,966	369	99	—	*Gain.*
St. Andrew's Burghs .	2,537	112	31	—	*Gain.*

Number of Liberal seats gained by the transfer of one vote = 72
Number of Liberal seats gained by the transfer of two votes = 59 } 131.

PROHIBITION: SUPPLEMENTARY EVIDENCE.

Density of Population of Prohibition States.

It has already been pointed out as a noteworthy feature of the history of State prohibition, that in every instance where the system has been applied to States containing large urban populations the experiment has resulted in failure, and the system has ultimately been abandoned.[1]

The following tables, which are compiled from the official census returns, give the density of population of the two sets of States already referred to, (*a*) in the year in which each State adopted prohibition, and (*b*) in 1890:—

Table I.—Prohibition States.

State.	No. of Persons per Square Mile.	
	When Prohibition was adopted.	In 1890.
New Hampshire	34	40
Vermont	33	34
Maine	17	20
Kansas	4	17
North Dakota	3	4
Average density (5 States)	18	23

[1] It is to be noted, however, that several of the States that have abandoned prohibition as a *State* system have nevertheless made it possible of *local* enactment by substituting the principle of Local Option.

TABLE II.

STATES THAT HAVE TRIED AND ABANDONED PROHIBITION (*i.e.* as a *State* system).

State.	No. of Persons per Square Mile.	
	When Prohibition was adopted.	In 1890.
Rhode Island	122	276
Massachusetts	125	269
Connecticut	81	150
Delaware	43	71
Illinois	17	68
Indiana	32	60
Michigan	9	35
Iowa	8	34
Nebraska	0·3	14
South Dakota	4	4
Average (10 States) . .	44	98

Taking, therefore, the last census as the basis of comparison, it will be seen that the average density of population of the States that have *abandoned* prohibition was four times as great as the average density of population of the States that have *continued* prohibition.[1] If we confine the comparison to the three most densely populated States in each of the two divisions, a still more decisive result appears, as the following figures will show:—

	No. of Persons per Square Mile when prohibition was adopted.	No. of Persons per Square Mile in 1890.
1.—States that have *continued* prohibition.		
Average density of population of three highest States . .	28	31
2.—States that have *abandoned* prohibition.		
Average density of population of three highest States . .	109	232

[1] It is important to notice that while the States that have continued prohibition are, without exception, sparsely populated States, no fewer than seven of the ten

Taking, again, the figures for the four States that gave longest trial to the experiment before abandoning it (*i.e.* Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Michigan), and comparing the density of population in each State at the period when prohibition was first adopted with the density of population at the time of its repeal, the following result appears:—

State.	Prohibition adopted.	Prohibition repealed.	No. of Persons per Square Mile when adopted.	No. of Persons per Square Mile when repealed.
	Year.	Year.		
Massachusetts[1] .	1852	1868	125	170
Rhode Island[2] .	1852	1863	122	150
Connecticut . .	1854	1872	81	111
Michigan . . .	1855	1875	9	24

PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION.

If we take the proportion of population living in towns of 30,000 inhabitants and upwards, a similar difference appears.

The following tables give detailed particulars for each State:—

(a) *Prohibition States.*

State	Proportion of Population Living in Towns of—			
	30,000 inhabitants and upwards.	50,000 inhabitants and upwards.	70,000 inhabitants and upwards.	100,000 inhabitants and upwards.
New Hampshire.	12%	—	—	—
Maine	5%	—	—	—
Kansas	5%	—	—	—
Vermont . . .	—	—	—	—
North Dakota. .	—	—	—	—

States that have abandoned prohibition were sparsely populated at the time that they adopted the system.

[1] Re-enacted 1869, repealed 1875.

[2] Re-adopted 1874, repealed 1875. Re-enacted 1886, repealed 1889.

(b) *States that have Abandoned Prohibition* (*i.e.* as a *State* system).

State.	Proportion of Population Living in Towns of—			
	30,000 inhabitants and upwards.	50,000 inhabitants and upwards.	70,000 inhabitants and upwards.	100,000 inhabitants and upwards.
Massachusetts .	47%	36%	34%	20%
Rhode Island . .	38%	38%	38%	38%
Delaware . . .	37%	37%	—	—
Illinois	31%	28%	28%	28%
Connecticut . .	25%	18%	11%	—
Nebraska . . .	18%	18%	13%	13%
Michigan . . .	15%	13%	10%	10%
Indiana	10%	7%	5%	5%
Iowa	6%	3%	—	—
South Dakota . .	—	—	—	—

FEDERAL PROSECUTIONS FOR ILLEGAL SALE OF LIQUOR.

In discussing elsewhere (see pp. 131–4) the number of persons who take out Federal licences for the sale of liquor, it was pointed out that these do not include the whole of those who sell, inasmuch as many of the illicit liquor-dealers do not pay the Federal tax. Speaking on this point, Mr. E. L. Fanshawe says: "Whether a larger number of persons shirk the United States tax in prohibitory than in other States, is a question to which a decisive answer cannot be given, but the allegation that this is the case would at least seem to be not devoid of probability."

The "decisive answer" is, however, furnished by the Internal Revenue Commissioner's Annual Reports, which furnish particulars of the number of prosecutions entered by district attorneys against persons selling in various States without having paid the Federal tax. By the courtesy of the United States Commissioner of Inland Revenue we are able to give the actual figures for the North Atlantic States for several recent years.

Table showing the number of prosecutions reported by district attorneys as entered against liquor-dealers under the Internal Revenue Law of the United States :—

State.	Population, 1890.	Number of Prosecutions.							
		1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	Annual Average per 1,000 of population.
Prohibition—									
Maine	661,086	67	89	86	104	98	54	48	·118
Vermont . . .	332,422	8	11	11	20	21	6	12	·039
New Hampshire	376,530	11	8	9	5	21	8	25	·032
Non-Prohibition—									
Massachusetts .	2,238,943	135	127	257	282	449	199	44	·095
Rhode Island .	345,506	none	3	3	28	none	none	none	·015
New York . .	5,997,853	46	43	76	30	62	51	42	·009
Connecticut . .	746,258	5	9	19	7	2	none	none	·008
Pennsylvania .	5,258,014	13	26	14	19	28	23	18	·004

It thus appears that the number of prosecutions is higher in Maine (*i.e.* in proportion to population) than in any other of the North Atlantic States, while the proportion generally is higher in the prohibition States than in the non-prohibition States.

THE LIQUOR AGENCY.[1]

Table I.

Transactions of the State Liquor Commissioner.

Total Value of Sales.

Year.	Value.
1887	$19,872·40
1888	75,915·24
1890	76,388·59
1891	99,815·00
1893	130,812·29
1898	39,497·45

[1] See p. 151.

TABLE II.

SALES AT THE PORTLAND LIQUOR AGENCY SINCE 1870.[1]

Years.	Total Value of Sales.	Years.	Total Value of Sales.
1870–71	$3,050·55	1885–86	$28,974·66
1871–72	6,677·00	1886–87	22,164·74
1872–73	19,340·62	1887–88	26,133·33
1873–74	—	1888–89	20,667·89
1874–75	—	1889–90	23,770·27
1875–76	1,748·82	1890–91	22,356·51
1876–77	6,500·00	1891–92	58,742·76
1877–78	18,025·00	1892–93	84,848·33
1878–79	9,786·54	1893–94	48,791·75
1879–80	—	1894–95	23,167·29
1880–81	26,850·00	1895–96	18,025·00
1881–82	—	1896–97	14,387·80
1882–83	19,615·50	1897–98	12,615·40
1883–84	20,885·69	1898–99	11,352·80
1884–85	20,520·31		

[1] In a letter dated March 14th, 1899, Mrs. Stevens (of Portland, Maine), President of the U.S.A. Woman's Christian Temperance Union, says:—"There are times when the drug stores dare to sell more freely than others, and this is true of some of the hotels; so the sales at the agency vary, not so much because of the health or sickness in the city, but because of the lax or strict enforcement of law, whichever it may be."

STATISTICS OF DRUNKENNESS (MAINE).

THE following tables give the number of arrests for drunkenness in the principal cities of Maine. The list includes all the towns which had 8,000 inhabitants at the last census (1890). In considering the figures, it is to be remembered that, with the exception of a slight break of two years between 1856 and 1858, Maine has been continuously under Prohibition since 1846 :—

PORTLAND (Maine).

Years.	All Offences (Average No. of Arrests).	Ratio per 1,000.	Drunkenness (Average No. of Arrests).	Ratio per 1,000.
1852–1856	875	36	397	16
1857–1861 [1]	1,330	51	831	32
1862–1866	2,207	78	1,382	49
1867–1871	2,031	66	1,274	41
1872–1876	2,842	88	2,070	64
1877–1881	2,262	67	1,436	43
1882–1886	2,177	62	1,298	37
1887–1891	1,980	55	1,259	35
1892–1896	2,298	59	1,540	40
1897–8	2,432	60	1,691	42
1898–9	2,518	61	1,740	42

LEWISTON (Maine).

Years.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1890–1894	357	16
1895–6	362	16
1896–7	600	26
1897–8	583	25
1898–9	694	29

[1] No Returns for 1859 and 1861.

BANGOR (*Maine*).

Years.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1880–1884	332	19
1885–1889	849	46
1890–1894	1,067	53
1895–6	1,256	59
1896–7	1,382	64
1897–8	1,195	54
1898–9	1,043	46

BIDDEFORD (*Maine*).

Years.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1888–1892	259	18
1893–4	No returns.	
1894–5	395	25
1895–7	No returns.[1]	
1898–9	299	18

AUBURN (*Maine*).

Years.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1883–1887	48	5
1888–1892	125	11
1893–4	293	25
1894–5	217	18
1895–6	177	14
1896–7	138	11
1897–8	159	13
1898–9	111	9

AUGUSTA (*Maine*).

Years.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1882–1886	195	21
1887–1891	278	27
1892–3	113	10
1893–4	158	14
1894–5	298	26
1895–6	216	19
1896–7	429	35
1897–8	355	29

[1] No Police Report published.

BATH (Maine).

Years.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1887–1891	200	23
1892–3	174	18
1893–4	196	20
1894–5	180	18
1895–6	135	13
1896–7	125	11
1897–8	128	11
1898–9	364	31

WATERVILLE (Maine).

Year.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1889–90	74	11
1890–91	76	11
1891–92	53	7
1892–93	100	13
1893–94, 1894–95, 1895–96	No returns.	
1896–97	91	10
1897–98	No returns.	
1898–99	147	15

Note.—In Waterville, not all of those arrested for drunkenness are recorded. The city marshal stated that the number of persons arrested but not recorded would amount to about 20 per cent. of those recorded. Further, intoxicated persons who are making no disturbance and who are able to go home quietly are not arrested. This latter rule appears to be the general practice in Maine.

ROCKLAND (Maine).

Year.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1888	131	16
1889	185	23
1890	221	27
1891	195	23
1892	298	35

GARDINER (*Maine*).

Years.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1885–1889	219	42
1890–1894	326	56
1895–6	282	44
1896–7	378	58
1897–8	321	48
1898–9	474	69

HALLOWELL (*Maine*).

Year.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1895–6	20	6
1896–7	50	16
1897–8	57	18
1898–9	35	11

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

STATISTICS OF DRUNKENNESS.

MANCHESTER.

Year.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1894	1,445	30
1895	1,557	31
1896	1,507	29
1897	1,347	26
1898 (1st 3 quarters only)	1,081	27

Note.—The above figures (Manchester) include only the arrests brought before the court. A large number of "drunks" are, however, arrested and discharged without being brought before the court. The city marshal stated that the number so discharged would average from 300 to 500 annually.

NASHUA.

Year.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1893	803	38
1894	678	32
1895	460	21
1896	540	24
1897	301	13
1898	339	14

CONCORD.

Year.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1890	327	19
1891	406	24
1892	403	23
1893	341	19
1894	367	21
1895	383	21
1896	488	27
1897	425	23
1898	507	28

PORTSMOUTH.

Year.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1895–6	628	57
1896–7	559	50
1897–8	577	50
1898–9	416	36

STATE OF VERMONT.

STATISTICS OF DRUNKENNESS.

BURLINGTON.

Year.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1894	198	12
1895	253	15
1896	183	11
1897	106	6
1898	113	6

RUTLAND.

Year.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1893	74	6
1894	68	5
1895	126	9
1896	111	8
1897	47	3
1898	32	2

ST. ALBANS.

Year.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1898	49	6
1899	60	7

MONTPELIER.

Year.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000.
1897–8	33	6
1898–9	45	8

SEIZURES OF LIQUOR IN PORTLAND, MAINE.

Statement showing the seizures of liquor made at a Portland saloon (413, Commercial Street) in December, 1898. The saloon was one of 32 places at which 344 separate seizures were made in that month (see p. 168). The particulars here given are typical of the rest:—

1898.

Dec. 1. Six bottles, each containing about one pint of lager beer.

„ 3. Seven bottles, each containing about one pint of lager beer. One sprinkler, containing about three quarts of ale.

„ 6. One sprinkler, containing about one gallon of ale.

„ 8. Seven bottles, each containing about one pint of lager beer. One sprinkler, containing about one gallon of ale.

„ 10. Eight bottles, each containing about one pint of lager beer.

„ 12. One sprinkler, containing about one gallon of ale. One bottle, containing about one pint of whisky.

„ 14. Five bottles, each containing about one pint of lager beer. One bottle, containing about one pint of whisky.

„ 16. One sprinkler, containing about one gallon of ale. Six bottles, each containing about one pint of lager beer.

„ 19. Seven bottles, each containing about one pint of lager beer. One bottle, containing about one quart of whisky.

„ 21. Six bottles, each containing about one pint of lager beer.

„ 23. Five bottles, each containing about one pint of lager beer.

„ 27. One sprinkler, containing about one gallon of ale.

„ 29. One sprinkler, containing about three quarts of ale. Two bottles, each containing about one quart of whisky.

TESTIMONY OF STATE GOVERNORS.

Attention is sometimes directed to the fact that the Governors of the State, in their inaugural addresses to the State Legislature, have frequently referred in general but eulogistic terms to the benefits of the prohibitory law, and the fact is often quoted as evidence of the success of the prohibitory system throughout the State. The plea would seem to be, on the face of it, a strong one, and it is certainly not one that can lightly be put aside. At the same time, an examination of the political circumstances under which such statements are usually made goes far to weaken the force of the plea, and to inspire a distrust of the evidential value of the statements themselves.

It is to be remembered, in the first place, that the Governors are popularly elected officials, nominated and "run" by one or other of the two great political parties, and naturally eager in their public utterances to attract electoral support to their party. It is further to be remembered that in Maine the rural districts—where the prohibition sentiment is admittedly strong, and the prohibitory law, as a general rule, easily enforced—exercise a greatly preponderating electoral influence in the State, inasmuch as they include at least three-fourths of the entire population of the State. It is not difficult, therefore, to see the possible political significance that may easily attach to such statements as have been referred to.[1]

[1] "That which most keenly interests the people, though, of course, not all the people, is the regulation or extinction of the liquor traffic. On this neither party has committed or will commit itself. The traditional dogmas of neither cover it, though the Democrats have been rather more disposed to leave men to themselves than the Republicans, and rather less amenable to the influence of ethical sentiment. Practically for both parties the point of consequence is what they can gain or lose. Each has clearly something to lose. The drinking part of the population is chiefly foreign. Now the Irish are

Nor do the statements themselves necessarily contradict the contention of the present writers, supported as it is by overwhelming evidence, that the system has failed to meet the requirements of the towns. On the contrary, it is a significant fact that in several of the addresses that are constantly referred to, the emphasis of the eulogy is specially laid upon the success of the system in the *rural districts*. For example, Governor Dingley, a prominent supporter of prohibition, in his address to the Legislature in 1874, said:—

"Where our prohibitory laws have been well enforced, few will deny that they have accomplished great good. In more than three-fourths of the State, *especially in the rural portions*, public sentiment has secured such an enforcement of these laws that there are now in these districts few open bars; and even secret sales are so much reduced that drunkenness in the *rural towns* is comparatively rare."

Governor Robie in his inaugural address in 1883 said:—

"There has undoubtedly been a difference of opinion among good and conscientious citizens in regard to the best mode of eradicating intemperance; but there are few who are unwilling to admit that there has been a wonderful change for the better in public sentiment where the law has been rigidly enforced. In a large part of the State, embracing more than three-fourths of our population [*i.e.* the rural districts] the liquor traffic is practically unknown."

mainly Democrats, so the Democratic party dare not offend them. The Germans are mainly Republicans, so the Republicans are equally bound over to caution. It is true that though the parties, as parties, have been, in nearly all States, neutral, most Temperance men are, in the North and West, Republicans, most whisky-men and saloon-keepers Democrats. The Republicans, therefore, more frequently attempt to conciliate the anti-liquor party by flattering phrases. They suffer by the starting of a Prohibitionist candidate, since he draws more voting strength away from them than he does from the Democrats."—Rt. Hon. J. Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, vol. II., pp. 25, 26.

In a further reference to the subject two years later, Governor Robie said:—

"The present law may, therefore, be considered sufficient to cover all violations of its provisions that can possibly occur, and its weakness seems to be in its non-enforcement by those officers whose duty it is to execute the laws of the State."

Governor Bodwell, again, in his inaugural address to the Legislature in 1887, said:—

"The situation in the State respecting the law may be briefly and candidly stated. In from three-fourths to four-fifths of the towns of the State, the law is well enforced and has practically abolished the sale of spirituous and malt liquors as a beverage. In the larger cities and towns, on the seaboard and at railway centres, it has been found more difficult to secure perfect compliance with the law, but it can still be said that at very few points in the State is liquor openly sold."

Governor Burleigh, in the course of his reference to the question in 1889, said:—

"Long experience has demonstrated the wisdom and advantages of this policy. Yet like all other laws against public evils, that against the liquor traffic has its violators, those who wantonly disregard the interests of the community and the authority of the State."

Two years later (*i.e.* in 1891), Governor Burleigh in his inaugural address further said:—

"It cannot be denied that the law for the suppression of the liquor traffic is often violated, and that officials charged with its enforcement are frequently derelict in duty. But it is undoubtedly true that this condition of affairs is mostly confined to our *cities and larger villages*."

Governor Powers, addressing the Legislature in January, 1897, said:—

"A large majority of the people of our State are thoroughly and conscientiously devoted to the principles and practice of temperance, integrity, morality and virtue, as a fundamental policy essential to our best development and growth. They

believe that the restraining influence of our prohibitory legislation has had a marked effect in eradicating the evils resulting from the liquor traffic. Doubtless there has not been a full realization of what the most ardent and enthusiastic advocates of prohibition prophesied and hoped, but certainly great good has been accomplished. In most of our *rural country towns* the groggery is a thing of the past; and we are moving in the right direction throughout the State. It is my conviction that what we need to-day is a more active public sentiment in our *larger towns and cities*, which will enforce the laws we now have, rather than additional penalties that will make the enforcement more uncertain and difficult."

A year later (January 13th, 1898) the scandal of unenforcement in the towns of Maine had become so great that delegates from twenty-two towns waited upon the Governor (Governor Powers) at the Court House, Houlton, to present petitions praying for a faithful execution of the law.

"Petitions were presented from twenty-two towns of Aroostook County, signed by about 2,100 persons. The petitions, which were all alike in nature, read substantially as follows:—

"'To Llewellyn Powers, Governor of the State of Maine; The undersigned, adult citizens of Maine, respectfully represent that, owing to the failure of officers in many cities and towns in Maine, the prohibitory law is openly and flagrantly violated, against the wishes and in defiance of the best element in the community, thus rendering the efforts of honest citizens inoperative; therefore, we respectfully pray that special orders be given to all officials whose duty it is to enforce the law, thus making this year one long to be remembered for the advancement of good morals, social purity, and the protection of our homes.'

"The petition from Fort Kent had a startling postscript, signed by the Catholic priest of the parish. It reads:—

"'For God's sake, for heaven's sake, for the sake of humanity, of morals, of social order, of honour and peace, may the State of Maine heed this petition, and deliver us from the rum plague, shame, scandal and degradation.'

"Ministers of all denominations, representatives of the W.C.T.U., and loyal supporters of the temperance cause in all ranks, pleaded with the Governor to order the responsible officials to execute the existing law. The report in the daily press states:—

"'The general trend of all the addresses seemed to indicate a realization of an entirely farcical enforcement of the Maine prohibitory law, and an acknowledgment that under present circumstances Maine is practically governed by a low licence system. A perfect broadside of entreaty was fired at the Governor that he would use his official position to bring about a better enforcement of the law, in order, as the speakers expressed it, that the State might be saved from the scandal and the infamy of it. To unprejudiced observers the meeting seemed to be an appeal from its almost discouraged supporters for the life of the Maine liquor law.'

"Governor Powers closed a long and apparently frank and sincere address with these words:—

"'I believe that when the people are in earnest and are determined to enforce the prohibitory law here in Maine, it will be enforced. . . . These petitions which have been presented to me, asking me to issue orders to all officers whose duty it is to enforce the law, were evidently prepared without ascertaining what power I had in the premises. I have examined very carefully, and cannot find any power granted to me to ask any person or any officer to enforce the prohibitory law but the sheriffs of the different counties, and in case they refuse I cannot remove them. They are not my subordinates. I do not believe, moreover, that any one here desires me to do anything beyond my power, or that would excite adverse comment, nor do I believe that such a course would be beneficial to the cause of temperance.'" [1]

The Portland *Daily Press*, in commenting, in a leading article, on the meeting, said:—

"The Governor disclosed the real difficulty of the situation, and the one that must be cured before we shall have any steady and stringent enforcement of the law, when he said that all

[1] *Zion's Herald*, January 19th, 1898

power resides in the people. If all power resides there, of course the power to enforce the prohibitory law resides there. If it be there, the people can exercise it if they desire to. The truth is that they do not now desire to, that is to say, do not desire to to its full extent; and while this remains the case, all the proclamations which the Governor may issue commanding the execution of this law will not be worth much more than the paper on which they are written. The fountain of all law and all enforcement of law in this State is the people, and we need never expect that the stream which flows from it will rise above its source. The fact is that the advanced reformers are prone to forget several important facts. One is that our government is not a government of the best, but of the average; another is that all who shout, or even vote, for prohibition on occasion are not at heart sincere believers in the policy, and sincerely anxious to see it enforced." [1]

Another paper—the Portland *Argus*—in also referring editorially to the meeting, said:—

"The response of Governor Powers to the petition asking that officers be instructed to enforce the prohibitory law, which he made at the mass meeting held last Thursday in Houlton, practically leaves the matter of enforcement where it was before. . . . The Governor cannot ask any other officers than the sheriffs to enforce the law; but upon petition he can appoint special constables with the powers and duties of sheriffs. That has been done in the past in some parts of the State with dubious results. The difficulty in the enforcement of the law lies back of the question of the adequacy of the machinery for that purpose. The difficulty lies in the law itself, a law which cannot enlist the public sympathy and support needed to make it effective. Of this fact the recurring and spasmodic agitations to compel enforcement are sufficient proof. This latest mass meeting at Houlton is a case in point, and if we may judge from the tenor of the addresses made there, the prohibitory cause in Maine is conceded to be at its lowest ebb. 'The general

[1] Portland *Daily Press*, January 15th, 1898.

trend of all the addresses,' says the *Boston Herald* report, 'seemed to indicate a realization of an entirely farcical enforcement of the Maine prohibitory law, and an acknowledgment that under present circumstances Maine is practically governed by a low license system.' That is about the size of it, and after all the experience we have had on the subject, there is not the slightest ground to expect that any material or permanent change can be effected. Prohibition spells failure, and the people of Maine are coming more and more to a realizing sense of the fact."[1]

The Royal Canadian Commissioners, in referring to the testimony of the State Governors in their Report, says:—

"The attention of the undersigned has been called to the inaugural addresses of the Governors of the State to the Legislature, since 1880, which refer to the prohibitory law. In Appendix No. 169 will be found copies of the portions of these addresses which relate to that law. They must, of course, be read as the utterances of public men engaged in party politics in the State. Statistics or other evidence in support of the statements made in regard to the beneficial effects of the law are not supplied, and it is impossible to ignore the fact that there are many other public men taking part in the affairs of the State whose opinions do not agree with those expressed in these addresses."

THE REACTION AGAINST PROHIBITION.

In view of all the facts, it is hardly matter for surprise that a lurking distrust of prohibition as a practicable scheme of politics is steadily asserting itself even in quarters that once were favourable to the system, and that recent elections give evidence of a growing reaction against the law in several of the prohibition States.

That there is such a reaction, no one who has followed the history of the experiment at all closely can doubt. A reference to the table given on an earlier page[2] shows that prohibition has been adopted at various periods by no fewer than sixteen States, and compulsorily enforced, by order of

[1] Portland *Argus*, January 15th, 1898. [2] See p. 121.

the Federal Government, in one territory (Alaska). It continues in force in five States only. The tide of prohibitionist sentiment seems to have reached its highest point in 1855, when there were twelve States under prohibition. Then the ebb began. In 1867 there were only seven States under a prohibitory law, while the lowest point was reached in 1877, when only five States supported the system. In 1887, the average point of seven was again reached, but the number has since been reduced to five. It would seem, therefore, that in the United States, at least, legislative prohibition is not progressing, and this is further evidenced by an analysis of the votes polled on the issue of prohibition (*i.e.* as a Constitutional Amendment) since 1880. The details of the votes are given below, and a reference to the table will show that out of twenty elections at which the question has been submitted since 1880, prohibition has been carried in seven and negatived in thirteen. The true value of the figures is shown by the following considerations: First, taking the seven successful elections, it will be seen that out of a total poll of 1,249,035 votes, the majority in favour of prohibition was 179,877, while no fewer than 250,772 persons abstained from voting as compared with the number that voted at the nearest political election. In other words, taking the total votes polled in the same States at the nearest political election as the basis of comparison, the total vote in favour of prohibition in the seven successful States was short of an actual majority of the voters in those States by 35,448 votes.

If we take the whole of the elections at which the issue was raised, we find that out of a total poll of 3,857,525, the total number of votes cast in favour of prohibition was 1,768,239, while no fewer than 884,364, persons abstained from voting as compared with the number that voted at the nearest political election. Or, to put it in another way, the total prohibition vote was no less than 160,523 votes short of one-half of the votes actually polled, and 602,705 votes short of one-half of the votes cast at the nearest political election.

Table Showing the Votes on Constitutional Amendments in Favour of Prohibition in Various States since 1880.

State.	Year	Vote on the Amendment.		Majority for.	Majority against.	Number not voting (*i.e.* as compared with vote taken at nearest political election in each State).
		For Prohibition.	Against Prohibition.			
Kansas	1880	91,874	84,037	7,837		25,325
Iowa	1882	155,436	125,677	29,759		10,935
Ohio[1].	1883	323,189	240,975	82,214		157,146
Maine	1884	70,783	23,811	46,972		47,819
Rhode Island. .	1886	15,113	9,230	5,883		2,532
Michigan . . .	1887	178,636	184,281		5,645	17,968
Texas	1887	129,270	220,627		91,357	7,616
Tennessee . . .	1887	117,504	145,197		27,693	41,083
Oregon	1887	19,973	27,958		7,985	7,023
West Virginia .	1888	41,668	76,555		34,887	41,317
New Hampshire.	1889	25,786	30,976		5,190	34,160
Massachusetts .	1889	85,242	131,062		45,820	128,213
Pennsylvania .	1889	296,617	484,644		188,027	216,307
Rhode Island[2] .	1889	9,956	28,315		18,359	4,840
South Dakota .	1889	39,509	33,456	6,053		4,862
North Dakota .	1889	18,552	17,393	1,159		2,153
Washington . .	1889	19,546	31,489		11,943	7,408
Connecticut . .	1889	22,379	49,974		27,595	81,625
Nebraska . . .	1890	82,296	111,728		29,432	20,066
South Dakota[2] .	1896	24,910	31,901		6,991	25,966
Total . . .		1,768,239	2,089,286	179,877	500,924	884,364

[1] Although the majority of votes cast were recorded in favour of the Amendment, it did not receive the majority of possible votes, and hence under the State Constitution could not be adopted.

[2] This was the submission of the question of repealing prohibition.

Scandinavian Appendix

METHOD OF EFFECTING LOCAL OPTION IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS OF SWEDEN.

In all parishes in Sweden (town or country) general meetings of taxpayers are held for discussion and decision concerning (*a*) Church and School matters; (*b*) Communal matters. The latter alone need be considered here.

All communes (including both towns and country districts called parishes) elect their own local government or representatives. The towns elect a town council, which thereupon becomes the local governing body; while in the country parishes arrangements are undertaken by a Communal Board appointed by a general meeting of taxpayers summoned for that purpose.

In the country districts a system of cumulative voting obtains, the voting qualification of each elector being determined by the amount of income taxed or property owned. In the towns, the voting qualification is also determined by income, but with greater restrictions than obtain in the country districts.

The method of procedure in respect of licensing in the *country districts* is as follows:—A person requiring a licence makes application, in the first instance, to the Communal Board. The application, when presented, is considered by the Communal Board, and, if approved, is then submitted to what is called a Communal General Meeting (*i.e.* a meeting of the local taxpayers). This meeting is summoned by special announcement in the parish church on two successive Sundays previous to the date of the proposed meeting. The agenda to be submitted to such meetings is also required to be publicly read on each occasion when the notice of meeting is given.

STATISTICS OF THE GOTHENBURG SPIRIT BOLAG. 1866–1899.

Year.	Population.	Sale of Spirits. Litres.			Sale per Inhabitant.			Gross Profit.	Expenses.	Net Profit.	Net Profit per Litre sold.		Selling Price of Brännvin.		Alcoholic strength of Brännvin.
		In Bar.	At Retail ("Off") Trade.	Total.	In Bar.	At Retail.	Total.	Kroner.	Kroner.	Kroner.	In Bars. öre.	At Retail öre.	In Bars per glass. öre.	At Retail per litre. Kroner.	
1866	47,332	260,836	—	—	—	—	—	129,662	78,879	50,783	16·7	—	6	0·95	47%
1867	47,898	362,428	—	—	—	—	—	170,844	77,053	93,791	21·2	—	6	0·95	—
1868	50,438	393,007	—	—	—	—	—	175,029	70,940	104,089	21·	—	6	0·95	—
1869	52,526	523,393	—	—	—	—	—	252,625	84,385	168,240	27·	—	6	0·95	—
1870	53,822	690,303	—	—	—	—	—	292,375	95,892	196,483	24·3	—	6	0·95	—
1871	55,110	699,242	—	—	—	—	—	285,220	93,460	191,760	22·7	—	6	0·95	—
1872	55,986	584,033	—	—	—	—	—	304,320	98,131	206,189	27·1	—	6	0·95	—
1873	56,909	647,287	—	—	—	—	—	368,262	110,715	257,547	29·4	—	6	0·95	—
1874	58,307	748,501	—	—	—	—	—	471,994	217,601	254,393	26·7	—	6	0·95	—
1875	59,986	779,371	867,369	1,646,740	12·99	14·46	27·45	875,233	209,721	665,512	43·6	30·8	6	0·95	—
1876	61,505	811,225	935,530	1,746,755	13·18	15·21	28·39	951,265	229,403	721,862	43	32·3	6	0·95	—
1877	63,391	891,515	812,901	1,704,416	14·06	12·82	26·88	952,776	255,211	697,565	43·2	32	6	0·95	—
1878	65,697	894,349	735,091	1,629,440	13·61	11·19	24·80	874,084	279,991	594,092	36·6	27·6	6	0·95	—
1879	66,844	840,957	623,337	1,464,294	12·58	9·32	21·90	860,974	253,373	607,601	40·6	33·3	6	0·95	—
1880	68,477	760,676	622,774	1,383,450	11·11	9·09	20·20	739,496	250,062	489,434	38·2	24·8	7	0·95	—
1881	71,533	724,801	645,434	1,370,235	10·13	9·02	19·15	849,072	255,723	593,349	48·3	30·6	7	0·95	—
1882	72,555	661,889	623,332	1,285,221	9·12	8·59	17·71	786,775	248,430	538,345	47·	28·7	7	0·95	—
1883	77,653	667,899	736,592	1,404,491	8·60	9·48	18·08	771,042	253,643	517,399	42·9	24·2	7	0·95	46½%
1884	80,811	691,236	778,681	1,469,917	8·55	9·63	18·18	812,719	249,719	563,000	45·1	25·1	7	0·95	—
1885	84,450	712,974	812,449	1,525,423	8·44	9·62	18·06	863,354	247,322	616,032	47·8	27	7	0·95	—
1886	88,230	726,650	840,021	1,566,671	8·22	9·53	17·75	914,424	251,291	663,133	49·4	30	7	0·95	—
1887	91,396	699,384	845,989	1,545,373	7·65	9·25	16·90	980,284	262,686	717,598	54·4	31·9	7	0·95	—
1888	94,370	703,678	877,247	1,580,925	7·46	9·29	16·75	983,593	255,035	728,558	55	31·3	8	1·00	45%
1889	97,677	634,782	933,373	1,568,155	6·50	9·56	16·06	955,145	272,914	682,231	55·4	28·6	8	1·04	44%
1890	101,502	652,461	970,171	1,622,632	6·43	9·56	15·99	1,065,707	271,436	794,271	62·4	33	8	1·04	,,
1891	104,215	697,151	848,876	1,546,027	6·69	8·14	14·83	977,124	277,311	699,813	57·2	27·8	8	1·10	,,
1892	106,356	628,229	813,287	1,441,516	5·90	7·65	13·55	975,919	276,284	699,635	57·5	33·5	8	1·10	,,
1893	106,959	563,684	848,302	1,411,986	5·27	7·93	13·20	974,413	272,006	702,407	57	37·3	8	1·10	,,
1894	108,528	532,732	881,490	1,414,222	4·91	8·12	13·03	1,022,454	296,631	725,823	57·8	39·7	8	1·10	,,
1895	112,670	560,945	916,559	1,477,504	4·98	8·13	13·11	1,025,274	296,620	728,654	57	37·1	8	1·10	,,
1896	115,521	570,750	960,749	1,531,499	4·94	8·31	13·25	1,111,348	293,954	817,394	61·3	41·3	8	1·10	,,
1897	117,534	603,578	1,006,265	1,609,843	5·12	8·56	13·68	1,116,283	284,934	831,349	61·2	38·8	8	1·10	,,
1898	120,151	655,016	1,098,469	1,753,485	5·45	9·14	14·59	1,187,981	298,677	889,304	59·9	37·4	8	1·10	,,
1899	122,370	728,354	1,229,843	1,958,198	5·95	10·05	16·00	1,275,467	307,710	967,757	59·2	35·0	8	1·10	,,

At this general meeting, the question of issuing the licence applied for is considered and a vote taken upon the application. This vote is again determined by the graduated system of voting noted above. If this Communal meeting of taxpayers refuses to grant the licence, the application is absolutely disposed of. But if the meeting assents to the application, it goes forward to the Governor of the province, who would probably signify his approval of such application if the applicant were a suitable person. Should the Governor, however, think the application an unsuitable one, he may veto the granting of the licence even although it has been approved by the Communal meeting. It is to be noted, however, that the Governor can in no case reverse the decision of the Communal meeting, if that decision has been unfavourable to the granting of a licence. The veto of the Communal meeting in this sense is absolute.

RELATION OF CONSUMPTION OF SPIRITS TO NATIONAL TASTE.

The rapid growth in the consumption of beer in Sweden might seem at first sight to lend colour to a suggestion recently made that the decline in the consumption of spirits in Gothenburg is due to a change in the national taste from spirituous to fermented drinks, and is not to be attributed to the operations of the Bolag.

It was to be expected that if the sale of beer were left practically free, whilst a series of effective restrictions were placed upon the sale of spirits, the ultimate effect of such a policy would be to stimulate the sale of beer. But a result of this kind is not immediately produced, and an examination of the figures shows that the increase in the national consumption of beer did not take place prior to 1884, by which time a considerable reduction in the consumption of spirits in Gothenburg had been effected.

The following table shows the relative consumption of spirits and beer from 1875 to 1896 :—

Year.	Bar Sale of Spirits in Gothenburg.		Consumption of Beer in Sweden.	
	Litres per Inhabitant.	Decrease.	Litres per Inhabitant.	Increase.
1875–1879	13·28		17·2	
1880–1884	9·51	28 per cent.	17·6	2 per cent.
1885–1889	7·63	20 „	24·1	37 „
1890–1894	5·80	24 „	30·7	27 „
1895	4·98	14 „	35·5	16 „
1896	4·94	1 „	42·4	19 „

It will thus be seen that, taking the period 1875 to 1884, the consumption of beer in Sweden remained all but stationary, while in the same period the bar sales of spirits in Gothenburg show a reduction of 28 per cent. That the reduced consumption of spirits has been accomplished by the operation of the Bolag is further shown by the experience of Norway, where, despite an important reduction in the consumption of spirits following upon the introduction of the Company System, the national consumption of beer is no greater than it was when the system was in its infancy.

Petition Addressed by the Clergy in Gothenburg and its Environs to the Royal Governor of the Province of Gothenburg and Bohus (November 25th, 1898).

"We the undersigned, clergymen in active service in and around the town of Gothenburg, having observed with great concern the public annoyance and other evil consequences caused by the beer-houses in the town being kept open on Sundays and holidays, hereby request that the Royal Governor, availing himself of the authority given him by the Royal Statute of October 24th, 1885, Sec. 17, should decide, that in the beer-houses of Gothenburg no beer should be sold on Sundays and holidays, except to persons taking their meals there at the regular hours.

"At the same time we would also submit to your consideration three other points closely connected with the subject of our petition as above made, believing as we do that you

could, by giving your attention to these three points, greatly support the cause of Temperance and morality in the town and its vicinity.

"The first and most important point regards the so-called food licences, as mentioned in section 2 of the above-named Royal Statute. It is an open secret that many holders of licences for selling beer only to persons taking their meals have, contrary to the spirit of the law, made the sale of beer their chief business and the food an accessory only. It would be, therefore, highly desirable that you might, in accordance with section 6, par. 3 of the same Royal Statute, 'in furtherance of good order,' issue such regulations as would materially tend to stop this abuse.

"The second point regards the time for closing the beer-houses in the evening. It is most desirable that these places should as a rule be closed at the same time as public-houses, so that the customers of the latter might not when expelled therefrom continue their drinking in the beer-houses.

"Finally, we should recommend as a suitable measure that the present number of beer-licences should be successively reduced, whenever the present holders, owing to death or other causes, cease to use them, *so that eventually all these licences, with the exception of those connected with the serving of food, should come under the control of the Gothenburg Public-house Licensing Company—conducted according to the Gothenburg system.*"

The petition was signed by Bishop Rodhe, Dean Rosell, and thirty clergymen.

STOCKHOLM.

Population (1877–8), 153,528; (1898–9), 291,580.

"The motive which led to the adoption of the Company principle in the Capital of Sweden was essentially the same as that which actuated the originators of the joint Company in Gothenburg—to combat the great intemperance among the working-classes." In Stockholm there were 133 holders of permanent licences who renounced their privileges in consideration of life annuities involving, at the outset, an annual

charge of £6,829 6*s*. This was effected through private arrangement with the individual licensees, the attempt at fixing a uniform rate of compensation having failed. The Company began operations on October 1st, 1877, with a complete monopoly of all the licences for conducting the retail and bar trade of spirituous liquors in the city.

On September 30th, 1877, there were 193 public-houses in Stockholm. The next morning, October 1st, the number was reduced to 87. It is worthy of remark that no protest was made on the part of the classes who thus suddenly found 106 of their customary resorts closed against them.[1]

BOLAG SALES OF SPIRITS IN STOCKHOLM.

Year.	Population.	Total Sale.	Consumption per Inhabitant.		
		Litres.	In Bar Trade. Litres.	At Retail ("Off") Trade. Litres.	Total. Litres.
1877–78	153,528	4,077,590	13·82	12·74	26·56
1878–79	161,722	3,863,529	13·14	10·75	23·89
1879–80	163,040	3,884,456	12·75	11·08	23·83
1880–81	167,868	3,923,180	13·08	10·29	23·37
1881–82	174,702	3,854,068	12·40	9·66	22·06
1882–83	182,358	3,703,591	9·29	11·02	20·31
1883–84	190,842	3,511,420	8·53	9·87	18·40
1884–85	200,781	3,735,619	8·56	10·05	18·61
1885–86	211,139	3,585,376	7·59	9·39	16·98
1886–87	216,807	3,572,830	7·37	9·11	16·48
1887–88	221,551	3,450,121	7·11	8·46	15·57
1888–89	228,118	3,382,135	6·62	8·21	14·83
1889–90	236,350	3,523,137	6.49	8·41	14·90
1890–91	245,331	3,448,075	6·32	7·74	14·06
1891–92	248,051	3,381,766	6·14	7.49	13·63
1892–93	249,246	3,488,825	6·16	7·84	14·00
1893–94	252,937	3,429,468	6·03	7·53	13·56
1894–95	259,304	3,613,155	6·20	7·73	13·93
1895–96	267,100	3,812,715	6·51	7·76	14·27
1896–97	274,611	4,280,961	7·17	8·42	15·59
1897–98	283,550	4,288,082	7·07	8·05	15·12
1898–99	291,580	4,847,469	7·56	9·06	16·62

[1] *Foreign Office Report* (Miscellaneous Series), No. 184. 1890; 46 and

ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS IN STOCKHOLM.

Year.	Number of Arrests.	
	Total.	Per 1,000 Inhabitants.
1876–77	7,245	49
1877–78	6,102	40
1878–79	5,883	36
1879–80	6,123	38
1880–81	6,341	38
1881–82	6,784	39
1882–83	6,173	34
1883–84	6,684	35
1884–85	4,796	24
1885–86	5,943	28
1886–87	6,925	32
1887–88	7,536	34
1888–89	7,862	34
1889–90	8,215	35
1890–91	8,350	34
1891–92	8,117	33
1892–93	7,957	32
1893–94	8,024	32
1894–95	8,327	32
1895–96	10,176	38
1896–97	11,848	43
1897–98	10,801	38
1898–99	12,138	42

SWEDISH TOWNS POSSESSING SPIRIT BOLAGS IN 1896, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO POPULATION.

		Total Population.
8	Towns with a population of less than 1,000 . . .	4,977
43	„ „ „ 1,000 and under 5,000 .	105,318
20	„ „ „ 5,000 „ 10,000 .	138,279
16	„ „ „ 10,000 „ 25,000 .	243,741
3	„ „ „ 25,000 „ 100,000 .	117,141
2	„ „ „ over 100,000	397,210
92	Total population of 92 towns . . .	1,006,666

and *Le Système Suédois Réglant le Commerce des Boissons Fortes*, by S. Rubenson, Chief of the Police, Stockholm.

CONSUMPTION OF BRANVIN AND BEER IN SWEDEN.

TABLE SHOWING THE TOTAL AND THE PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF BRÄNVIN AND BEER IN SWEDEN.

BRÄNVIN of 50 per cent. alcohol.			BEER.		
Year.	Total Consumption Litres.[1]	Litres per head of the Population.	Year.	Total Consumption. Litres.[2]	Litres per head of the Population.
1870	43,004,162	10·3	1870	—	11·1
1871	43,927,366	10·5	1871	—	12·1
1872	46,116,737	10·9	1872	—	15·2
1873	50,304,466	11·8	1873	—	16·3
1874	58,464,843	13·5	1874	—	15·1
1875	53,967,336	12·4	1875	—	16·5
1876	54,881,811	12·4	1876	—	15·9
1877	47,584,422	10·6	1877	—	17·0
1878	47,496,297	10·5	1878	—	20·5
1879	40,089,923	8·8	1879	—	16·5
1880	37,204,801	8·1	1880	—	16·3
1881	40,473,043	8·8	1881	—	18·3
1882	36,842,973	8·0	1882	—	15·8
1883	31,121,268	6·8	1883	—	16·8
1884	36,949,848	8·0	1884	—	20·8
1885	39,364,133	8·4	1885	95,200,000	20·3
1886	37,009,697	7·8	1886	104,500,000	22·1
1887	33,275,155	7·0	1887	107,500,000	22·7
1888	35,778,409	7·5	1888	129,000,000	27·2
1889	29,612,823	6·2	1889	134,500,000	28·2
1890	33,478,019	7·0	1890	131,000,000	27·4
1891	31,018,505	6·4	1891	148,000,000	30·9
1892	31,300,930	6·5	1892	148,000,000	30·8
1893	32,150,388	6·7	1893	152,500,000	31·6
1894	33,274,581	6·9	1894	161,000,000	33·0
1895	33,458,088	6·9	1895	174,500,000	35·5
1896	35,584,088	7·2	1896	210,400,000	42·4
1897	37,100,000	7·5	1897	225,500,000	45·0
1898	40,200,000	8·0			

[1] Dr. Sigfrid Wieselgren, *La Lutte contre L'Alcoolisme en Suède*, p. 29.

[2] The statistics of Beer Consumption, 1870 to 1884, are based upon a table given by Mr. Koren in his Report to the Massachusetts Legislature. The figures from 1885 are taken from the Board of Trade Return—No. 57, 1900.

CONSUMPTION OF BRANVIN AND BEER IN NORWAY.

TABLE SHOWING THE TOTAL AND THE PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF BRÄNVIN AND BEER IN NORWAY, 1871–1899 [1]:—

BRÄNVIN of 50 per cent. alcohol.			BEER.		
Year.	Total Consumption. Litres.	Litres per head of the Population.	Year.	Total Consumption. Litres.	Litres per head of the Population.
1871	9,306,000	5·3	1871	21,426,100	12·3
1872	7,921,000	4·5	1872	22,868,900	13·0
1873	9,394,000	5·3	1873	28,448,100	16·1
1874	11,849,000	6·6	1874	33,922,900	19·0
1875	11,842,000	6·5	1875	41,926,900	23·2
1876	12,268,000	6·7	1876	38,703,100	21·1
1877	11,067,000	6·0	1877	39,573,500	21·4
1878	8,472,000	4·5	1878	38,947,700	20·7
1879	6,192,000	3·3	1879	38,242,400	20·1
1880	7,462,000	3·9	1880	29,143,600	15·3
1881	5,803,000	3·0	1881	31,068,800	16·1
1882	7,240,000	3·8	1882	30,946,800	16·2
1883	6,357,000	3·3	1883	33,803,000	17·7
1884	6,692,000	3·5	1884	32,573,000	16·9
1885	6,840,000	3·5	1885	33,203,100	17·1
1886	5,905,000	3·0	1886	26,366,900	13·5
1887	5,569,000	2·8	1887	26,128,900	13·3
1888	6,023,000	3·1	1888	30,631,900	15·5
1889	6,338,000	3·2	1889	30,849,200	15·5
1890	6,156,000	3·1	1890	37,327,400	18·8
1891	7,328,000	3·7	1891	43,206,100	21·7
1892	6,438,000	3·2	1892	41,374,500	20·6
1893	7,142,000	3·5	1893	41,995,000	20·8
1894	7,628,000	3·8	1894	40,215,900	19·8
1895	7,111,000	3·5	1895	36,269,300	17·7
1896	4,827,000	2·3	1896	33,671,600	16·2
1897	4,637,000	2·2	1897	37,600,000	17·8
1898	5,566,000	2·6	1898	46,217,400	21·6
1899	7,247,000	3·3	1899	50,274,200	23·2

[1] *Journal du Bureau Central de Statistique du Royaume de Norvége.* No. 3, 1898, pp. 53 and 56, supplemented by information furnished by the Bureau of Statistics, Christiania.

The estimates of the consumption of bränvin in the table given on an earlier page (see p. 476) for the years 1833 and 1843 are taken from a pamphlet by Mr. Stang Conradi. They are not questioned by the Norwegian Statistical Bureau, and may be accepted as approximately correct. The official statistics of the consumption of bränvin do not give the *yearly* figures until 1871. The statistics of the consumption of beer are taken from the journal of the Norwegian Bureau of Statistics. The same journal, in its issue for 1898, adds a note to the effect that the figures for the consumption of beer are worked out upon the supposition that the total production consisted of so-called "Bavarian Beer," which contains (according to analyses undertaken in 1896 for Christiania) an average of 3·7 per cent. of alcohol. As part of the beer brewed is of a lighter kind, the figures of consumption ought to be somewhat increased.

Consumption of Absolute Alcohol in Norway.

The Norwegian Statistical Bureau gives the following table of the total *per capita* consumption of absolute alcohol (in spirits, wine, beer, etc.) in Norway, 1833–1898[1]:

		Litres.			Litres.
1833	Estimated. .	8·5	1886–90	Actual . . .	2·2
1843	do. . . .	5·5	1891	do. . . .	2·8
1851–55	Actual . . .	3·6	1892	do. . . .	2·5
1856–60	do. . . .	3·2	1893	do. . . .	2·6
1861–65	do. . . .	2·7	1894	do. . . .	2·7
1866–70	do. . . .	2·9	1895	do. . . .	2·5
1871–75	do. . . .	3·6	1896	do. . . .	2·1
1876–80	do. . . .	3·3	1897	do. . . .	2·2
1881–85	do. . . .	2·4	1898	do. . . .	2·5

[1] *Journal du Bureau Central de Statistique du Royaume de Norvége.* No. 9, 1898, p. 216.

SHARE CAPITAL OF THE SCANDINAVIAN COMPANIES.[1]

In both Sweden and Norway the capital stock of the Spirit Companies is exceedingly small. Thus in Norway in 1892 (when the number of companies had reached its maximum of 51) the total paid-up capital of the 51 companies was under £33,000. The largest amount of capital invested in any one company was £8,871 in Stockholm; the smallest was £34 in Langesund. The paid-up capital of the Christiania company is £8,805, and that of Gothenburg £5,641. The smallness of the capital is very largely accounted for by the fact that the companies give no credit, and rent almost the whole of their licensed premises. Thus the Gothenburg Bolag owns only 2 of its licensed houses, the Stockholm Bolag 3, and the Bergen Samlag 3, while the Christiania Samlag does not own any of its licensed houses.

TABLE SHOWING THE NET PROFITS OF THE SWEDISH BOLAGS, AND ALSO THE SUMS PAID BY THEM TO THE MUNICIPALITIES FOR THE LICENCES.[2]

Year.	Number of Companies.	Net Profits of Bolags.	Additional sums paid to the Municipalities for Licences.
		£	£
1890–91	88	234,260	98,698
1891–92	89	260,634	100,746
1892–93	87	294,469	99,461
1893–94	89	317,670	100,578
1894–95	91	316,751	101,205
1895–96	93	368,181	102,601
1896–97	92	463,814	59,280
1897–98	94	510,667	57,818

For method of appropriating profits of liquor traffic in Sweden, see p. 751.

[1] Dr. Gould, *Fifth Special Report of the Commission of Labour*, p. 202; and Dr. Gould, *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, p. 13.

[2] Swedish Official Statistics, 1896, 1897, 1898.

TABLE SHOWING THE NET PROFITS OF THE NORWEGIAN SAMLAGS, AND ALSO THE SUMS PAID BY THEM TO THE MUNICIPALITIES FOR LICENCE RIGHTS.[1]

Year.	Number of Companies.	Net Profits of Samlags.	Additional sums paid to the Municipalities for Licence rights.[2]
		£	£
1890	50	76,925	21,393
1891	50	84,117	22,533
1892	51	88,411	23,786
1893	51	85,717	25,059
1894	51	91,756	24,726
1895	51	98,180	25,419
1896	38[3]	64,082	30,888
1897	35	98,882	—
1898	34	117,584	—

RELATION OF DEPRESSED ECONOMIC CONDITIONS TO REDUCED CONSUMPTION OF SPIRITS IN NORWAY.

It appears clear from an examination of official returns that the diminution in the consumption of spirits in Norway subsequent to 1876–7 is not to be attributed, except to a limited extent, to depressed economic conditions. For such conditions, it will be obvious, would affect not one commodity only, but *pari passu* all articles of consumption coming within the same economic category. Now, an analysis of the statistics of consumption of certain commodities (*i.e.* non-necessaries) usually most susceptible to the pressure of economic conditions reveals a startling discrepancy between the alleged cause and the actual result.

The results, indeed, instead of being, as might reasonably be expected, at least approximately uniform, are so manifestly disproportionate as to compel the conviction that, so far as the consumption of spirits is concerned, a much more power-

[1] *Journal du Bureau Central de Statistique du Royaume de Norvége.* No. 9, 1898, p. 224.

[2] The Norwegian Municipalities based the charge for Licence rights upon probable sales.

[3] The number of Samlags in operation was 40, but returns are wanting for two of the smaller ones.

ful factor has been at work. Taking as the basis of our comparison the years 1878–80, when the economic depression is said to have been at its worst, and comparing the consumption of tobacco, coffee, sugar, and brandy, the following result appears:—

Articles.	Consumption in Norway per head of the Population.[1]			
	1876	1878–1880	Increase.	Decrease.
Tobacco Kilog. . .	1·21	1·12		7½%
Coffee „	3·92	3·57		9%
Sugar „	4·98	4·57		8%
Spirits Litres . .	6·70	3·86		42¼%

That is to say, while the *per capita* consumption of tobacco, coffee, and sugar had decreased 7½ per cent., 9 per cent., and 8 per cent. respectively, the *per capita* consumption of spirits had, in the same period, and concurrently with the establishment of the controlling system, decreased *no less than* 42·4 *per cent.*

If, moreover, we compare 1876 with 1880 an even more striking result appears:—

Articles.	Consumption in Norway per head of the Population.			
	1876	1880	Increase.	Decrease.
Tobacco Kilog. . .	1·21	1·28	6%	
Coffee „	3·92	3·73		5%
Sugar „	4·98	4·53		9%
Spirits Litres . .	6·70	3·90		42%

That is to say, while the consumption of spirits had *decreased* by 42 per cent., the consumption of tobacco had actually *increased* by 6 per cent.

The particulars are more fully shown in the annexed table, which gives the consumption of the various commodities over a series of years:—

[1] The *per capita* consumption of tobacco, coffee, and sugar is based upon the official statistics of imports.

TABLE SHOWING THE *PER CAPITA* CONSUMPTION OF VARIOUS COMMODITIES IN NORWAY IN THE YEARS 1876–1892.

Articles.	Consumption per Head of the Population.																
	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892
Tobacco Kilog.	1·21	1·20	1·04	1·06	1·28	1·00	0·89	0·91	0·99	1·02	0·93	0·85	0·78	0·93	0·86	0·94	0·94
Coffee ,,	3·92	3·96	3·22	3·77	3·73	3·95	3·63	4·14	3·83	4·03	4·46	2·67	4·01	3·88	4·04	3 97	4·01
Sugar: Raw Kilog.	2·48	3·04	2·40	2·76	2·48	2·65	3·02	3·28	3·62	2·69	3·60	3·15	3·64	4·28	4·45	5·44	5·83
,, Refined Kilog.	2·50	2·69	2·12	1·92	2·05	2·23	2·28	2·40	3·07	2·06	2·49	2·37	2·67	2·56	3·02	2·53	2·48
Spirits (50% alcohol) Litres	6·70	6·00	4·50	3·20	3·90	3·00	3·70	3·30	3·40	3·50	3·00	2·80	3·10	3·20	3·10	3·70	3·20
Proportion of the national sales of brandy made by the Samlags . . .	8·3	14·8	22·2	24·5	21·0	30·1	25·5	34·1	34·1	32·1	41·4	43·2	40·1	41·8	49·1	42·9	51·3

The conclusion is therefore irresistible that, whatever effect economic conditions may have had in reducing the consumption of spirits in Norway, they are utterly inadequate in themselves to account for more than a very small proportion of the reduction that actually took place. Had it been possible to deal exclusively with the consumption of spirits represented by the Samlag sales, instead of with the national consumption, the result would have been still more striking.

It is true that in 1876, when the consumption of spirits was 6·7 litres per head of the population, wages were abnormally high; but the normal wages for skilled labourers in 1892, when the consumption of spirits had fallen to 3·2 litres per head of the population, were fully equal to the abnormal wages of 1876, while the wages of day-labourers on roads, railways, and public works were about 5 per cent. higher in 1892 than in 1876, and the wages of servants under half-yearly contracts, both in urban and rural districts, from a quarter to a third higher; and yet, notwithstanding this, the *per capita* consumption of spirits had declined by no less than 52 per cent. It is impossible, therefore, to escape the conclusion that we must look elsewhere than to economic conditions to find the true explanation of the remarkable reduction in the consumption of spirits that has taken place in Norway since 1876.

THE GROWTH AND INFLUENCE OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN NORWAY.

"In 1859 the first modern Total Abstinence Society in Norway was formed at Stavanger. Like most of the movements brought us from practical England, it first took hold of the lower classes, who did not theorize whether Total Abstinence or moderation was the more ideal thing *per se*, but who saw that Total Abstinence was the only practical remedy for saving drunkards, as well as the only solid basis of a thorough Temperance reform. After the introduction of the Total Abstinence movement the union against brandy

drinking[1] died away slowly but surely, though it was supported by the Government, which contributed from 1844 to 1869 a little over 120,000 kroner to this union. Up to 1870 the Total Abstinence societies had not enrolled more than 2,000 members."[2] The Good Templar Order began its operations in Norway in 1877, the Blue Ribbon Army in 1879, and the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1890. In 1893 the Good Templars of Norway numbered about 11,000 members.

The following figures give particulars of the number of branches and returns of membership of the Norwegian Abstinence Society—the parent Society in Norway:—

Year.	Norwegian Abstinence Society. (Established 1859.)	
	Number of Branches.	Total number of Members.
1876	59	8,000
1877	67	9,000
1878	52	7,000
1879	65	No statistics
1880[3]	99	"
1881	163	"
1882	250	"
1883	328	35,000
1884	480	45,000
1885	579	60,000
1886	605	70,000
1887	643	83,000
1888	720	90,000
1889	801	95,000
1890	843	98,000
1891	853	100,000

[1] The form of organized Temperance effort in the early days of the movement, when beer was regarded as a Temperance drink.

[2] Mr. Lars O. Jensen, Right Worthy Grand Templar for Norway.

[3] The statistics from 1880 include women and children, although the numbers of these were not stated separately until 1889. In 1889 there were 34,000 women and 6,000 children included in the membership; in 1890, 41,300 women and 15,000 children; and in 1891, 43,000 women and 15,000 children.

It has occasionally been suggested that the great reduction in the consumption of spirits in the towns of Norway and Sweden has been due to the effect of Temperance societies rather than to the action of the companies. A suggestion of this kind indicates a want of perception of the special work and value of the Temperance organizations. Nothing can be more unwise than to place them in any position of rivalry or opposition to the companies. In Norway, as elsewhere, it is the union of the strong personal appeal with well-considered national arrangements that leads to lasting results.

As was said on an earlier page, the great reduction in the consumption of spirits in Sweden and Norway has "been brought about by the joint action of Temperance effort and of wise national legislation; the former could have done little without the latter, and, in both Sweden and Norway, its main service has been in creating the public opinion which was essential alike for the enactment, the enforcement, and the progressive improvement of wise and strong public law." Temperance teaching and effort made the abolition of free distillation possible, but if the public opinion created by the Temperance teaching had not been embodied in law, the domestic stills would soon have reappeared.

The enormous reduction in the consumption of spirits in Bergen in the first year of its controlling company, as compared with the last year under private sale, was unquestionably due to the company. But its continued success has been due to the way in which Temperance thought has supported the policy of the Samlag, and so helped to create a public opinion favourable to Temperance, which has made the people of the town willing to submit to the restrictive policy of the Company. If any one imagines that the great reduction in consumption in the early years of the Gothenburg or Bergen Company was mainly due to the direct action of Temperance societies (as apart from the influence of the controlling companies), an examination of the numbers of the Temperance societies in the years in question would dispose of the idea.

Year.	Estimated Population.	Sale of Spirits. Litres.				Sale per inhabitant. Litres.		Arrests for Drunkenness.	
		Sale below 40 Litres.		Sale in 40 Litres and over.	Total.	In Bars.	At Retail.	Number of Arrests.	Per 1,000 of the Population.
		In Bar.	At Retail ("Off") Trade.						
1877	40,760	99,967	172,357	9,739	282,063	2·45	4·20	1,013	24·9
1878	41,512	87,798	143,454	9,287	240,539	2·11	3·46	883	21·3
1879	42,280	71,247	137,722	5,582	214,551	1·68	3·26	820	19·4
1880	43,062	66,126	139,126	4,892	210,144	1·53	3·23	901	20·9
1881	43,858	71,017	150,703	9,398	231,118	1·61	3·44	738	16·8
1882	44,669	73,407	154,896	8,160	236,463	1·64	3·47	596	13·3
1883	45,493	74,519	158,219	6,893	239,631	1·63	3·48	838	18·4
1884	46,332	77,461	163,570	7,440	248,471	1·67	3·53	708	15·3
1885	47,995	79,227	157,008	1,912	238,147	1·68	3·27	807	16·9
1886	48,335	81,034	157,435	1,050	239,519	1·67	3·26	701	14·5
1887	49,623	82,260	158,669	805	241,734	1·65	3·20	685	13·8
1888	50,902	80,031	157,388	979	238,398	1·57	3·09	728	14·3
1889	52,252	81,656	171,736	1,095	254,487	1·56	3·29	729	13·9
1890	53,686	84,077	197,356	1,474	282,907	1·56	3·68	1,122	20·9
1891 [1]	55,650	91,891	221,672	1,389	314,952	1·65	3·98	1,047	18·8
1892	56,900	95,965	236,860	1,298	334,123	1·69	4·16	690 [2]	12·1
1893	58,000	92,830	244,600	1,055	338,485	1·60	4·22	815	14·1
1894	59,700	86,952	232,227	540	319,719	1·46	3·89	948	15·9
1895	62,400	83,978	216,627	1,346	301,951	1·35	3·47	1,381	22·1
1896	64,000	65,462	222,063	6,500	294,025	1·02	3·47	1,866	29·1
1897	65,500	65,108	272,715	13,236	351,059	·99	4·16	1,789	27·3
1898	67,500	67,865	334,767	16,434	419,066	1·01	4·96	1,844	27·3
1899	70,000	67,437	349,534	17,573	434,544	·96	4·99	1,815	25·9

[1] The estimates of population from 1891 onwards are the official estimates of the municipal authorities as supplied to the present writers.

[2] The number of arrests for drunkenness is taken from the Annual Report of the Bergen Samlag for 1897. As the figures for the years 1892 to 1896 differ greatly from others which have been published in this country (see those given at p. 114 of the Report of the Prohibition Convention held at Newcastle in 1897), the Samlag return was referred by the present writers to the Chief of the Police, Bergen, who explains that the figures quoted at Newcastle *included the homeless who applied to the police to be received for the night*. The figures given in the above table are the correct figures of the number of arrests.

OPINIONS OF INFLUENTIAL AND RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS OF BERGEN RESPECTING ITS CONTROLLING SOCIETY.

A few years back, the late Mr. T. M. Wilson addressed the following inquiries to a number of the most representative men in Bergen, including, among others, the Governor of the Province, the Mayor of Bergen, Members of Parliament, the Chief of the Police, the British, French, German, and American Consuls, the Bishop and Clergy of the City, etc., etc. :—

(1) Is it your opinion that the operations of the society for controlling the retail sale of ardent spirits in Bergen have been of benefit to the city and its population, and that they have in any degree contributed to promote the movement against the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors?

(2) Is it your opinion that the objects of public utility supported out of the surplus profits of the society for controlling the retail sale of ardent spirits in Bergen act in any considerable degree in elevating and raising the culture of the masses?

Mr. Wilson received in reply a remarkable series of letters, a few of which are subjoined.

From the Chief of Police :—

"In reply to the above questions, I have to state that the police officials are, from their official experience, enabled to bear testimony in the very strongest terms to the efficiency of the control exercised by the society, and to its great value, directly and indirectly, in promoting sobriety and improving the drinking habits of the people. A large part of the drunkenness now existing is due to the uncontrolled sale of wines and beer, and until those are controlled in the same manner as spirits, it cannot be expected that drunkenness will be entirely eradicated in Bergen. The subject of the second question admits of no two opinions."

From the Bishop of Bergen :—

Question 1. "Yes, I consider it to be perfectly certain. Complaints have certainly been heard of late of increasing abuse of strong drink by the youth of the town, but it is always added that it is due to the consumption of Bavarian beer. The society has, so far as I am aware, no connection therewith."

Question 2. "Yes, that I am perfectly convinced of."

From the Public Prosecutor of Bergen :—

Question 1. "Yes. As special means for restricting the drink evil may be named: (1) that no sales are made on credit; (2) that spirits are not sold at the bars to minors, or to intoxicated persons, and that there is no opportunity of sitting down to enjoy spirituous drinks, the customer being compelled to consume his liquor and go; and (3) that the Bergen society has also carried out a system of limiting the hours of sale, especially in the winter, and on the evenings before holy festivals, which goes much farther than the requirements of the law. Nothing of that is imaginable if the spirit trade were free."

Question 2. "Unconditionally in the affirmative."

From the British Consul :—

Question 1. "Although I have made no special study of the drink question, it seems to me self-evident that the town and its population has benefited considerably by the operations of the society for the retailing of ardent spirits, and that the society has contributed in no small degree towards the prevention of excessive drinking."

Question 2. "The advantages to the people from the support given to various institutions out of the society's profits are apparent and unquestionable."

From the German Consul :—

Question 1. "Unconditionally yes."

Question 2. "Yes; but I think that total abstinence is directly assisted on too small a scale out of the society's profits."

From the American Consul :—

Question 1. "Perfectly certainly, yes. It is also certain

that the strict control exercised by the society, and the perfect order it maintains, have contributed in an especial degree to limit the drink evil."

Question 2. "Can only be answered affirmatively."

Finally, the opinion of Mr. Wilson, formed after more than thirty years' residence in Bergen, may be quoted as the deliberate pronouncement of a competent observer who at first—owing to fears which he tells us were subsequently dispelled by close observation of the society's operations—was opposed to the introduction of the company system. Summing up, nearly twenty years later, the result of his investigations, he says: "In an English work before us the author says, speaking of Bergen, 'we did not see a single drunken person, a single beggar, or any one in rags.' He had not such an intimate experience of Bergen as we have, or he would have qualified his statement a little; but still there is a world of truth in what he has said in the words quoted. There is, really, not a tithe of the wretchedness, squalid misery and poverty, drunkenness and beggary, so prevalent in English towns of similar size: that the difference is due, to no small extent, to the fact that in Bergen the sale of ardent spirits is strictly controlled, while in the English towns it is not, is indubitable; and it is a fact that quickly impresses itself on the minds of those who know the peoples and circumstances of both countries intimately."

NOTE.

Foreign Moneys.	*English Equivalents.*
Krone (Norwegian) .	1*s.* 1⅛*d.*
Krona (Swedish) . .	18 are equal to one English sovereign.
Öre	90 Öre are equal to one English shilling.

(The Krone is divided into 100 Öre.)

Foreign Measures.	*English Equivalents.*
Hectolitre	22·0 Imperial Gallons.
Litre.	0·22 of Imperial Gallon.
Old English Gallon. .	0·833 of Imperial Gallon.

(In the American Reports of Dr. Gould and Mr. Koren, the Quart used is a fourth part of the old English Gallon.)

Norwegian Towns which have Voted upon the Retention of Suppression of Samlags in 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, and 1899.

	Number of possible Votes.[1]	Number of Votes for Samlag.	Number of Votes against Samlag.	Number of Towns in which Samlag has been Retained.	Number of Towns in which Samlag has been Suppressed.[2]
1895—Bodo (retained) . .	1,814	1,217	597		
Vadso ,, . . .	649	534	115		
Gjovik (suppressed)	800	328	472		
Aasgaardstrand ,,	210	69	141		
Tonsberg ,,	3,654	1,685	1,969		
Brevik ,,	1,088	522	566		
Skien ,,	4,249	1,696	2,553		
Risor ,,	1,616	549	1,067		
Arendal ,,	2,073	787	1,286		
Grimstad ,,	1,476	602	874		
Aalesund ,,	4,359	1,137	3,222		
Molde ,,	838	322	516		
Namsos ,,	965	234	731		
Vote taken in 13 towns	23,791	9,682	14,109	2	11
1896—Drobak (retained) .	1,094	757	337		
Kongsvinger ,, .	606	539	67		
Bergen ,, .	28,762	14,590	14,172		
Mosjoen ,, .	619	317	302		
Lillesand (suppressed)	720	250	470		
Farsund ,,	857	377	480		
Sogndal ,,	213	98	115		
Stavanger ,,	11,756	4,234	7,522		
Levanger ,,	570	275	295		
Vote taken in 9 towns	45,197	21,437	23,760	4	5
1897—Fredrikshald (retained)	5,482	3,165	2,317		
Hamar ,,	2,115	1,516	599		
Kongsberg ,,	2,456	1,635	821		
Drammen ,,	9,457	6,493	2,964		
Holmestrand ,,	1,088	726	362		
Horten ,,	3,583	1,916	1,667		
Larvik ,,	4,857	2,487	2,370		
Tromso ,,	2,842	1,852	990		
Sarpsborg (suppressed)	2,052	938	1,114		
Porsgrund ,,	2,138	943	1,195		
Kristiansund ,,	5,914	2,595	3,319		
Vote taken in 11 towns	41,984	24,266	17,718	8	3
1898—Moss (retained)	3,582	1,997	1,585		
Lillehammer ,,	1,272	774	498		
Honefoss ,,	806	464	342		
Svelviken ,,	609	387	222		
Kristiansand ,,	6,396	3,325	3,071		
Egersund ,,	1,476	829	647		
Trondhjem ,,	16,829	12,812	4,017		
Hammerfest ,,	977	677	300		
Fredrikstad (suppressed)	6,153	2,677	3,476		
Sandefjord ,,	2,265	938	1,327		
Kragero ,,	2,578	662	1,916		
Flekkefjord ,,	1,040	313	727		
Vote taken in 12 towns	43,983	25,855	18,128	8	4
1899—Christiania (retained)	102,617	84,009	18,608		
Langesund ,,	641	343	298		
Tvedestrand ,,	772	407	365		
Stenkjær (suppressed)	1,090	497	593		
Vardö ,,	1,123	488	635		
Mandal ,,	1,884	930	954		
Vote taken in 6 towns	108,127	86,674	21,453	3	3
	263,082	167,914	95,168	25	26

1 As a majority of those *entitled to vote* was necessary for the suppression of a Samlag, those who abstained from voting were counted as having voted for its continuance. 2 Involving prohibition.

RELATION OF OVERCROWDING TO INTEMPERANCE.

That there is a close connection between overcrowding on the one hand, and intemperance on the other, cannot well be doubted. The Lords' Committee on Intemperance, in discussing the matter in 1879, said: "It is in towns that the causes to which the increase of intemperance is attributed operate most powerfully. The rate of wages is far higher than in rural districts, and from the year 1869 to 1873 rose very rapidly. The overcrowded dwellings, and bad sanitary arrangements, and the nature of the trade or manufacture in which the inhabitants are employed, also tend to increase the habits of intemperance. Liverpool, for example, shows the greatest number of apprehensions to population, viz., 1 to every 24 inhabitants; its death-rate is higher, and, with the exception of Hartlepool, its population is denser (92 persons per acre) than in any other town in England."

Professor Leone Levi, referring to the same matter, said: "I would call your lordships' attention to this further fact, that out of 204,000 committed (*i.e.* for drunkenness), upwards of 150,000, or 75 per cent., were in only seven counties, namely, in Lancashire, Middlesex, Durham, York, Stafford, Northumberland, and Cheshire. . . . Drunkenness seems to prevail in the densely-crowded places, and in the most densely-populated counties." [1]

[1] Very similar conclusions are stated in a paper drawn up by Mr. John Dendy and Mr. J. H. Poynting for the use of the Lords' Committee, and published as an Appendix to Vol. IV. of the evidence. The conclusions are as follow:—

"(1) There appears to be a direct relation between the rate of increase of population and the rate of drunkenness, so that on the whole, where the population is increasing most rapidly, there is the greatest drunkenness, this being at least marked in the great northern towns.

"(2) On the whole, in the towns where the drunkenness is greatest, the population is most dense."

These statements were made as far back as 1878–79, but that they still apply can easily be shown. Thus, of the six counties most remarkable for drunkenness in recent years, no less than *four* (viz., Northumberland, Durham, Pembrokeshire, and Cumberland) are also to be found in the six counties most remarkable for overcrowding, while the remaining two (viz., Lancashire and Glamorganshire) are also counties which contain a considerable proportion of densely-crowded districts.

The most remarkable illustrations of the coincidence between drunkenness and overcrowding are furnished by Northumberland and Durham. These counties are not only the most notorious for drunkenness, but contain by far the largest proportion of overcrowded persons. The following are the figures :—

	Percentage of Population living more than two persons to a room in 1891.	No. of Arrests for Drunkenness per 1,000 inhabitants in 1889–93.
Northumberland	38·69	17·14
Durham	34·03	13·37

That the coincidence is more accidental than the above figures suggest is not only possible, but extremely probable, but at least it is too remarkable to be ignored. That excessive drinking is far from being exclusively related to unhealthy surroundings no one with knowledge will question; but that a considerable proportion of it is so related is hardly open to doubt. In their Report on the Housing of the Working Classes, the Royal Commissioners discuss the question at some length. A few extracts from their report may be quoted: "Before leaving the effects upon the people of the evil conditions in which they live, and before entering upon the causes which have produced those evils, it will be well to consider in which of the two categories certain facts should be placed. The question, to quote the title of a pamphlet mentioned in evidence, is, 'Is it the pig that makes the sty, or the sty that makes the pig?' That is to say, are the dirty and drinking habits of a portion of the very

poor who live in overcrowded dwellings the cause or the consequence of the miserable circumstances in which they are found? It will be seen that the temperance question is involved in this examination, and the strictest caution is necessary not to let regret and disapproval of the ravages of intemperance divert attention from other evils which make the homes of the working classes wretched, evils over which they have never had any control. . . . To return, however, to the question whether drink and evil habits are the cause or consequence of the condition in which the poor live, the answer is probably the unsatisfactory one that drink and poverty act and re-act upon one another. Discomfort of the most abject kind is caused by drink, but indulgence in drink is caused by overcrowding and its cognate evils, and the poor who live under the conditions described have the greatest difficulty in leading decent lives and of maintaining decent habitations."

GILCHRIST LECTURES.

The following table gives particulars of the attendances at the lectures delivered under the auspices of the Gilchrist Educational Trust in 1898:—

SUMMARY OF ATTENDANCE AT LECTURES, 1898.

	Average attendance at each Lecture.	Total attendance at the Course of four Lectures.
Spring.		
GROUP I.		
Hyde	892	3,571
Glossop	940	3,760
Crewe	913	3,652
Llangollen	606	2,425
Stafford	1,023	4,094
GROUP II.		
Whitchurch (Salop)	567	2,269
Oldham	692	2,770
Hindley	641	2,564
Colne	812	3,250
Blackpool	2,200	8,803
Autumn.		
GROUP III.		
Mossley	662	2,650
Goole	1,012	4,050
Accrington	1,082	4,328
Elland	877	3,511
Malton	383	1,535
GROUP IV.		
Abingdon	842	3,370
Exeter	1,325	5,300
Tiverton	1,170	4,680
Dudley	719	2,876
Tewkesbury	611	2,445

The syllabus of the lectures was as follows:—

	Lecturers.	*Subjects.*
Group I.	Prof. Sir Robert Ball.	"A Universe in Motion."
	Rev. Dr. Dallinger.	"Spiders — their Work and their Wisdom."
	Ditto.	"A Naturalist's Study of the question—May our Neighbouring Worlds be Habitable?"
	Professor H. G. Seeley.	"Volcanoes."
	Dr. R. D. Roberts.	"The Distribution of Animal Life on the Earth's Surface and its Significance."
Group II.	Dr. Andrew Wilson.	"Lungs and Air — a Lesson in Public and Personal Health."
	Dr. A. P. Laurie.	"Dust."
	Ditto.	"Invisible Rays."
	Dr. R. D. Roberts.	"The Building of the British Isles: a Geological Sketch."
	Rev. Dr. Dallinger.	"Spiders — their Work and their Wisdom."
	Ditto.	"The Pond and its Minute Inhabitants: a Modern Study of Minute Life."
Group III.	Prof. V. B. Lewes.	"Our Atmosphere and its Relation to Life."
	Rev. Dr. Dallinger.	"Spiders — their Work and their Wisdom."
	Ditto.	"New Spider Studies."
	Dr. Andrew Wilson.	"The Heart and the Story of the Circulation."
	Dr. R. D. Roberts.	"The Evolution of the British Isles: a Geological Sketch."

Group IV.	Prof. Sir Robert Ball.	"A Universe in Motion."
	Prof. C. Waldstein.	"The Spirit of Greek Art."
	Rev. Dr. Dallinger.	"Spiders — their Work and their Wisdom."
	Ditto	"New Spider Studies."
	Dr. Andrew Wilson.	"Brain and Nerve and their Work."

PROFITS OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The present writers have based their calculations of the sum that would be available for recreative agencies upon the assumption that the trade, *as carried on by a Municipality or Company*, would yield, at a low computation, a net profit of 20 per cent. upon the sales. This figure was adopted by Mr. Chamberlain in 1876 in his proposals for the municipalisation of the traffic in Birmingham.[1] It is probable that in the past 20 years the rate of profit upon public-house sales has considerably increased, and the evidence that is forthcoming from various quarters points to a higher rate than 20 per cent. at the present time.

In the Minutes of Evidence of the Royal Commission of the Liquor Licensing Laws (Volume VIII.) an account is given of the experiment now being carried on by the Birmingham Corporation in connection with their waterworks in Wales. The Corporation having to supply accommodation for 1,000 workpeople in the Elan Valley, decided to meet the demand for drink by establishing a canteen, the keeper of which should have no interest in the sale of drink. Mr. E. A. Lees, the business manager of the Elan Works, was questioned by Mr. Charles Walker, Chairman of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Proctection Society of London, upon the

[1] "The total sale in Birmingham, with a population of 360,000, would, at this rate, amount to £900,000, on which the average profit is estimated, on good authority, to be 20 per cent." (*The Right Method with the Publicans*, p. 28).

profits made in the canteen. Mr. Walker inquired (71243), "You tell us you make very considerable profit, and you charge 5*d.* a quart?" And further (71247), "The purpose of my asking you the question is this: You charge 5*d.* a quart. If you pay 24*s.*, which I should imagine is about the price, that is 2*d.* per quart: so that you see there is a profit of 150 per cent." To which Mr. Lees replied, "Probably that would be the cost at the brewery; but the carriage is very high." One may add a halfpenny per quart for carriage, and there is still a gross profit left of 100 per cent. Mr. Lees had previously stated (71178) that the prices in the canteen were fixed by the market price in the neighbourhood. These enormous profits are unquestionably in excess of those ordinarily made by the Trade. But the reason is brought out with clearness in the examination before the same Commission of the Bishop of Chester by Mr. Edward North Buxton, a partner in one of the largest London breweries. Mr. Buxton, to illustrate the question he was putting, took the case of a publican, "a fair average case," who bought a public-house for £10,000, putting in £2,000, and leaving the remaining £8,000 on a 5 per cent. mortgage. A large portion of this £10,000—the evidence does not say how much—would represent the value of the licence. Mr. Buxton, after saying that the publican in question made a profit of £300 a year and paid £400 on his mortgage, asked the Bishop this very pertinent question: (69249) "Is it not fair to say that if you take over the trade of that man, unburdened as he was, by the large amount of capital, to the extent of the interest on that capital, you will pay a much larger dividend; you will make a much larger profit?"; and added (69250): "My point is that as you have an investment of a far smaller amount of capital for about the same trade, and have the advantage of trading on a large scale, *you will make an enormous profit.*"

Manifestly there can be only one answer to Mr. Buxton's suggestion that "you will make an enormous profit." It is obvious that a municipality taking over the traffic at the expiration of a "time notice" would be very differently

situated from the private trader entering into the business at the present time, and having to pay the exceedingly high rents now charged for licensed houses.

In Vol. VI. of the Minutes of Evidence (Scotland) of the same Commission is to be found the account of an experiment carried on by the Fife Coal Company in Hill of Beath, a village with a population of 1,100 or 1,200, situated near Dumfermline. Mr. Charles Carlow, J.P., Managing Director of the Company, gave evidence that the Company opened a public-house in the village to prevent a licence being given to a private trader. The man who has been put into the house to carry on the trade for the Company has no interest in pushing sales. Mr. Carlow stated (49872) that they sold at usual public-house prices. Questioned by Mr. Younger (49756): "You say that their returns are 45 per cent. upon their receipts?" Mr. Carlow replied: "That is the gross profit—44½ per cent. calculated upon the sales. The net profit calculated upon the sales is 28½ per cent." In response to a question from the Chairman (Viscount Peel) as to whether he considered that the experiment threw any light upon the profits of the trade, Mr. Carlow said (49637): "I think our experiment shows that the profits are very high indeed, and that there is no wonder that small licensed houses are sold at such large prices as we hear of. In the neighbouring village of Cowdenbeath, where a great many of our miners also reside, a house was sold, I am told, very recently, for £7,000, the structural value of which could not be over £1,200."

49638 (Chairman): "For how many successive years had a licence been obtained for that house?" (Answer): "I think about six, if I remember aright. In another village, where a large number of our miners are, a licence was held for three years. An old miner built a house at a cost of £350, and sold it for £3,500. It cost £250, and he spent about £100 on it."

49639 (Chairman): "How soon after getting the licence did he sell it?" (Answer): "Three years. Then there is

another instance still, in East Fife, quite close to 174 of our workmen's houses. The licence was got a year and a half ago. The value of the house was about £1,000, and the owner sold it for £3,000."

Further, in the *Licensed Victuallers' Gazette* of May 13th, 1898, a report was given of a Compensation for Disturbance case tried before the London Sheriffs' Court. The plaintiff, in the course of his evidence, stated that "his profit on cheap wines was 200 and 300 per cent. Brandy he bought at 8*s.* in bond, and after 'breaking it down' he retailed it at 31*s.* On whisky and gin the profit was 100 and 50 per cent. respectively. On pale ales there was a profit of 150 per cent., and on ordinary beer 33 per cent. Where the beer was sold in glasses the profit was much greater."

The *Daily News* of May 10th, 1898, in its report of the same case, stated that "Mr. Marks, a public-house broker, said that it was the custom, in dealing with licensed premises, to write down a profit of 56 per cent. on the gross takings."

After making all necessary deductions from the representations of a tradesman claiming compensation for disturbance, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that the profits made were upon a very high scale. Evidence of a similar character is afforded by a case reported in the *Weekly Budget* of November 12th, 1898: "At Blackpool on Thursday, an inquiry was held before Mr. Mellor, barrister, and a special jury of gentlemen from all parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, to determine the compensation to be paid Fred Settle, his house and confectioner's shop (licensed premises) being required for the new Town Hall. The claimant said his profits were £15 a week in summer and £5 in winter. He gave 10*d.* per dozen for beer, and sold 600 bottles a day at 2*s.* a dozen. Draught beer cost 36*s.* a barrel, and at 2*d.* a glass he received £6 for a barrel. On pint bottles he only got 1*s.* a dozen. For Bass's he gave 1*s.* 4*d.*, and sold at 3*s.* outside; and for Guinness's he gave 1*s.* 3½*d.*, and sold at 3*s.* On draught beer the profits were nearly 200 per cent."

In Norway, in 1896, the percentage of net profits upon the gross receipts of the Samlags was at the rate of 35 per cent.; or, if the sums paid by the Samlags for the right to sell be added to the profits, they work out at the rate of 52 per cent.

Dr. Gould, in his *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, published in 1894, gives the annual gross receipts of the Stockholm Company at £128,739, and the net profits at £82,699, which is at the rate of 64 per cent. upon the takings. The profits of the Gothenburg Company, as given by him, are at the rate of about 42 per cent. The profits in both cases would be much higher if the large sums paid to the municipalities for licence rights were added.

HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS.

It will be noticed that hitherto, no reference has been made to one important and difficult problem which has to be faced in any scheme of licensing reform, viz.:—the licences to be issued to hotels, restaurants, etc. This question it may be well here to consider.

In the Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill, introduced by Sir W. Harcourt, in February, 1893,[1] there were the following provisions:—

(1) "Nothing in this Act shall prevent the grant or renewal of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors in premises intended to be used in good faith, exclusively for all, or any, of the following purposes; that is to say,

(*a*) For refreshment rooms at a railway station; that is to say, for persons arriving or departing by railway; or

(*b*) For an inn or hotel; that is to say, for the accommodation of travellers, or of persons lodging therein; or

(*c*) For an eating house; that is to say, for persons taking meals on the premises.

[1] The same general proposals, with one or two additions, were included in the 1895 Bill. See Intoxicating Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill, 1895, clause 6.

(2) There shall be attached to every such licence, such conditions as the licensing authority think necessary, or proper, for preventing the use of the premises for any other purpose than that specified on the licence."

The foregoing provisions would probably meet the requirements of the case if the licences were granted upon terms which secured the due observance of the conditions without recourse, on the part of the licensing authority, to legal proceedings. It has been pointed out, as one of the advantages of the Company system, that bye-laws for the conduct of the trade can be enforced in the Company houses with promptness and ease without any recourse to the laborious, uncertain, and costly methods of the law. To secure the same end in connection with hotels, restaurants, and railway refreshment rooms where liquor was sold for private profit, under the conditions of licence already referred to, it would probably be sufficient to provide, as a condition of the yearly licence, that inspectors appointed by the licensing authority should be free, at all times, to inspect such licensed premises. The licences would, of course, be subject to renewal or refusal at the discretion of the licensing authority at the end of each year.

CLUBS.

It has been well said that "no licensing reform, however complete the restraint it places on public-houses, will accomplish much unless at the same time it deals with the club evil. There is to-day, in every large town, a considerable and rapidly increasing number of drinking dens, subject to no control, paying no fees, requiring no licences, and allowed to keep open all day and every day, Sunday and week-day alike."

From the Return of Clubs presented to the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws it appears that the number and distribution of clubs in the United Kingdom in which intoxicating liquors are sold are as follows:—

Name of District.	Number of Clubs.		Total.	Open on Sundays.	Total number of Members.
	Members.'	Proprietary.			
London, Metropolitan and City Police District	573	87	660	346	246,523
England: Counties and Boroughs . .	2,685	188	2,873	1,348	595,450
Scotland: Counties and Boroughs . .	150	7	157	64	39,240
Ireland	167	11	178	161	26,357
Wales: Counties and Boroughs . .	102	20	122	98	39,165
Total . .	3,677	313	3,990	2,017	946,735

The increase in the number of clubs from 1887–1896 is shown in the table below:

Name of District.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
London, Metropolitan and City Police District .	298	327	361	411	446	474	499	534	584	660
England: Counties & Boroughs .	1,646	1,745	1,847	1,955	2,071	2,200	2,326	2,499	2,661	2,873
Scotland: Counties & Boroughs .	82	88	92	96	104	110	122	126	137	157
Ireland . .	96	100	104	111	116	129	148	154	161	178
Wales: Counties & Boroughs .	38	43	44	44	51	57	65	80	97	122
Total . .	2,160	2,303	2,448	2,617	2,788	2,970	3,160	3,393	3,640	3,990

Referring to this table, the Secretary of the Royal Commission observes :—"As the figures deal only with clubs now in existence, the apparent increase is somewhat greater than the real."

Evidence has been given before the Royal Commission of the growth of Brewers' Clubs. By means of these, the licensing authorities are not unfrequently set at defiance, as in a case mentioned in the House of Commons in 1895. "The licence of a certain village public-house had been taken away because of the misconduct of the publican, and because the place was not required. Thereupon the brewer who owned the building opened it as a club, making the former publican manager. The rules were carefully drawn up, with the aid of counsel, to keep the house open to as many as possible; an entrance fee of a few pence was fixed; and the club was in a position to accommodate almost all its old customers. It had not to observe any of the regulations imposed on the regular drink shops, and consequently did twice as much business as before its licence was taken away."

It does not fall within the scope of the present volume to consider in detail the provisions that should be made for the right conduct of clubs. The question has received large attention from the Royal Commission, and definite suggestions may be found in its Report. But apart from the detailed proposals which that Commission has made, there is a growing and widespread conviction that any scheme of reform must include the licensing of all clubs in which liquor is sold.

It is probable that the abuse of drinking clubs would be brought into narrow limits if it were provided:—

(*a*) That all clubs in which liquor was sold should be annually licensed.

(*b*) That the licensing authority should be empowered to attach to each licence such conditions as it deemed necessary.

(*c*) That all licensed clubs should be open to the inspectors of the licensing authority.[1]

(*d*) That the licensing authority should have power summarily to cancel the licence of any club, if, in the opinion of the licensing authority, the provisions of the licence had been seriously violated.

Provisions of this kind, whilst giving little annoyance to *bonâ-fide* clubs, would, it is believed, be effective in their control over mere drinking clubs.

APPROPRIATION OF THE PROFITS OF THE SPIRIT TRAFFIC IN SWEDEN.

The ordinary method of appropriating the Bolag profits (including the sums paid to the Municipalities for licences) is as follows:—Seven-tenths to the Municipality, one-tenth to the Agricultural Society of the district, and two-tenths to the public treasury for subsequent distribution among the county revenue districts.

The full details of the appropriation are set forth in Sec. 22 of the Act of May 24th, 1895.

"Sec. 22. (*a*) The fees to be paid for the licence to sell brandy retail or over the bar, and also the net profits of the business

[1] Captain the Hon. G. Anson, the Chief Constable of Staffordshire, when giving evidence before the Royal Licensing Commission, was asked whether there would be any very strong opposition to the power of entry from social and political clubs of high standing, and from the far larger number of working men's clubs, which are conducted in a perfectly regular and proper manner, and how often the police would enter a well-conducted club? He replied:—"I should think a visit once or twice a year would be ample. They could easily find out whether anything irregular was going on in a club with a number of members, and they would not enter unless there was some reason for doing it as a rule." It is to be remembered that all the large factories of the kingdom are now under inspection, and those which are well conducted experience no annoyance from the occasional visit of the inspector.

which the companies, according to section 18, must pay over, shall be distributed in the following manner:

I. In Stockholm eight-tenths shall go to the city, if the trade in brandy be in the hands of a company; in any other case the city shall receive seven-tenths; the remainder shall be deposited in the public treasury.

II. In any other town which does not take part in a *landsting*:

First, if the sale of brandy is in charge of a company, seven-tenths shall go to the municipality, one-tenth to the agricultural society of the district, and two-tenths shall be deposited in the public treasury.

Second, if the sale of brandy in a town is not in the hands of a company, six-tenths shall go to the municipality, one-tenth to the agricultural society of the district, and three-tenths shall be deposited in the public treasury.

III. In a town that takes part in the *landsting*:

First, when the sale of brandy in the town is in the hands of a company, five-tenths shall go to the town, two-tenths to the *landsting* of the district, one-tenth to the agricultural society of the district, and two-tenths shall be deposited in the public treasury.

Second, when the sale of brandy in the town is not in the hands of a company, four-tenths shall go to the town, two-tenths to the *landsting* of the district, one-tenth to the agricultural society of the district, and three-tenths shall be deposited in the public treasury.

IV. In the country parishes the whole sum shall be deposited at the office of the receiver of the district, who shall distribute it as follows: Seven-tenths to all the country parishes of the district, according to the population, two-tenths to the *landsting* of the district, and one-tenth to the agricultural society of the district.

V. In a borough where, in conformity with section 11 (*b*), the sale of brandy retail and over the bar has been given in charge of a company, the taxes and profits shall be divided in the same way as in a city where the trade in brandy is given in charge of a company.

(*b*) The portion of the moneys mentioned above that go to the *landsting* and agricultural societies shall be deposited at the office of the receiver of the district. The portion deposited in the public treasury shall be distributed among the county

revenue districts according to the number of inhabitants, care being taken that the number of inhabitants of each county revenue district, within the limits of which a town is situated, be reduced by the number of inhabitants living in such town. Of the amount which goes to each county revenue district, according to this division, the *landsting* and agricultural society shall receive each one-fourth, and the county parishes one-half. The distribution among the latter is also to be made according to the number of inhabitants."

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